Library of The Theological Seminary

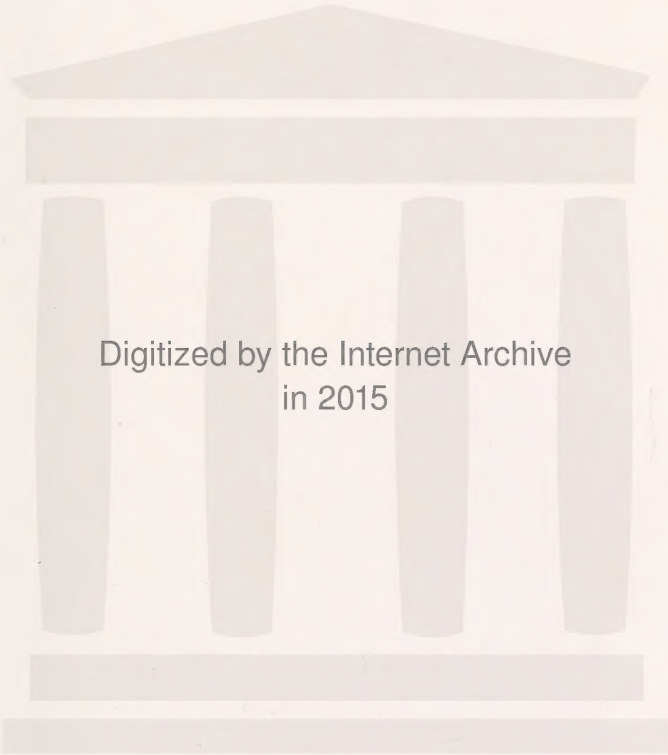
PRINCETON · NEW JERSEY

PRESENTED BY

Samuel Agnew, Esq.
August 24, 1847

BX 5035 .Z87 1846

The Zurich letters, or, The correspondence of several


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2015

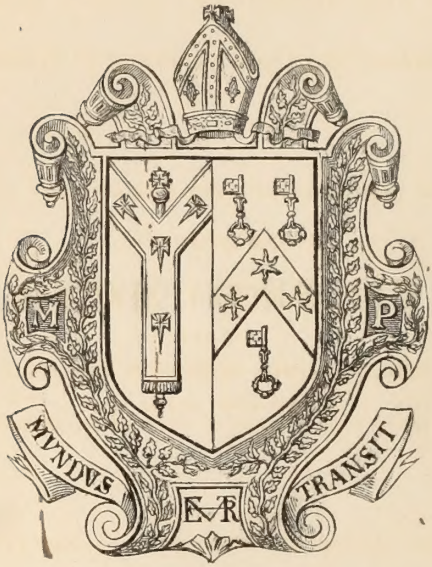
https://archive.org/details/zurichlettersorc00robi

Donation of
Samuel Agnew
Phila da. Augst. 20th 1847.

ZURICH LETTERS.

The Parker Society.

Instituted A.D. M.DCCC.XL.



For the Publication of the Works of the Fathers and Early Writers of the Reformed English Church.

The Zurich Letters,

OR

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF SEVERAL ENGLISH BISHOPS AND OTHERS,

WITH SOME OF

THE HELVETIAN REFORMERS,

DURING THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

CHIEFLY FROM THE ARCHIVES OF ZURICH.

TRANSLATED FROM AUTHENTICATED COPIES OF THE AUTOGRAPHS,

AND EDITED FOR

The Parker Society,

BY THE

REV. HASTINGS ROBINSON, D.D. F.A.S.

RECTOR OF GREAT WARLEY, ESSEX;
AND FORMERLY FELLOW OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

SECOND EDITION,
CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED IN ONE SERIES.



CAMBRIDGE:
PRINTED AT
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

M.DCCC.XLVI

INTRODUCTION.

On the accession of queen Mary to the throne of England, A.D. 1553, she proceeded with much severity against the favourers of the Reformation; of whom upwards of a thousand persons, according to bishop Burnet[1], sought refuge among the protestant churches on the continent. Many of them settled at Zurich, where "they were entertained both by the magistrates[2] and the ministers, Bullinger, Gualter, Weidner, Simler, Lavater, Gesner, and all the rest of that body, with a tenderness and affection that engaged them to the end of their lives to make the greatest acknowledgments possible for it." After their return home, upon queen Elizabeth's coming to the crown, A.D. 1558, they maintained a close correspondence with their late hosts; and their letters, together with those of Bullinger, have long been regarded among the principal objects of interest in the Zurich archives.

Copies of these letters, or at least of a portion of them, were obtained by bishop Burnet and Strype; both of whom have made frequent reference to them in their respective works. A few of the letters, chiefly those of Jewel, are printed, though very inaccurately, in the Historical Records appended to Burnet, who has also introduced occasional abstracts into the body of his history. The like may be said of Strype, though to a far less extent: so that the collection, as a whole, may be considered as having been for the first time presented to the public, in the two volumes edited for the Parker Society in 1842 and 1845.

[1] Hist. of Reformation, Vol. II. p. 388. The names of five bishops, five deans, four archdeacons, and fifty-seven doctors in divinity and preachers, are given by Strype, Life of Cranmer, I. 449.

[2] Burnet, as above, III. 408. Strype adds, that the magistrates offered, by Bullinger, to supply the exiles with such a quantity of bread-corn and wine, as should serve to sustain thirteen or fourteen people; but they with thanks refused it. Cranmer, I. 509.

The copies from which the first of those volumes was printed and the translation made, were procured from Zurich, for his own use, by the late Rev. John Hunter, of Bath; who, on hearing of the formation of the Parker Society, with unsolicited kindness and liberality immediately placed them at its disposal. But as he found reason for believing, upon a subsequent journey thither in 1842, that the contents of the library and archives of that city had not been fully explored by him on his former visit, he directed the attention of the council of the Society to the expediency of instituting a more extended examination. And as several communications had been received, indicating that there were other depositories in Switzerland which would repay examination, it was resolved that a complete investigation should be made, in the hope of procuring some additional documents connected with the history of the English Reformation. For accomplishing this object, the Council availed themselves of the assistance of the Rev. Steuart A. Pears, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who proceeded to Zurich in the summer of 1843, where he was occupied for a considerable time in a full investigation of the contents of the public library and archives.

The first object of attention in the town library of Zurich is the Simler collection of the correspondence of the Swiss Reformers. This was made by the late John Jacob Simler, (a descendant of the Josiah Simler so frequently mentioned in the Zurich Letters,) superintendent of schools in the Canton of Zurich, who died August the 5th, 1788. He appears to have examined with great accuracy all the collections of letters, manuscript and printed, public and private, within his reach. He copied fully 18,000 letters with his own hand, arranged them all chronologically, and at the head of each noted the collection, volume, and page in which the original is to be found. The whole work extends to nearly 200 folio volumes, of which 140 are occupied by the period A.D. 1530—1600. This collection, therefore, formed a most accurate guide to the collections of originals in the archives and library at Zurich, Strasburgh, and Berne, and the libraries at Basle, Zofingen, Geneva, St Gall, and Schaffhausen, whence also Mr Pears procured those other letters

relative to the English Reformation, which are included in the present collection, the places from whence they were obtained being marked in the table of contents.

From the additional letters obtained by Mr Pears, a second series or volume was published, completing the correspondence of the English Reformers and others during the reign of Elizabeth, from the sources above mentioned; thereby supplying many of the chasms in the chronological arrangement of the preceding volume. And as it appeared desirable to afford facilities for a consecutive perusal of the entire series, the Council of the Parker Society, in compliance with a wish expressed by many of its members, have reprinted, in the present volume, the English translation of the original letters, with the exception of a few which bear no reference to the English Reformation. The whole collection is now presented in proper chronological order; and a reference is given, at the heading of each, to its position in the previous volumes, A. signifying the first series, B. the second.

The accuracy of the collation of the letters procured from Zurich, with the original autographs there deposited, is attested by M. de Meyer von Knonau, the keeper of the archives, to whose courtesy the Parker Society is considerably indebted for much valuable attention, and information respecting them. In a letter, written Nov. 28, 1841, he thus describes the present condition of those which are originals: "You have expressed a desire to know in what volumes the letters of your countrymen are to be found. The greater portion of them is in the archives of the State of Zurich, and the remainder in the library of that city. The volumes in the archives which contain these letters are all bound in parchment, the margin not at all cut off, the leaves being filled throughout. On this account it is necessary to handle them with the greatest delicacy. They are numbered as follows, Class V. i. Nos. 108, 109, 113, 114, 164. The last number has for its title, 'English Letters from the Reformation to the 17th century.' The letters in the city library are dispersed through nine volumes, numbered, 38, 39, 42, 46, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, and are in the manuscript class F. They are also bound in parchment, as the volumes

in the archives, to which they bear a great resemblance. Almost all these letters are original, and, with the exception of those of Richard Cox, F. Bedford, and the duke of Suffolk, who have only added their signatures, are in the handwriting of their respective authors. That of queen Elizabeth is only a copy."

In addition to the letters already published, and which comprise the correspondence of the English Reformers during the reign of Elizabeth, preserved in the collections above mentioned, there have been obtained upwards of three hundred others, written during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and queen Mary, which are arranged so as to form another volume of the publications of the Parker Society.

The editor refrains from any remarks upon the various topics treated in these letters; it being his desire, and the object of the Society, that the respective writers should speak for themselves. The notes therefore are only added for the purpose of throwing additional light upon the facts and circumstances recorded in the correspondence. To have aimed at less than this would have left the book unintelligible to a large portion of its readers; and to have endeavoured more, would have been inconsistent with the objects of the Society under whose auspices it is published.

The edition of Strype, referred to in the notes, is that of Oxford, 1822, &c. That of Burnet is the edition of Dr Nares, London, 1839.

H. R.

Great Warley,
April 18, 1846.

CONTENTS.

The capitals affixed to the titles in the following list indicate the sources from which the transcripts of the original documents were procured:

A denoting the Archives at Zurich.
L .....the City Library at ditto.
S.C. .....the Simler Collection.
Str. .....the Library at Strasburgh.
Schaff.....the Library at Schaffhausen.
Berne .....
Geneva ... } the respective libraries in those places.
Zofingen ...
Op. .....the published works of the writers, most of them being also in the Simler Collection.

LET.				PAGE
I.	Sir A. Cook to Henry Bullinger	Strasburgh, Dec. 8, 1558.	A	1
II.	Thomas Sampson to Peter Martyr	Strasburgh, Dec. 17, 1558.	L	2
III.	Edwin Sandys to H. Bullinger	Strasburgh, Dec. 20, 1558.	A	3
IV.	John Haller to H. Bullinger	Berne, Jan. 11, 1559.	A	6
V.	Rodolph Gualter to Queen Elizabeth	Zurich, Jan. 16, 1559.	A	7
VI.	Rod. Gualter to Lord Francis Russel	Zurich, Jan. 16, 1559.	A	11
VII.	Rod. Gualter to Richard Masters	Zurich, Jan. 16, 1559.	A	13
VIII.	John Jewel to Peter Martyr	Strasburgh, Jan. 26, 1559.	L	15
IX.	Sir A. Cook to Peter Martyr	London, Feb. 12, 1559.	A	18
X.	Richard Hilles to H. Bullinger	London, Feb. 28, 1559.	A	19
XI.	John Jewel to Peter Martyr	London, March 20, 1559.	L	21
XII.	The same to the same	London, Apr. 6, 1559.	L	25
XIII.	The same to the same	London, Apr. 14, 1559.	L	28
XIV.	The same to the same	London, Apr. 28, 1559.	L	30
XV.	The same to the same	London, no date.	L	3
XVI.	John Foxe to Henry Bullinger	Basle, May 13, 1559.	A	35
XVII.	Richard Cox to Wolfgang Weidner	London, May 20, 1559.	A	36
XVIII.	John Parkhurst to H. Bullinger	London, May 21, 1559.	A	38
XIX.	John Parkhurst to Conrad Gesner	London, May 21, 1559.	A	40
XX.	John Jewel to H. Bullinger	London, May 22, 1559.	A	41
XXI.	Edmund Grindal to Conrad Hubert	London, May 23, 1559.	Str.	43
XXII.	John Foxe to Henry Bullinger	Basle, June 17, 1559.	A	45
XXIII.	John Foxe to Henry Frensham	Basle, June 17, 1559.	A	47
XXIV.	Laurence Humphrey to H. Bullinger	Basle, June 23, 1559.	L	48
XXV.	Edmund Grindal to Conrad Hubert	London, July 11, 1559.	Str.	49

LET.				PAGE
XXVI.	Peter Martyr to Thomas Sampson	...Zurich, July 15, 1559.	Op.	52
XXVII.	John Jewel to Peter Martyr	.....London, Aug. 1, 1559.	L	54
XXVIII.	John Foxe to H. Bullinger	.....Basle, Aug. 2, 1559.	A	56
XXIX.	Thomas Lever to H. Bullinger	.....London, Aug. 8, 1559.	L	57
XXX.	John Jewel to Peter Martyr	.....London, Nov. 2, 1559.	L	60
XXXI.	John Jewel to Rod. Gualter	.....London, Nov. 2, 1559.	L	63
XXXII.	John Jewel to Josiah Simler	.....London, Nov. 2, 1559.	L	64
XXXIII.	Peter Martyr to Thomas Sampson	.....Zurich, Nov. 4, 1559.	Op.	65
XXXIV.	John Jewel to Peter Martyr	.....London, Nov. 5, 1559.	L	67
XXXV.	The same to the same	.....London, Nov. 16, 1559.	L	69
XXXVI.	The same to the same	.....London, Dec. 1, 1559.	L	73
XXXVII.	John Parkhurst to Josiah Simler	...Bishop's Cleeve, Dec. 20, 1559.	L	74
XXXVIII.	John Calvin to Sir W. Cecil	.....Geneva, after Jan. 29, 1559.	Berne.	76
XXXIX.	Thomas Sampson to Pet. Martyr	.....Jan. 6, 1560.	L	78
XL.	Bp Cox to Peter Martyr	.....London, no date	L	81
XLI.	Earl of Bedford to Rod. Gualter	.....London, Jan. 21, 1560.	L	82
XLII.	Peter Martyr to Thomas Sampson	.....Zurich, Feb. 1, 1560.	Op.	84
XLIII.	Bp Jewel to Peter Martyr	.....London, Feb. 4, 1560.	L	86
XLIV.	Bp Cox to George Cassander	.....London, March 4, 1560.	S.C.	88
XLV.	Bp Jewel to Peter Martyr	.....London, March 5, 1560.	L	89
XLVI.	George Cassander to Bp Cox	.....Worms, 1560.	S.C.	91
XLVII.	Peter Martyr to Thomas Sampson	...Zurich, March 20, 1560.	A	95
XLVIII.	Bp Sandys to Peter Martyr	.....London, April 1, 1560.	L	97
XLIX.	Thomas Sampson to Peter Martyr	...London, May 13, 1560.	L	99
L.	Bp Jewel to Peter Martyr	.....London, May 22, 1560.	L	101
LI.	The same to the same	.....Salisbury, June 1, 1560.	L	104
LII.	Nicolas Gallasius to John Calvin	.....London, June 30, 1560.	Geneva	106
LIII.	Thomas Lever to H. Bullinger	.....Coventry, July 10, 1560.	A	108
LIV.	Bp Jewel to Peter Martyr	.....Salisbury, July 17, 1560.	L	112
LV.	Bp Grindal to Conrad Hubert	.....London, Oct. 5, 1560.	Str.	114
LVI.	Bp Jewel to Peter Martyr	.....Salisbury, Nov. 6, 1560.	L	115
LVII.	Rod. Gualter to Lord F. Russel	.....Zurich, March 16, 1561.	A	117
LVIII.	Richard Masters to Rod. Gualter	.....Greenwich, June 16, 1561.	L	119
LIX.	Pet. Martyr to a nobleman in England.	Zurich, July 22, 1561.	Op.	120
LX.	Bp Jewel to Peter Martyr	.....Salisbury, Feb. 7, 1562.	L	123
LXI.	Bp Jewel to H. Bullinger	.....Salisbury, Feb. 9, 1562.	A	127
LXII.	Bp Jewel to Josiah Simler	.....Salisbury, Feb. 10, 1562.	L	129
LXIII.	Richard Masters to Rod. Gualter	.....London, Feb. 22, 1562.	L	129
LXIV.	Roger Ascham to John Sturmius	.....London, Apr. 11, 1562.	Str.	131
LXV.	Bp Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger	.....Ludham, April 28, 1562.	L	138
LXVI.	The same to the same	.....Ludham, May 31, 1562.	A	140

LET.				PAGE
LXVII.	Bp Grindal to Conrad Hubert	London, June 6, 1562.	Str.	141
LXVIII.	Archbp Parker to Matt. Flacius, &c.	Croydon, July 18, s. a.	S.C.	143
LXIX.	Richard Hilles to Henry Bullinger	London, July 31, 1562.	A	146
LXX.	Bp Cox to Peter Martyr	London, Aug. 5, 1562.	L	147
LXXI.	Herman Folkerzheimer to J. Simler	Salisbury, Aug. 13, 1562.	L	149
LXXII.	Bp Jewel to Henry Bullinger	Salisbury, Aug. 14, 1562.	L	154
LXXIII.	Bp Jewel to Peter Martyr	Salisbury, Aug. 14, 1562.	L	157
LXXIV.	Bp Jewel to Josiah Simler	Salisbury, Aug. 18, 1562.	L	159
LXXV.	Bp Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger	Ludham, Aug. 20, 1562.	A	160
LXXVI.	Peter Martyr to Bishop Jewel	Zurich, Aug. 24, 1562.	Op.	161
LXXVII.	Roger Ascham to John Sturmius	London, Oct. 21, 1562.	Str.	163
LXXVIII.	Bp Jewel to Henry Bullinger	London, March 5, 1563.	L	166
LXXIX.	Her. Folkerzheimer to Jos. Simler	London, March 15, 1563.	L	168
LXXX.	Bp Jewel to Josiah Simler	London, March 23, 1563.	S.C.	170
LXXXI.	Bp Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger	Ludham, April 26, 1563.	A	172
LXXXII.	Bp Grindal to John Calvin	London, June 19, 1563.	Geneva	173
LXXXIII.	Thomas Sampson to Henry Bullinger,	Oxford, July 26, 1563.	A	174
LXXXIV.	Bp Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger	Ludham, Aug. 13, 1563.	A	175
LXXXV.	Laur. Humphrey to Hen. Bullinger	Oxford, Aug. 16, 1563.	A	177
LXXXVI.	H. Zanchius to Bishop Grindal,	Strasburgh, before Aug. 23, 1563.	Op.	178
LXXXVII.	H. Folkerzheimer to Josiah Simler	Embden, Aug. 21, 1563.	L	184
LXXXVIII.	Bp Grindal to Conrad Hubert	Fulham, Aug. 23, 1563.	Str.	186
LXXXIX.	John Abel to Henry Bullinger	London, Aug. 24, 1563.	A	187
XC.	Bp Horn to Henry Bullinger	Winchester, Dec. 13, 1563.	A	188
XCI.	Bp Parkhurst to Josiah Simler	Ludham, Feb. 17, 1564.	L	190
XCII.	Hierome Zanchius to Bishop Grindal,	near Chiavenna, Aug. 1564.	Op.	191
XCIII.	Hierome Zanchius to Henry Knolles,	near Chiavenna, Aug. 1564.	Op.	192
XCIV.	Bp Jewel to Henry Bullinger	Salisbury, March 1, 1565.	A	194
XCV.	Richard Masters to Rodolph Gualter	London, March 4, 1565.	L	197
XCVI.	Bp Horn to Rodolph Gualter	Farnham Castle, July 17, 1565.	A	199
XCVII.	Bp Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger	Ludham, Aug. 18, 1565.	A	201
XCVIII.	Henry Bullinger to Bishop Horn	Zurich, Nov. 3, 1565.	A	202
XCIX.	Bp Sandys to Henry Bullinger	Worcester, Jan. 3, 1566.	A	205
C.	Bp Jewel to Henry Bullinger, &c.	Salisbury, Feb. 8, 1566.	A	206
CI.	Laurence Humphrey to H. Bullinger,	Oxford, Feb. 9, 1566.	A	210
CII.	Thomas Sampson to Henry Bullinger,	London, Feb. 16, 1566.	A	211
CIII.	Bp Jewel to Henry Bullinger	Salisbury, March 10, 1566.	A	213
CIV.	H. Bullinger to Laur. Humphrey, &c.	Zurich, May 1, 1566.	A	214
CV.	Henry Bullinger to Bishop Horn, &c.	Zurich, May 3, 1566.	S.C.	224
CVI.	John Abel to Henry Bullinger	London, June 6, 1566.	A	225
CVII.	Miles Coverdale, &c. to W. Farell, &c.,	London, July, 1566.	S.C.	228

LET.				PAGE
CVIII.	William Turner to Henry Bullinger ...	July 23, 1566.	L	230
CIX.	L. Humphrey to Henry Bullinger.....	July, 1566.	A	233
CX.	Bp Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger	Ludham, Aug. 21, 1566.	A	240
CXI.	Bp Grindal to Henry Bullinger.....	London, Aug. 27, 1566.	A	242
CXII.	Theodore Beza to Henry Bullinger.....	Geneva, Sept. 3, 1566.	A	245
CXIII.	H. Bullinger, &c. to Bp Grindal, &c.,	Zurich, Sept. 6, 1566.	A	253
CXIV.	Henry Bullinger to Miles Coverdale ...	Zurich, Sept. 10, 1566.	A	255
CXV.	H. Bullinger, &c. to L. Humphrey, &c.	Zurich, Sept. 10, 1566.	A	256
CXVI.	H. Bullinger, &c. to the Earl of Bedford,	Zurich, Sept. 11, 1566.	A	258
CXVII.	Rodolph Gualter to Bp Parkhurst.....	Zurich, Sept. 11, 1566.	A	260
CXVIII.	Rodolph Gualter to Theodore Beza	Zurich, Sept. 11, 1566.	A	262
CXIX.	Richard Hilles to Henry Bullinger.....	Antwerp, Dec. 20, 1566.	A	266
CXX.	Perceval Wiburn's account of the Church of England.	s. a.	A	269
CXXI.	Bp Grindal, &c. to H. Bullinger, &c...	London, Feb. 6, 1567.	A	273
CXXII.	G. Withers, &c. to H. Bullinger, &c.	1567.	A	279
CXXIII.	Bp Grindal to Henry Bullinger.....	London, Feb. 8, 1567.	A	283
CXXIV.	Bp Jewel to Henry Bullinger.....	Salisbury, Feb. 24, 1567.	A	285
CXXV.	Perceval Wiburn to Henry Bullinger..	London, Feb. 25, 1567.	A	288
CXXVI.	Bp Grindal to Henry Bullinger.....	London, June 21, 1567.	A	291
CXXVII.	Theodore Beza to Henry Bullinger	Geneva, July 29, 1567.	A	293
CXXVIII.	Bp Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger.....	Ludham, July 31, 1567.	A	294
CXXIX.	H. Bullinger, &c. to Theodore Beza...	Zurich, Aug. 3, 1567.	A	296
CXXX.	George Withers to the elector Palatine,	Without place or date.	A	298
CXXXI.	Richard Hilles to Henry Bullinger.....	London, Aug. 23, 1567.	A	305
CXXXII.	H. Bullinger, &c. to Bp Grindal, &c..	Zurich, Aug. 26, 1567.	A	307
CXXXIII.	Bp Grindal to Henry Bullinger.....	London, Aug. 29, 1567.	A	308
CXXXIV.	Bp Grindal to Theodore Beza, &c.....	London, April 17, 1568.	S. C.	313
CXXXV.	Bp Grindal to Henry Bullinger.....	London, June 11, 1568.	A	313
CXXXVI.	Bp Parkhurst to Rod. Gualter, &c	Ludham, Aug. 4, 1568.	A	317
CXXXVII.	Bp Cox to Henry Bullinger	1568.	A	318
CXXXVIII.	Christopher Mont to Henry Bullinger,	Strasburgh, Dec. 27, 1568.	A	319
CXXXIX.	Queen Elizabeth to John Sturmius	Westminster, May 1, 1569.	Str.	322
CXL.	Bp Grindal to Henry Bullinger.....	Fulham, Aug. 13, 1569.	A	323
CXLI.	John Sturmius to Queen Elizabeth.....	Strasburgh, Sept. 6, 1569.	Str.	325
CXLII.	John Sturmius to Sir William Cecil...	Strasburgh, Sept. 8, 1569.	Str.	326
CXLIII.	Richard Hilles to Henry Bullinger	London, Feb. 6, 1570.	A	327
CXLIV.	Bp Grindal to Henry Bullinger.....	London, Feb. 18, 1570.	A	331
CXLV.	Bp Cox to Henry Bullinger	Ely, July 10, 1570.	A	334
CXLVI.	Bp Pilkington to Henry Bullinger	July 17, 1570.	A	336
CXLVII.	Archbp Grindal to Henry Bullinger ...	London, July 31, 1570	A	337
CXLVIII.	Bp Jewel to H. Bullinger	Aug. 7, 1570.	A	339

LET.				PAGE
CXLIX.	Bp Parkhurst to H. Bullinger	Norwich, Jan. 16, 1571.	A	342
CL.	Bp Jewel to H. Bullinger	Salisbury, March 2, 1571	A	343
CLI.	R. Hilles to H. Bullinger	London, March 8, 1571.	A	345
CLII.	The same to the same	London, July 27, 1571.	A	348
CLIII.	Bp Cox to H. Bullinger	after July 27, 1571.	A	350
CLIV.	John Day to H. Bullinger	London, Aug. 8, 1571.	A	352
CLV.	Bp Horn to H. Bullinger	London, Aug. 8, 1571.	A	353
CLVI.	Bp Parkhurst to H. Bullinger	Ludham, Aug. 10, 1571.	A	361
CLVII.	Hierome Zanchius to bishop Jewel	Heidelberg, Sept. 2, 1571.	Op.	364
CLVIII.	Hierome Zanchius to Queen Elizabeth,	Heidelberg, Sept. 10, 1571.	Op.	367
CLIX.	Archbp Grindal to H. Bullinger	Bishopsthorpe, Jan. 25, 1572.	A	381
CLX.	Rodolph Zuinglius to Bp Sandys	Cambridge, Jan. 26, 1572.	A	385
CLXI.	Bp Cox to Rodolph Gualter	Ely, Feb. 12, 1572.	A	387
CLXII.	Bp Cox to Henry Bullinger	Ely, Feb. 12, 1572.	L	391
CLXIII.	Bp Sandys to Henry Bullinger	London, Feb. 17, 1572.	A	393
CLXIV.	Richard Hilles to Henry Bullinger	London, Feb. 18, 1572.	A	395
CLXV.	Bp Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger	Ludham, March 10, 1572.	A	398
CLXVI.	R. Gualter the younger to R. Gualter,	London, June 5, 1572.	A	399
CLXVII.	Bp Cox to Henry Bullinger	London, Ely House, June 6, 1572.	L	403
CLXVIII.	Rod. Gualter to Bishop Cox	Zurich, June 9, 1572.	A	404
CLXIX.	Richard Hilles to Henry Bullinger	London, July 10, 1572.	A	407
CLXX.	Lord Burghley to John Sturmius	Woodstock, Sept. 15, 1572.	Str.	412
CLXXI.	Bp Horn to Henry Bullinger	Farnham Castle, Jan. 10, 1573.	A	413
CLXXII.	Bp Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger	Ludham, Jan. 20, 1573.	A	415
CLXXIII.	Bp Cox to Rodolph Gualter	Ely, Feb. 4, 1573.	A	416
CLXXIV.	Bp Cox to Henry Bullinger	Without place or date.	A	419
CLXXV.	Bp Cox to Rodolph Gualter	Ely, June 12, 1573.	A	420
CLXXVI.	Rod. Gualter to the Earl of Bedford	Zurich, July 17, 1573.	A	422
CLXXVII.	Bp Pilkington to Rodolph Gualter	July 20, 1573.	L	424
CLXXVIII.	Rod. Gualter the younger to Josiah Simler,	Oxford, July 20, 1573.	L	426
CLXXIX.	Sir John Wolley to John Sturmius	Orpington, July 24, 1573.	Str.	429
CLXXX.	William Cole to Rodolph Gualter	Oxford, July 26, 1573.	L	430
CLXXXI.	Laurence Humphrey to Rod. Gualter,	Oxford, July 28, 1573.	L	432
CLXXXII.	Archbp Grindal to Henry Bullinger	York, July 31, 1573.	A	434
CLXXXIII.	Archbp Grindal to Rodolph Gualter	York, July 31, 1573.	L	436
CLXXXIV.	Robert Cooch to Rodolph Gualter,	Queen's Palace, Aug. 13, 1573.	A	437
CLXXXV.	Bp Sandys to Henry Bullinger	London, Aug. 15, 1573.	A	438
CLXXXVI.	Rodolph Gualter to Bishop Cox	Zurich, Aug. 26, 1573.	A	440
CLXXXVII.	Rodolph Gualter to Bishop Sandys	Zurich, Oct. 8, 1573.	A	450
CLXXXVIII.	John Sturmius to Queen Elizabeth	Strasburgh, Nov. 16, 1573	Str.	451
CLXXXIX.	Bp Cox to Rodolph Gualter	Ely, Feb. 3, 1574.	A	452

LET.				PAGE
CXC.	Bp Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger.....	Ludham, Feb. 6, 1574.	A	455
CXCI.	Bp Parkhurst to Josiah Simler	Ludham, Feb. 7, 1574.	L	456
CXCII.	Henry Bullinger to Bishop Sandys ...	Zurich, March 10, 1574.	A	457
CXCIII.	Henry Bullinger to Archbp Grindal...	Zurich, March 10, 1574.	A	460
CXCIV.	Rodolph Gualter to Bishop Cox	Zurich, March 16, 1574.	A	464
CXCV.	Bp Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger.....	Ludham, June 29, 1574.	A	468
CXCVI.	Bp Parkhurst to Josiah Simler	Ludham, June 30, 1574.	L	470
CXCVII.	Antony Corranus to Henry Bullinger,	London, July 7, 1574.	A	471
CXCVIII.	Bp Cox to Rodolph Gualter	Ely, July 12, 1574.	L	472
CXCIX.	Bp Cox to Henry Bullinger	Ely, July 20, 1574.	A	474
CC.	William Cole to Rodolph Gualter	Oxford, July 31, 1574.	L	475
CCI.	Laurence Humphrey to Rod. Gualter,	Oxford, Aug. 2, 1574.	L	476
CCII.	Bp Sandys to Henry Bullinger	Fulham, Aug. 9, 1574.	A	478
CCIII.	Bp Sandys to Rodolph Gualter	Fulham, Aug. 9, 1574.	L	478
CCIV.	Queen Elizabeth to John Sturmius ...	Bath, Aug. 23, 1574.	Zofing.	480
CCV.	Rodolph Gualter to Bishop Cox	Zurich, Aug. 26, 1574.	A	480
CCVI.	Bp Cox to Henry Bullinger	Ely, Jan. 25, 1575.	A	481
CCVII.	William Barlow to Josiah Simler	Eton, Jan. 25, 1575.	L	482
CCVIII.	Bp Cox to Rodolph Gualter	Ely, 1575.	A	486
CCIX.	The same to the same.....	Ely, July 31, 1575.	A	487
CCX.	Nicolas Bernius to Bishop Horn	Guernsey, Dec. 13, 1575.	L	488
CCXI.	Bp Horn to Bernius, &c.	Waltham, Jan 15, 1576.	L	492
CCXII.	William Barlow to Josiah Simler	Eton, March 13, 1576.	L	494
CCXIII.	Bp Cox to Rodolph Gualter	Ely, 1576.	L	496
CCXIV.	Hierome Zanchius to Archbp Grindal,	Heidelberg, July 22, 1576.	L	497
CCXV.	Bp Horn to Rodolph Gualter	Waltham, Aug. 10, 1576.	L	498
CCXVI.	J. Rainolds to R. Gualter the younger,	Oxford, Aug. 13, 1576.	L	500
CCXVII.	Rodolph Gualter to Archbp Grindal...	Zurich, Aug. 24, 1576.	A	502
CCXVIII.	Lewin to John Sturmius.....	London, Aug. 25, 1576.	Str.	504
CCXIX.	The same to the same	London, Sept. 8, 1576.	Str.	506
CCXX.	Sir F. Walsingham to J. Sturmius, ...	London, April 23, 1577.	Str.	510
CCXXI.	Sir Philip Sidney to Hubert Languet,	At Court, Oct. 1, 1577.	L	511
CCXXII.	Rod. Gualter to George Buchanan.....	Zurich, Dec. 22, 1577.	A	516
CCXXIII.	Sir Philip Sidney to Hubert Languet,	At Court, March 1, 1578.	L	517
CCXXIV.	L. Humphrey to Rodolph Gualter.....	Oxford, Aug. 11, 1578.	L	519
CCXXV.	The same to the same	Oxford, Dec. 17, 1578.	L	521
CCXXVI.	Richard Hilles to Rodolph Gualter ...	London, Jan. 10, 1579.	L	523
CCXXVII.	Bp Cox to Rodolph Gualter	Feb. 28, 1579.	L	524
CCXXVIII.	Earl of Bedford to Rodolph Gualter ...	Exeter, Feb. 28, 1579.	L	526
CCXXIX.	William Cole to Rodolph Gualter.....	Oxford, Feb. 28, 1579.	L	527
CCXXX.	Hubert Languet to Peter Hubner	Baden, June 4, 1579.	Zofing.	529

LET.			PAGE
CCXXXI.	George Buchanan to Rodolph Gualter, July 24, 1579.	Op.	530
CCXXXII.	Archbp Sandys to Rodolph Gualter ...London, Dec. 9, 1579.	L	531
CCXXXIII.	Rodolph Gualter to George Buchanan, Zurich, March 8, 1580.	A	533
CCXXXIV.	Hierome Zanchius to Sir F. Walsingham, Neustadt, Sept. 24, 1581.	Op.	534
CCXXXV.	Queen Elizabeth to the Swiss Cantons, Oatlands, Sept. 1, 1583.	S.C.	536
CCXXXVI.	Queen Elizabeth to the four cities, &c. Oatlands, Sept. 1, 1583.	Schaff.	538
CCXXXVII.	Queen Elizabeth to the Swiss Cantons, Greenwich, July 18, 1590.	A	540
CCXXXVIII.	Dutch church in London to the lord Treasurer, Lond., Apr. 16, 1591.	S.C.	542
CCXXXIX.	Queen Elizabeth to the king of Poland, Greenwich, April 16, 1591.	S.C.	543
CCXL.	Lord Stafford to Wolfgang Meier .....Greenwich, Aug. 6, 1593.	Str.	545
CCXLI.	State of Zurich to Queen Elizabeth ...Zurich, Aug. 12, 1600.	A	545
CCXLII.	Caspar Thoman to Caspar Waser.....Oxford, Feb. 1601.	S.C.	547
CCXLIII.	John Johnston to Caspar Waser .....St Andrew's, Aug. 1, 1601.	S.C.	551
CCXLIV.	The same to the same.....St Andrew's, Feb. 8, 1602.	S.C.	554

CORRIGENDA.

p. 228 l. 18 and p. 247 l. 9 from bottom, *for* bands *read* tippets.

p. 228 l. 19, *for* a long gown and tippet, *read* a long woollen gown.

p. 247 l. 9 from bottom, *for* hoods *read* vestments, (or copes.)

ZURICH LETTERS.

I. SIR A. COOK TO H. BULLINGER[1]. [B. 1.][2]

STRASBURGH, *December* 8, 1558.

MOST excellent and justly honoured prelate, my friend and beloved brother in Christ, Dr Sandys, has brought me your very gratifying letter, in which you not only congratulate us Englishmen, and rejoice on our behalf, that the most merciful God has visited our affliction, and wrought out the redemption of his people, (which feeling of yours is truly most worthy of a good and pious minister;) but also, like a nurse who cherishes her children, you are anxious that no evil beast should hurt us, nor any misfortune interrupt this happiness that is now begun. Your advice indeed is most prudent and affectionate, and you point out to us those very things from which we have most to fear. I wish that those who will now be of the queen's councils may anticipate these evils, and diligently guard against them. There is however great hope, especially if the reports from Antwerp are to be depended upon, that the spirits of the papists are entirely cast down, and that they will not offer to attack us, unless our own discord should afford them an opportunity. The thing now to be deprecated is, lest any dispute and party-feeling should arise about [the queen's] marriage; for if that should take place under favourable auspices, every thing else will go on far more happily and with greater security. As to Philip's paying his addresses to her[3], I am not surprised at it, especially as the precedent is a new one: but if he consults his own interests, he will prefer the friendship of the queen to a marriage with her; and as to herself, she would not now, I think, marry a foreigner if she could; nor do I see how, if she were so inclined, she could do it without the greatest danger. But in this matter I look very little to human counsels; for it is most true, as you write, that the disposal of kingdoms is in the hand of God. If the queen, mindful of the great mercy she has received, will but place her confidence in God;—if she will daily say unto the Lord, Thou art

[1 This letter has no address, but is stated in the Index to the volumes in the Archives to have been written to Bullinger.]

[2 The references in brackets indicate the order of the different letters in the series to which they respectively belong, A denoting the first series, B the second.]

[3 See below, Letter III. p. 6, note 1.]

my fortress, my rock, and my refuge, there will neither be wanting to herself the spirit of a Judith or a Deborah, nor wisdom to her counsellors, nor strength to her army. On the other hand, the counsels of her enemies will be defeated, their swords blunted, and the horse with his rider will fall to the ground. God grant that this may be the case, through Christ Jesus our Lord! Amen.

We are expecting another letter from England in two or three days, and will take care that, should there be any news, good or bad, you shall be informed of it, whom we shall evermore reverence and acknowledge as masters and brethren who have so well deserved at our hands. Farewell. Strasburgh, Dec. 8, 1558.

Your excellency's most devoted, ANTONY COOK.

II. T. SAMPSON TO P. MARTYR. [A. 1.]

STRASBURGH, *December* 17, [1558].

I ENTREAT you for Christ's sake, my excellent father, not to refuse me an answer to these few inquiries, as soon as possible.

I. How ought we to act with respect to allowing or disallowing the title of "after Christ supreme head of the Church of England," &c.? All scripture seems to assign the title of head of the church to Christ alone.

II. In case the queen should invite me to any ecclesiastical office, such, I mean, as the government of a church, can I accept such appointment with a safe conscience, seeing that these things appear to me a sufficient excuse for non-compliance? 1. Because, through the want of church discipline, the bishop, or pastor, is unable properly to discharge his office. 2. Because there are so many civil burdens imposed upon the bishop, or pastor; those, for instance, of *first fruits*, as we call them, that is to say, the receipts of the first year, besides tenths; in addition to which, at least in the case of bishops, so much expense must always be incurred for their equipages, retainers, and attendance at court: so that, as you well know, a very small portion of their revenue is left for the discharge of the necessary duties of a bishop, namely, for the support of learned men, the relief of the poor, and other occasions of making his ministry more acceptable. 3. I am now writing with reference to the bishops more especially; and such is the degeneracy from the primitive institution, as regards their election, (for there is required neither the consent of the clergy, nor of the people;) such too is the vanity, not to say the unseemliness of their superstitious

dresses, that I scarcely think it endurable, even if we are to act in all things according to the law of expediency.

As far as I am personally concerned, I am not writing as if I were expecting any thing of the kind; so far from it, that I pray God from my heart that no such burden may ever be imposed upon me: but I ask your advice, as that of a most faithful father, that in case of any such event taking place, I may be the better prepared how to act. I should reply somewhat in this way, that I am quite ready to undertake the office of a preacher, in whatever place she [the queen] may choose; but that I cannot take upon myself the government of the church, until, after having made an entire reformation in all ecclesiastical functions, she will concede to the clergy the right of ordering all things according to the word of God, both as regards doctrine and discipline, and the property of the church. And if it be demanded what kind of a reformation I wish for, you can easily conjecture, from the three articles above stated, what, in my opinion, ought to be required.

I deposit, my father, with all simplicity, with yourself alone the secrets of my heart; and I entreat you, for Christ's sake, to keep my secret to yourself, and return me an answer as soon as possible, as to what you think I ought to do in this case. Tell me also, what you would urge in addition for the furtherance of the reformation, and something too upon the reformation itself.

Send your letter to Heton[1], who will take care it shall be forwarded to me. But I implore you, for Christ's sake, to write to me with what haste you can. I shall shortly move towards England. We have papists, anabaptists, and very many gospellers, who are enemies both to learning and a godly reformation. Who is sufficient to defend the glory of Christ, and raise the banner of Christ against such adversaries?

Oh! my father, pray God for me without ceasing.

Wholly yours, T. Sampson.

III. E. SANDYS TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 2.]

Strasburgh, *December* 20, 1558.

Much health in Christ. I am rather dilatory in writing to you, most esteemed sir; but it is only just now that I have any thing certain to communicate.

[1 Thomas Heton was a merchant in London, and had been a liberal contributor to the relief of the Marian exiles.]

We yesterday received a letter from England, in which the death of Mary[1], the accession of Elizabeth, and the decease of cardinal Pole is confirmed. That good cardinal, that he might not raise any disturbance, or impede the progress of the gospel, departed this life the day[2] after his friend [queen] Mary. Such was the love and harmony between them, that not even death itself could separate them. We have nothing therefore to fear from Pole, for dead men do not bite.

Mary, not long before her death, sent two members of her council to her sister Elizabeth, and commanded them to let her know in the first place, that it was her intention to bequeath to her the royal crown, together with all the dignity that she was then in possession of by right of inheritance. In return however for this great favour conferred upon her, she required of her these three things: first, that she would not change her privy council; secondly, that she would make no alteration in religion; and thirdly, that she would discharge her debts, and satisfy her creditors. Elizabeth replied in these terms: "I am very sorry to hear of the queen's illness; but there is no reason why I should thank her for her intention to give me the crown of this kingdom. For she has neither the power of bestowing it upon me, nor can I lawfully be deprived of it, since it is my peculiar and hereditary right. With respect to the council, I think myself," she said, "as much at liberty to choose my counsellors, as she was to choose her own. As to religion, I promise thus much, that I will not change it, provided only it can be proved by the word of God, which shall be the only foundation and rule of my religion. And when, lastly, she requires the payment of her debts, she seems to me to require nothing more than what is just, and I will take care that they shall be paid, as far as may lie in my power." The messengers were dismissed with this answer.

Queen Elizabeth, on the Sunday[3] after her accession, caused

[1 Queen Mary died on the morning of Friday, Nov. 17, 1558. Strype, Memor. III. ii. 118.]

[2 Namely, on Nov. 18, 1558, about sixteen hours after the death of queen Mary, according to Hume's account; to which Strype adds, that his death took place at Lambeth between five and six o'clock in the morning. Memor. III. ii. 118. He states however, in another place, Annals, I. i. 52, that he died on the 17th.]

[3 Viz. on the 20th of November. The preacher was Dr Bill, her chaplain and almoner, a prudent and learned man. Strype, Memor. III. ii. 118. Annals, I. i. 50. He was afterwards dean of Westminster, and provost of Eton.]

the gospel to be preached at the celebrated Paul's Cross, which took place to the great delight of the people. But on the following Sunday the bishop of Chichester, by name Christopherson, (the same who some time ago called at your house on his way to Italy,) and a notorious papist[4], occupied the same place, and in his sermon, with great vehemence and freedom, (for the papists are always bold enough,) refuted every thing that had been said on the Sunday preceding; loudly exclaiming, "Believe not this new doctrine; it is not the gospel, but a new invention of new men and heretics, &c." In this way the good papist strove to confirm his own opinions, and to take away the truth of the gospel. As soon as this came to the ears of the queen, she caused this good bishop to be summoned into her presence; and after he had been examined respecting his sermon, commanded him to be sent to prison.

The queen has changed almost all her counsellors[5], and has taken good Christians into her service in the room of papists[6];

[4 He had been an examiner of heretics in the late reign, and in a commission for burning the bodies of Bucer and Fagius at Cambridge, where he was master of Trinity College. He died within a month after this sermon was preached, and was buried on Dec. 28, at Christ-church, London, with all the popish ceremonies. See Strype, Annals, I. i. 46.]

[5 The queen's [Mary's] counsellors towards the latter end of her reign were those that follow; whereof, says Strype, Memor. III. ii. 160, those that have asterisks were laid aside the next reign, as I took them out of a journal of the Lord Burleigh's; the rest continued privy counsellors to queen Elizabeth, viz. * Reginald, Cardinal Pole. * Nicholas, Archbishop of York, Lord Chancellor. Powlet, Marquis of Winchester, Lord Treasurer. Fitzallen, Earl of Arundel. Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. * Henry, Earl of Bath. Stanley, Earl of Derby. Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. Edward, Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral. Lord Howard of Effingham. * Brown, Viscount Montague. * Thirlby, Bishop of Ely. * William, Lord Paget. * Lord Wentworth. * Richard, Lord Ryche. * Edward, Lord Hastings of Loughborough. * Sir Thomas Cornwalleys. * Sir Francis Englefield. * Sir Edward Waldgrave. * Sir John Mordaunt. Sir Thomas Cheyney. Sir William Petre. Sir John Mason. Sir Richard Sackvil. * Sir Thomas Warton. * Sir John Brown. * Dr Wotton, Dean of Canterbury. * Dr Boxal. * Sir Henry Jernegam. * Sir Henry Beddingfield. * Sir Edmund Peckham. * Sir Robert Peckham. * Sir William Cordell. * Sir Clement Higham. * Sir Richard Southwel.]

[6 Hume states that the queen [Elizabeth], not to alarm the partizans of the Roman Catholic religion, had retained eleven of her sister's counsellors; but in order to balance their authority, she added eight more, who were known to be inclined to the Protestant Communion; the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Bedford, Sir Thomas Parry, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Ambrose Cave, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir Nicholas Bacon, whom she created Lord Keeper, and Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State.]

and there is great hope of her promoting the gospel, and advancing the kingdom of Christ to the utmost of her power. That she may do this, God must be entreated by all religious persons. Philip[1] has sent over to her a splendid and magnificent embassy; but we know not what he means by it. If, however, he is thinking about what your prudent fears anticipated, he will lose his labour, and get nothing by it.

[Sir Thomas] Wroth, [Sir Antony] Cook, and other persons of distinction, have begun their journey this day; I, with God's blessing, shall follow them to-morrow. As soon as I arrive in England, I will take care to let you know the state of affairs there. In the mean time, entreat God in behalf of the Church of England, and of us, miserable ministers of the word, upon whom a heavy and difficult burden is imposed. We in our turn will earnestly pray to God in behalf both of your church and yourselves. It is now midnight, and I am to quit this place early to-morrow morning; wherefore, most esteemed sir, I bid you farewell. In haste. Strasburgh, Dec. 20th, or if you choose, the 21st, 1558.

Your most devoted, EDWIN SANDYS, *Anglus.*

IV. J. HALLER TO H. BULLINGER. [B. 2.]

BERNE, *January* 11, 1559.

I HAVE extricated myself by the Lord's blessing from the legation to Lausanne, lately committed to me; for nothing more troublesome could have befallen me. Other persons are sent, who will manage every thing far better than I could have done. Meanwhile, I know not what will happen. We are expecting the result. Our English [exiles] at Arau have this day petitioned our senate, through Lever the bearer of this letter, for licence to depart, having returned thanks for the shelter that has been afforded them. They were therefore dismissed with free permission, and with great congratulation from all godly persons. We are afraid, however, that they have returned too soon; but as we consider their presence will be necessary, we cannot blame their resolution. Meanwhile

[1 Philip, who had long foreseen this event, [the queen's accession], and who still hoped, by means of Elizabeth, to obtain that dominion over England, of which he had failed in espousing Mary, immediately dispatched orders to the Duke of Feria, his ambassador at London, to make proposals of marriage to the queen. Hume.]

there are given to them letters testimonial of their conduct; and as they employed me as their interpreter with the senate, I proposed also, upon the recommendation of master Consul Negelin, what you lately suggested to me with respect to writing a letter to the queen. This proposition was so agreeable to the senate, that they are sending a letter to be delivered to her majesty by the parties themselves. There is therefore no occasion for your people to write to ours again upon the subject; but let them rather address the queen independently of us, which you will easily manage with your friends. I have not at this time anything else to write. These good people are in haste, wherefore I have been obliged to hasten likewise. All our friends salute you, especially Musculus[2]. Farewell. Berne, Jan. 11, 1559.

Yours, J. Haller.

V. R. GUALTER TO QUEEN ELIZABETH. [B. 3.]

Zurich, [*January* 16], 1559.

Grace and peace from God the Father through Jesus Christ! All godly persons, most serene queen, congratulate your royal majesty, for that God, who alone is wont to confer and transfer kingdoms, has raised you to the throne of your ancestors. But for my own part, I am of opinion that we should rather congratulate the church of Christ herself; upon which, in this last time, wherein antichrist is putting forth all his powers in his last struggle, the Lord has caused a new star to arise, in that, according to the prediction of the prophet, he has given you to her as a nursing mother, who have hitherto been her faithful daughter. We acknowledge in this the wonderful goodness of God, who, when one would least expect it, looks upon his church, and relieves it from the pains of persecution. But for your majesty we implore a spirit of fortitude and wisdom, under the guidance of which you may continue to accomplish what you have already begun. For all godly persons are well acquainted with that pre-eminent faith, whereby, in the reigns of your father Henry and your brother Edward, princes of pious and holy memory, you embraced the light of gospel truth, and resolved stedfastly to maintain it amidst

[2 Wolfgang Musculus was invited by the magistrates of Berne in 1549 to the professorship of divinity there. He died in 1563.]

dangers of every kind. And now many good men are every where proclaiming, that your majesty is seriously thinking of purifying the church and restoring religion; and I can easily believe that it is so, as I have been assured by credible witnesses, that (as Paul writes concerning his son Timothy) you have from your childhood known the holy scriptures. Wherefore, relying upon the clemency and piety of your majesty, I have not hesitated to send this my letter, both to congratulate your realm, and deliver the sentiments of my mind respecting the restoration of religion, with greater freedom perhaps than becomes an unknown individual. For this I think is allowable in the ministers of the church, especially in regard to those to whom God was pleased to entrust his church, when he foretold that kings should be her nursing fathers, and queens her nursing mothers.

But here, most serene queen, two things appear to me especially worthy of regard: first, that every reformation of the church and of religion be conducted agreeably to the word of God; and next, that no opportunity be afforded to any among your counsellors, whose endeavours are tending to that object, either entirely to hinder this most holy and of all things most necessary work, or at least to persuade you that it should still be deferred. For, with respect to the first, we know that there are not a few persons, who, though they perceive that popery can neither honestly be defended, nor conveniently retained, are endeavouring by and bye to obtrude upon the churches a form of religion which is an unhappy compound of popery and the gospel, and from which there may at length be an easy passage to the ancient superstition. But since the apostle testifies that the church is born by the word of God, and that we must be born again in Christ, and made new creatures; whatever is in any measure repugnant to the doctrine of Christ, must be put off and laid aside together with the old Adam: nor can any reformation of the church be really acceptable to God, unless it agree in every respect with his word: and for this reason the scripture commends the faith of David, of Hezekiah, and Josiah, because they reformed the church according to divinely prescribed laws; while it reprehends in no obscure terms the slothfulness of others, who, though they wished to be regarded as the reformers and defenders of religion, yet retained the high places in which the people had been accustomed to offer sacrifice, contrary to the commands of God. And your majesty is aware of that saying of Christ, who declares that the *new piece* of evangelical doctrine will not suit the *old garments* of superstitions. And he also solemnly

warns us not to put the fermenting and wholesome *new wine* of his gospel into *old leathern bottles*, unless we would have not only these to perish, but that to be spilled at the same time. From the experience of not a few instances in our Germany, we assuredly know it to be impossible ever to consult the peace of the churches, or the purity of religion, as long as any relics of superstition are retained. For as those who are weak ascribe to them much more than is right, so the ignorant are made to stumble by them; and at the same time, by their means, the enemies of truth entertain the hope of some time bringing back and restoring superstition.

Nor in a case of this kind is it expedient to listen to any reasonings of the flesh, which, though it has put its hand to the plough, is for the most part accustomed to look back, and seek out on every side occasions of delay. For, as the apostle bears witness, it is the very end and aim of the preaching of the gospel, that by the obedience of faith we should be subject to the word of God, who alone both suggests the most wholesome counsels of action, and at the same time assists them by his Spirit to attain a favourable result. We have David for an example, who, notwithstanding he experienced many troubles in the beginning of his reign, and had to deal with many enemies, some of whom by open violence, and others by treacherous artifices, aimed at his destruction; yet, being enabled by the blessing of God to overcome them all, he restored both the civil government and religion with great glory and incredible success. I might bring forward many examples of this kind; but there is by no means any occasion to do so before your majesty, who has not long since seen something similar in king Edward, your brother, of most pious memory, who, when scarcely out of his boyhood, was an object of admiration to all kingdoms by reason of his remarkable zeal for godliness and the restoration of religion, and bravely overthrew the tyranny of antichrist throughout his realm. By which example God would shew, that antichrist has very little, or rather no strength to defend his kingdom, as soon as the light of the divine word has dispersed the darkness in which he is wont to hide himself. But because our ingratitude deserved it, a just God took to himself in peace our most godly king (as he did Josiah of old), that he might not see the dreadful dispersion of religion, which would doubtless have appeared more painful to him than death itself. But the same God, again manifesting his compassion for the kingdom of England and the church at large, has raised you up, that by the activity and zeal of your majesty might be happily completed what the most godly king your brother had

piously and successfully begun. Pursue therefore, most serene queen, with unshaken resolution, what no godly person doubts that you have long since conceived in your mind; and with your favour gladden the church, which is eagerly expecting from your majesty the true maintenance of doctrine and religion, and regard all delay as unlawful which is connected with danger to the soul of any individual whatever. This is the desire of all godly persons, and for which they are suppliantly praying to God, who can both bend to your subjection the minds of your people, and protect you from every danger, while labouring for his glory. I touch upon these things very briefly, because I am well aware that your majesty is not wanting in either a correct judgment, or faithful and prudent counsellors.

I may be considered, I confess, as wanting in discretion, for having offered this advice unsolicited. But I willingly incur the charge of indiscretion, provided only I may perform that duty, which both my public ministry in the church requires, and which I acknowledge myself to owe, by reason of personal benefits, to your England; in which I was formerly received[1], when almost a boy, with the greatest kindness, and from which time I have had among the English not a few friends, whom I regard as by no means the last in my esteem. Among these John Parkhurst easily holds the first place: a man pre-eminent for his erudition, and the stedfastness of his faith, and who has firmly retained, even to this day, that pure faith in Christ, which two and twenty years ago he began to profess, when I was residing in Oxford; and has so confirmed the same, amidst the sore troubles of a lengthened exile, that he has often been a wonder to me, and I have rejoiced in having such a man for my guest, in whom I might have constantly before me a lively pattern of christian faith and doctrine. Should your majesty think fit to honour him by any especial favour, you will do a service of which you will have Christ Jesus as the most faithful recompenser: and I dare engage that Parkhurst himself will be a labourer in the vineyard of the Lord not to be repented of.

I send your majesty my homilies[2] upon the general epistle of the apostle John, dedicated to king Edward of pious memory, but

[1 Gualter first came to England about the year 1537, in company with Nicolas Partridge. His diary of that journey is still preserved at Zurich.]

[2 The volume is entitled: In Joannis Apostoli et Evangelistæ Epistolam Canonicam Homiliæ xxxvii. In ejusdem apostoli duas posteriores epistolas, Homiliarum sylvæ. Authore Rodolpho Gualthero Tigurino. Tiguri, apud Froschoverum, anno M.D.LIII.]

never read by him, because it seemed otherwise good to God the Father, who would not permit to an ungrateful world the longer enjoyment of so great and rare an intellect. I therefore request your majesty, that, if only for the most delightful remembrance of your brother, you will deign to receive and honour them with your patronage, until an opportunity be afforded me of more clearly testifying my respectful regard towards your majesty. May God the Father of mercy direct your majesty by his Spirit, protect you with his favour, and preserve you for many years in health and safety to his church and the kingdom of England! Amen. Dated at Zurich, the chief city of Switzerland, in the year of man's salvation 1559.

Your majesty's most devoted, RODOLPH GUALTER,
Minister of the church of St Peter's, at Zurich.

VI. R. GUALTER TO LORD F. RUSSEL[3]. [B. 4.]

ZURICH, *January* 16, 1559.

GRACE and peace from God the Father through Jesus Christ! Though, most illustrious prince, I am well aware of my low estate, yet for many reasons I feel myself moved and impelled to make known to your clemency by letter the affectionate regard that I entertain towards your country. For when all godly persons are congratulating England with all their hearts upon its having obtained a queen whose piety had been already proclaimed through the whole world, and by whose zeal it is universally hoped that true religion will be restored, which had for some years past been wretchedly on the decline; I should deservedly be deemed ungrateful, if in this general rejoicing I alone were to be silent, who for many reasons acknowledge myself deeply indebted to England. For, to say nothing of the incredible kindness which I formerly experienced in your country, and the personal favours that I there received, the public cause of the church of Christ most justly demands it of me, that although I can neither aid you by any counsel or authority in the restoration of religion, I may at least by some token or other manifest the affection of my mind. And this has been my chief reason both for sending a letter to the queen's ma-

[3 This was Francis, second earl of Bedford, to which title he succeeded in 1555. He had gone out of England in queen Mary's time, and staid some time at Zurich. Burnet, III. 411.]

jesty, and it also principally induces me to write to your clemency. I am encouraged also at the same time by your noble qualities, which many of our friends have frequently declared to us, and of which we were allowed to behold no obscure evidences, when in your journey into Italy last year by way of Zurich you made such diligent inquiry into all things which make for the cause of the church and of religion, that it was easy to be perceived that this cause was far more dear to you than all other things whatever. And indeed I was even then rejoicing over you in silence, inasmuch as I perceived that the grace of God in you was not vain or inactive: but I now rejoice the more, both for yourself and England, as I understand that you are advanced by the queen's majesty to the highest dignity[1], in which you are enabled both to give public evidence of your godliness, and to deserve well of your beloved country, and render that service and worship to God, which is more acceptable to him than any other. For since he regards his church (as he testifies by the prophet) as more dear to him than the apple of his eye, and has vouchsafed to redeem the same by the death of his only-begotten Son; he certainly will have it held in the highest esteem by all, and especially by kings, and the counsellors of kings, who he foretold by Isaiah should be its nursing fathers and guardians, which office appears to me to constitute the chief dignity of all sovereigns. For to rule over a wide extent of country, to extend their empire by land and sea, and restrain their subjects by the force of law, is in the power of impious persons, and those who are ignorant of God, such as we know to have existed formerly in almost all kingdoms. But to kiss the Son of God (as the divine and royal psalmist speaks), and to cherish and defend his spouse, this truly is that glorious and incomparable honour of princes, which is only conferred upon those whom God, of his special grace, has chosen to be vessels of his glory; and who, enlightened by his Spirit, have consecrated themselves entirely to him. And indeed, most illustrious prince, many good men testify that you are of this character, and many too have experienced it up to the present time. And I entreat of God in my continual prayers, that he may evermore preserve you such, and direct both your counsels and those of others, to whose fidelity is now entrusted the management of affairs, to the glory of his name, and the ad-

[1 The earl of Bedford was created a privy counsellor on Elizabeth's accession, and when the care of correcting the liturgy was committed to Parker and others, he was one of the few to whom the matter was imparted. Camden, Elizabeth, p. 16.]

vancement of the church, and the welfare of the country: which object you will doubtless be permitted to accomplish, if only in the true fear of the Lord, which the most wise Solomon has declared to be the beginning of wisdom, you will bear in mind that those things which relate to the church and to religion are no where to be sought for but from the fountains of holy scripture. Nor does it become us here to be affrighted by any dangers, since the Lord, who ordains the counsels of action, directs also with his hand the events of such counsels; so that, though they may sometimes seem to make little progress, yet they will at length terminate in a most happy issue. And though all things may deceive us, when, by reason of the world's ingratitude, God deprives even the most godly counsels of their effect, it is nevertheless no little satisfaction to know that we have done our duty, so that the blood of those whom their own perverseness has destroyed, cannot be required at our hands.

You must attribute, most illustrious prince, the freedom of my advice, not to temerity, but to my affection for England, and to your own clemency, the consideration of which has emboldened me to write as I have done. I should very fully commend to your clemency master John Parkhurst, were I not aware that he is much loved and valued by you, as I easily discovered when you so friendly and affectionately came to visit him at my house. And he is indeed worthy to be loved, as well for the singular godliness which he gave proof of by his exile, as for his sound learning, so opposed to any fondness for contention. Nor do I doubt but that he will prove of great use, if your clemency should think proper to use your influence for his promotion. May the Lord Jesus direct and defend your clemency to the advancement of his church and of pure religion! Amen. Zurich, Jan. 16, 1559.

[Rodolph Gualter.]

VII. R. GUALTER TO R. MASTERS[2]. [B. 5.]

Zurich, *January* 16, 1559.

Greeting. I congratulated myself not a little in the years gone by, when, in the reign of Edward the sixth of pious memory, you first began to renew the duty of correspondence which had

[2 Richard Masters was physician to queen Elizabeth.]

been interrupted for many years. But now, most learned sir, and esteemed brother in Christ, I have far more reason to congratulate both you and myself; as I understand that such times by the mercy of God are restored to your England, when, under the protection of a most godly queen, the liberty of worshipping God in truth will again be afforded to godly men, and the letters of our friends can be conveyed to and fro without danger. We acknowledge in these things the wonderful wisdom and goodness of God, who is wont to temper with joyful changes the afflictions of his church, lest we should be entirely overwhelmed in the waves of temptation. May he also grant that the hopes of the faithful, which they have universally begun to entertain respecting the kingdom of England, may be fully realized! And this I the rather expect will be the case, if so many of you as are there placed in any degree of authority, will bear in mind that the charge of the church and of religion especially belongs to you, and you do not follow their counsels, who, perceiving that popery can neither honestly be defended nor entirely retained, adopt those artifices by which they invent a form of religion of a mixed, uncertain, and doubtful character, and obtrude the same upon the churches under the pretext of evangelical reformation, from which the return to papistical superstition and idol-madness is afterwards most easy. I do not write this, as knowing that there are any such persons among you, but as fearing lest there may be such. For we have now experienced in Germany for some years, to the great detriment of the churches, the extent of influence possessed by men of this character; forasmuch as their counsels appear to the carnal judgment to be full of moderation, and especially adapted to the promotion of concord: and it is likely that the common enemy of our salvation will also find suitable instruments among yourselves, by the aid of which he will endeavour to retain the seeds of popery; which must be firmly resisted with the weapons of holy scripture and of the divine word, lest, while we endeavour to avoid giving some small offence at the first beginning, many things be allowed, as if to endure only for a time, which it will afterwards be scarcely possible by any effort, and not without the most grievous struggles, altogether to remove. The churches of Germany have seen many examples of this evil, by the consideration of which we are taught to regard with suspicion whatever is in any respect at variance with the sincere doctrine of the word. And you must not think that I am induced to give you this warning from any other motive, than because I am so wonderfully attached to your England by

reason of my former intercourse, of which the mere recollection is even at this day most delightful to me.

Our friend Parkhurst, my brother and most beloved guest, whom I wish most earnestly to commend to you, will give you every information respecting our affairs. He has now endured for five whole years the painful anxieties of exile, during which however he has united incredible patience with admirable stedfastness of faith. He is at this time returning to his country full of joyful hope, that he may aid, according to his ability, the cause of the reviving church. And I doubt not but that he will do her good service, as he has a remarkable knowledge of the scriptures, and is most devoted to the truth, and has a thorough abhorrence of controversy, the lovers of which are scarcely ever of any use in the church. You will therefore do well to aid him by your influence, and bring him forward to the utmost of your power. And no circumstance will ever be more gratifying to myself, than to learn by a letter from you that the recollection of our friendship is still fresh on your part, which certainly can never be effaced from my own mind. Farewell, most excellent sir. Zurich, Jan. 16, 1559.

[Rodolph Gualter.]

VIII. J. JEWEL TO P. MARTYR. [A. 3.]

Strasburgh, *January* 26, [1559.]

Respecting my first setting out, and all the news which was then circulated at Basle, I wrote to you by our friend Simler. So wretchedly were we delayed by the badness of the roads, that it was with some difficulty that, on the fifth day after, we arrived at Strasburgh. Here we found all our friends in good health, and very anxious for your company. We have not yet heard what Sandys, Horn, and our other friends have been doing in England. Nor indeed is it to be wondered at; for, having left Strasburgh on the 21st of December, they would hardly be able to reach Antwerp in twenty days after, because the Rhine being frozen over would prevent their travelling by water. All we hear is, that their return was very acceptable to the queen, and that she has openly declared her satisfaction.

If the bishops go on as they have begun, bishopricks will shortly become very cheap. For Christopherson, that brawling bishop of Chichester, is certainly dead; the same is also reported

of Watson[1], bishop of Lincoln; which if it be true, there are at this time no less than fourteen sees vacant. Your friend White, as I wrote to you when I was at Basle, delivered a most furious and turbulent[2] discourse at the funeral of [queen] Mary, in which he declared, that every thing was to be attempted rather than that any alteration should be made in religion; and that it would be a meritorious act for any one to kill the exiles on their return. He was charged with sedition by the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Treasurer, and Heath, archbishop of York.

The bishop of London has been ordered to restore to Ridley's[3] executors the property which he had forcibly and injuriously taken possession of. He will shortly be called upon for his defence; and is in the mean time ordered to confine himself to his own house as a prisoner.

The queen has forbidden any person, whether papist or gospeller, to preach[4] to the people. Some think the reason of this

[1 He had the ague, but recovered, and was afterwards deprived. Strype, Annals, I. i. 139. 210.]

[2 This sermon was preached Dec. 13, and the preacher was confined to his own house till Jan. 19, when being summoned before the Lords of the Council, "after a good admonition given to him," he was set at liberty. Strype, Memor. III. ii. 140, 536, where the whole sermon is preserved. The text was from Eccles. iv. 2.]

[3 December ult., the council wrote to Sir John Mason and Sir Clement Throgmorton, to examine diligently a complaint made to the queen's highness by certain near kinsmen of Dr Ridley, late bishop of London, for divers parcels of his goods, that came into the hands of the bishop of London that now is, [viz. Bonner,] and to signify to them what they should find out therein. Strype, Annals, I. i. 47. Letters of the Martyrs, p. 27, Ed. 1844.]

[4 The proclamation is thus given in Strype, Annals, I. ii. 390.

By the quene. The quene's majesty, understanding that there be certain persons, having in times past the office of ministery in the church, which do now purpose to use their former office in preaching and ministery, and partly have attempted the same; assembling, specially in the city of London, in sondry places, great nomber of people; whereupon riseth amonges the common sort not only unfruteful dispute in matters of religion, but also contention, and occasion to break common quiet; hath therefore, according to thauthoritie committed to her highness, for the quiet governaunce of all maner her subjects, thought it necessary to charge and commaund, like as hereby her highness doth charge and commaund all maner of her subjects as well those that be called to ministery in the church, as all others, that they do forbear to preach or teach, or to gyve audience to any maner of doctrine or preachyng, other than to the gospels and epistels, commonly called the gospel and epistel of the day, and to the ten commaundments in the vulgar tongue, without exposition or addition of any maner, sense, or

to be, that there was at that time only one minister of the word in London, namely, Bentham[5], whereas the number of papists was very considerable; others think that it is owing to the circumstance that, having heard only one public discourse of Bentham's, the people began to dispute among themselves about ceremonies, some declaring for Geneva, and some for Frankfort[6]. Whatever it be, I only wish that our party may not act with too much worldly prudence and policy in the cause of God.

Many persons are of opinion that [Sir Antony] Cook will be the Lord Chancellor: he is, as you know, a worthy and pious man, but I think hardly qualified for that office. The bishop of Ely [Thirlby] is still remaining with Philip, while some arrangement is making, if it please God, about this famous peace[7]; which, of what

meaning to be applyed or added; or to use any other maner of publick prayer, rite, or ceremony in the church, but that which is already used, and by law receaved; or the common letany used at this present in her majesty's own chappel, and the Lord's prayer, and the crede in English; until consultation may be had by parlament, by her majesty, and her three estates of this realme, for the better conciliation and accord of such causes as at this present are moved in matters and ceremonies of religion.

The true advauncement whereof, to the due honour of almighty God, the increase of vertue and godlyness, with universal charitie and concord amonges her people, her majestie moost desyreth and meaneth effectually, by all maner of means possible, to procure and to restore to this her realme. Whereunto, as her majestie instantly requireth all her good, faithful, and loving subjects to be assenting and ayding with due obedience; so, if any shall disobediently use themselfes to the breach hereof, her majesty both must and will see the same duely punished, both for the qualite of thoffence, and for example to all others neglecting her majesties so reasonable commaundement. Yeven at her highness palais of Westminster, the xxviith day of December, the first year of her majesties reigne.]

[5 It is not to be passed over without remark, that there was a congregation of godly men at London, in the very mouth of danger, who met together for religious worship all the queen's [Mary's] reign. Among their ministers were Edmund Scambler, afterwards bishop of Peterborough, and Thomas Bentham, afterwards bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. Strype, Memor. III. ii. 147.]

[6 For an account of the disputes among the English exiles at Frankfort, see Strype, Memor. III. i. 404, &c. and Annals, I. i. 151, &c.]

[7 Thirlby, bishop of Ely, and Dr Wotton, dean of Canterbury, were queen Mary's commissioners to treat with France about the restoration of Calais, and for making peace. To them queen Elizabeth sent a new commission, and in January 1558 [1559], by her council, writ to them to proceed according to that commission. The peace was concluded in the beginning of April between the queen, the French, and the Scots. Strype. Annals, I. i. 37.]

nature, or how firm or lasting it may be, God only can determine.

The lady Isabella will, I hope, be invited into England. For I perceive others also of our party seriously thinking upon that matter. Zanchius too will write to the queen: he was on the point of writing to the whole parliament, if I had not dissuaded him; for it seemed to me quite out of place. The boy Cranmer was left with Abel at Strasburgh, to be delivered into my care. I borrowed from Abel some crowns in the youth's name. I wish Julius would forward to him at Strasburgh the portmanteau, and the money which I left in your keeping. He will give you a receipt for it, which he will either deposit with Zanchius, or, if you choose, send onwards to yourself. Farewell, my most beloved father, and my soul's better half. I will not write all the news to you; for I had occasion to write somewhat to master Bullinger, a man to whom I owe every thing for his exceeding kindness to me. But this, whatever it was, he will, I doubt not, communicate to you.

Masters Heton, Abel, Springham, and Parkhurst, salute you very much; and though they desire for you all possible good, they desire for you at present nothing more than England. Salute in my name Muralt, Herman, Julius, his wife, and all our mutual friends. Master Fr. Beti and Acontius are now at Strasburgh. They both salute you much. I have returned to Beti the letter of the lady Isabella. I pray you let her know this. Strasburgh, 26 January.

Yours from my heart, and for ever, JOHN JEWEL.

IX. SIR A. COOK TO P. MARTYR. [B. 6.]

LONDON, *February* 12, 1559.

YOUR letter, most excellent sir, together with that of master Bullinger, I have myself placed in the queen's hands. How exceedingly she was affected by the perusal of them, Cecil can bear witness, for he saw her tears arise as she was reading them. She inquired whether you were willing to return to England; for she had heard, it seems, something of the kind. I replied, that I had no doubt of your willingness, by reason of your exceeding love and regard towards the late king Edward, herself, and the whole commonwealth of England; but that at that time I had heard nothing

certain from you by letter; yet I wished that she would take measures for having one of the universities adorned by your excellence. She will write, I hope, on this subject very shortly both to yourself and the Senate of Zurich.

We are now busy in parliament about expelling the tyranny of the pope, and restoring[1] the royal authority, and re-establishing true religion. But we are moving far too slowly; nor are there wanting[2] at this time Sanballats and Tobiases to hinder and obstruct the building of our walls. Wherefore we ought the more to think upon that exhortation, "Pray without ceasing." The zeal of the queen is very great, the activity of the nobility and people is also great; but still the work is hitherto too much at a stand. The advice, *Trust in God, and lean not to your own understanding*, is not sufficiently impressed on the minds of some parties; neither that saying, *He taketh the wise in their own craftiness.* But the result of this meeting of parliament will, as far as I can judge, confirm my hope. Salute much, I pray you, in my name master Bullinger, and the rest of your brethren. Take every care of your health, and that you may be able to bear the journey. Farewell. London, Feb. 12, 1559.

Altogether yours, ANTONY COOK.

X. R. HILLES TO H. BULLINGER. [B. 7.]

LONDON, *February* 28, 1559.

MUCH health. I received, my honoured sir, with a willing mind your letter to me dated on the 22nd December last. There was something, however, in it which I did not read so willingly, namely, that some persons had written to you more than once, that I disdained to receive your letters. For I never disdain to read the letters of any one, and especially yours; as in my judgment it would be the greatest arrogance to slight the letters of so learned and venerable a man. But as long as our cruel and superstitious queen Mary reigned in this country, I was so afraid for my property, and of getting into danger, yea, even for my life itself, that I scarcely dared to write to persons of your character, or to

[1 The Bill for the restitution and annexation of the firstfruits, &c. to the imperial crown of this realm passed the House of Lords on Saturday, Feb. 4th. That for restoring the supremacy passed the upper house on Wednesday, Apr. 26. See D'Ewes, Journals, p. 29.]

[2 Namely, the Romish bishops. See the next letter, p. 22, note 1.]

receive letters from them. Man, you say, is prone to fall, and in many things we all of us offend. It is not therefore to be wondered at, if I also should have stumbled, and begun to stand in awe of and fear men, more than I ought to have done; as well also as to entertain opinions which many years since I held in the greatest abhorrence. To that I was drawn over by reading the volumes of some of the holy fathers, in which, if I am not mistaken, there are some doctrines, handed down too by the consent of almost all of them, but which are in no wise agreeable to the doctrine held by yourself and those like you. I do not choose however to write more upon this subject, because if you think fit to reply to my letter, I have neither time nor inclination to write an answer in return: it is so irksome to me to write Latin, and I am now almost entirely out of practice, as I am no longer in habits of intercourse with those learned men who express their thoughts in the Latin language. I certainly feel much obliged to you for having thought proper to recal to my remembrance, how I once knew that grace and compassion is most abundant with the Lord, who does not cast out, but receives with kindness, those who return to him. I confess therefore my past offence unto the Lord, I give glory to the Lord, and from the Lord I implore mercy, as you recommend me to do, nor have I any doubt but that I shall obtain it. And I will take care to be faithful for the future, and will promote, as you advise me, to the utmost of my power the true religion, of which the chief part is contained in the confession of faith[1] exhibited to the invincible emperor Charles V. at the assembly at Augsburg in 1530. Commend me, I pray you, to master Peter Martyr, and to Julius his attendant, and to your most honourable wife. My wife heartily salutes you and all of them, and wishes you all much health. Farewell. London, Feb. 28, 1559.

Yours, RICHARD HILLES, *Anglus.*

With respect to religion, silence has been imposed upon the catholic preachers (as they are called) by a royal proclamation[2],

[1 The Confession of Augsburg was first presented to the emperor Charles V. on June 25, 1530. It was signed and subscribed by John, elector of Saxony; George, marquis of Brandenburg; Ernest, duke of Lunenburg; Philip, landgrave of Hesse; Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt; and the imperial cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen. The matter was supplied by Luther, and reduced into form by the eloquent pen of Melancthon. See Mosheim, Cent. XVI. chap. iii. 1, 2.]

[2 See above, p. 17, note 4.]

and sufficient liberty is allowed to the gospellers, to preach three times a week during this Lent[3] before the queen herself, and to prove their doctrines from the holy scriptures. The public assembly too, or common council of this realm, or Parliament[4], as our people call it, has now been sitting nearly six weeks. Nothing however has yet been publicly determined with respect to the abolishing popish superstition, and the re-establishment of the christian religion. There is however a general expectation, that all rites and ceremonies will shortly be reformed by our faithful citizens, and other godly men, in the afore-mentioned parliament[5], either after the pattern which was lately in use in the time king Edward the sixth, or which is set forth by the protestant princes of Germany, in the above-named Confession[6] of Augsburg.

XI. J. JEWEL TO P. MARTYR. [A. 4.]

London, *March* 20, 1559.

Much health. We have at length arrived in England, that is to say, on the fifty seventh day after our leaving Zurich. But why should I enter into a long preamble, to you especially, who rather wish for facts, and set but little value upon these tedious narrations? It was, however, a wearisome life, when both water, and earth, and the very heavens themselves seemed angry with us, and in every

[3 In the queen's first Lent, on the 23rd of February, Mr Grindal preached before her majesty. In which Lent there preached also divers other learned protestant divines, and the first of note in king Edward's time: viz. Dr Cox, Dr Parker, Dr Bill, Dr Sandys, Mr Whitehead: all of whom, excepting the second and third, had but lately come from exile. Strype, Grindal, p. 35.]

[4 That sitting of the Parliament began on Wednesday, Jan. 25, and was dissolved on May 8.]

[5 The Act of Uniformity passed the House of Commons on April 20. The English service-book began to be used Sunday, May 12, in the queen's chapel; and in St Paul's on the Wednesday following. Strype, Grindal, p. 35.]

[6 There were thoughts now of receiving the Augustan Confession, the better to join in league with the German protestants. On this subject Bullinger thus wrote to Utenhovius: "I see," said he, "no small disturbances like to arise in England also, if the Augustan Confession be received, which some would have; a thing very unworthy in many regards. This gives vexation to all the purer churches, and would infect them all with its leaven. I pray God restrain men otherwise pious, but sufficiently troublesome to godly men and the purer religion. And you know what was done in Poland. Beware, and lay to your helping hand, that it be not received. King Edward's reformation satisfieth the godly." Strype, Annals, I. i. 259.]

possible way opposed our progress. What else? Every thing turned out most disagreeable and adverse to us, throughout the whole time. But I informed both you and Bullinger of these things more fully in a former letter, while I was delayed at Antwerp. You shall now hear the sequel; although, to say the truth, there is need of some art and flowers of rhetoric; not so much for adorning and embellishing any new intelligence, (which I know not whether I have at this time any to communicate,) as for the purpose of retouching my old narrative over again. For almost every thing that I wrote to you about when on my journey, was at that time very different, and far more pleasant in the hearing, than I afterwards found it to be in reality on my return home. For the Roman pontiff was not yet cast out; no part of religion was yet restored; the country was still every where desecrated with the mass; the pomp and insolence of the bishops was unabated. All these things, however, are at length beginning to shake, and almost to fall.

The bishops[1] are a great hindrance to us; for being, as you know, among the nobility and leading men in the upper house, and having none there on our side to expose their artifices and confute their falsehoods, they reign as sole monarchs in the midst of ignorant and weak men, and easily overreach our little party, either by their numbers, or their reputation for learning. The queen, meanwhile, though she openly favours our cause, yet is wonderfully afraid of allowing any innovations: this is owing partly to her own friends, by whose advice every thing is carried on, and partly to the influence of Count Feria[2], a Spaniard, and Philip's ambassador. She is however prudently, and firmly, and piously following up her purpose, though somewhat more slowly than we could wish. And though the beginnings have hitherto seemed somewhat unfavourable, there is nevertheless reason to hope that all be well at last. In the mean time, that our bishops may have no ground of complaint that they are put down only by power and authority of law, a disputation is determined upon, wherein nine[3] on our side,

[1 These were Heath, archbishop of York; Bonner, bishop of London; White, of Winchester; Pate, of Worcester; Kitchin, of Llandaff; Baine, of Coventry and Lichfield; Turbervile, of Exeter; Scot, of Chester; and Oglethorp, of Carlisle; with Feckenham, Lord Abbot of Westminster. Strype, Annals, I. i, 82.]

[2 He hated Elizabeth from the beginning of her reign, and stirred up pope Pius IV. to excommunicate her, and the king of Spain to be her enemy. Strype, Annals, I. ii. 53.]

[3 Dr Cox in his letter to Weidner (Letter xvii. below) mentions but

namely, Scory[4], Cox, Whitehead[5], Sandys, Grindal, Horn, Aylmer, a Cambridge man of the name of Gheast[6], and myself, are to confer upon these matters before the council with five[7] bishops, the abbot of Westminster, Cole, Chedsey, and Harpsfield. Our first proposition is, that it is contrary to the word of God, and the practice of the primitive church, to use in the public prayers and administration of the sacraments any other language than what is understood by the people. The second is, that every provincial church, even without the bidding of a general council, has power either to establish, or change, or abrogate ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, wherever it may seem to make for edification. The third is, that the propitiatory sacrifice, which the papists pretend to be in the mass, cannot be proved by the holy scriptures.

The first discussion is to take place on the 31st of March. The bishops in the mean time have been long mightily exulting, as though the victory were already achieved. When Froschover[8] comes over to this country, I will write you a more particular account of these matters. The queen regards you most highly: she made so much of your letter, that she read it over with the greatest eagerness a second and third time. I doubt not but that your book, when it arrives, will be yet more acceptable.

Two famous virtues, namely, ignorance and obstinacy, have wonderfully increased at Oxford since you left it: religion, and all

eight disputants; as does also the account kept in the Paper office. The bishop of Carlisle on the papists' side, and Sandys on that of the protestants, are misadded, says Strype, to the aforesaid disputants, though probably they were present at the conference. Annals, I. i. 129.]

[4 He had been chaplain to Cranmer and Ridley, and was bishop of Chichester in king Edward's reign. He afterwards became bishop of Hereford. Strype, Memor. II. ii. 171.]

[5 An exile for religion in queen Mary's time. He had been recommended by Cranmer for the see of Armagh. Strype, Memor. III. i. 231.]

[6 Edmund Gheast, or Guest, was consecrated bishop of Rochester, and afterwards translated to Salisbury. Strype, Parker, II. 80.]

[7 The *four* bishops, (see Note 3.) were White, Watson, Baine, and Scot, bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, Coventry and Lichfield, and Chester; and the Doctors Cole, dean of St Paul's; *Langdale*, Harpsfield, and Chedsey, archdeacons of Lewes, Canterbury, and Middlesex. Strype, Annals, I. i. 129. The abbot of Westminster, Feckenham, appears hence to have taken no part in the conference.]

[8 He was a printer at Zurich, and boarded twelve of the exiles in the reign of queen Mary. Among them were Laurence Humphrey, afterwards king's Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and bishop Parkhurst. Strype, Memor. III. i. 232.]

hope of good learning and talent is altogether abandoned. Brooks[1], bishop of Gloucester, a beast of most impure life, and yet more impure conscience, a short time before his death exclaimed in a most woeful manner, that he was now condemned by his own judgment. Your renowned [antagonist] Smith[2], the patron of chastity, has been taken in adultery, and on that account is ordered to retire from the theological chair, by a new practice, and without a precedent, as the like was never done in Mary's time. Bruerne[3] too has been compelled, for a similar offence, only far more flagitious, to relinquish his professorship of Hebrew. I write nothing about Marshal[4], for fear of defiling my paper. You have before heard respecting Weston[5]. But why, say you, do you make mention of such persons? Simply, that you may learn by what judges it was though fit that Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer should be condemned.

I have no news to tell respecting the Scots, whether about peace or war. I wrote you three letters during my journey, but know not whether they have reached you. But since we are so far distant, much farther indeed and for a much longer time than I could wish, our letters must sometimes be committed to the winds and to fortune.

Farewell, my father, and most esteemed master in Christ. Salute masters Bullinger, Gualter, Simler, Gesner, Lavater, Julius, his wife, your little Martyr, Herman, and your associates of Treves. All our friends salute you. London, 20 March, 1559.

Yours, JOHN JEWEL.

[1 He had been the pope's subdelegate under cardinal Puteo in Cranmer's trial; and assisted also at that of Hooper. Strype, Cranmer, 532. &c. Memor. III. i. 286.]

[2 Richard Smith, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, had been deprived of his professorship before in 1547, and was succeeded by Peter Martyr, against whom he printed his book for the *Celibacy of Priests* and *Monastic Vows*. Strype, Memor. II. i. 63, &c.]

[3 He was chosen provost of Eton without the queen's consent, and by her forced to resign in 1561. Strype, Parker, I. 205.]

[4 Richard Marshal, dean of Christchurch, was a violent papist under queen Mary, and an enemy both to Jewel and Peter Martyr. He watched narrowly to have caught Jewel, when he fled from Oxford; and digged up the body of Peter Martyr's wife out of her grave in Christ's Church, where she had been some years buried, and cast it into his dunghill. Strype, Annals, I. ii. 48, and Parker, I. 199. He was mentioned in a list of certain evil-disposed persons of whom complaint hath been made; which lurk so secretly, that process cannot be served upon them. Annals, I. i. 416.]

[5 Hugh Weston, dean of Windsor, was deprived of his deanery by cardinal Pole for his scandalous life in adultery. Strype, Mem. III. i. 174.]

This is the *first* letter I have written to you since my return to England. I will thus number all of them in future, that you may know whether any have been lost.

XII. J. JEWEL TO P. MARTYR. [A. 5.]

LONDON, *April* 6, 1559.

MUCH health. Accept a brief account of the disputation[6] between us and the bishops, which I informed you in my last letter was appointed for the 31st of March; for it seems best thus to continue my narrative without any further preamble.

In the first place, then, to remove all ground of contention and idle debate, the council ordained that every thing, on either side, should be read from written papers, and that the time should be so marked out, that on the first day nothing should be proposed by either party beyond bare affirmations; and that at the next meeting we were to answer them, and they, in their turn, to reply to us. Accordingly, we assembled at Westminster on the 31st of March. Great were the expectations of the people, and the crowd[7], I believe, still greater. The bishops, (such was their good faith,) produced not a single line either in writing or print; alleging that they had not had sufficient time for the consideration of matters of such importance; notwithstanding that they had been allowed ten days, more or less, and had in the mean time assembled their auxiliary troops both from Oxford and Cambridge, and every other corner. However, that so great a number might not seem to have come together to no purpose, Dr Cole, being suborned by the others, stepped forth in the midst, to harangue, in the name of them all, respecting the first point of discussion, namely, the use of a foreign language [in public worship.] After having assailed us most unworthily with all manner of contumely and invective, and stigmatized us as the authors and firebrands of every kind of sedition; and having turned himself towards all quarters, and into every possible attitude, stamping with his feet, throwing about his arms, bending his sides, snapping his fingers, alternately elevating and depressing his eye-brows, (you know the look and modesty of the

[6 For a full account of this disputation see Strype, Annals, I. i. 128, &c. Burnet, Hist. Reform. II. 600, &c. and Soames, Hist. Reform. IV. 642, &c.]

[7 The houses of parliament adjourned from March 24, till April 3, as Sir Simon D'Ewes thinks, by reason of this disputation. Strype, Annals, I. i. 98.]

man,) he came at last to this, that England had now for thirteen hundred years received the gospel. And by what literary remains, he asked, by what annals, what monuments can it be made to appear, that the public prayers then in use in England were in the English tongue? When he had sufficiently careered within that circle, he added seriously, and with a solemn countenance and admonitory tone, that all should especially attend to and mark this, as a most precious saying, that the apostles from the beginning so divided their labours among themselves, that some of them established the eastern, and others the western churches; and that therefore Peter and Paul, in the church of Rome, which at that time comprehended nearly all Europe, gave all their instructions in the language of Rome, that is, in Latin; and that the rest of the apostles in the east never employed any other language but the Greek. You will perhaps laugh at this; yet I never heard any one rave after a more solemn and dictatorial manner. Had my friend Julius been present, he would have exclaimed a hundred times over, *Poh! whoreson knave!*[1] The speaker, however, made no scruple of betraying, among other things, the very mysteries, and secrets, and inmost recesses of his own religion. For he did not hesitate gravely and solemnly to affirm, that even were all other things to agree, it would nevertheless be inexpedient for the people to know what was going on in religious worship. For ignorance, said he, is the mother of true piety, which he called devotion. Oh! sacred mysteries, and secret rites of the Bona Dea! What do you imagine I thought all the while about the pontiff Cotta[2]? This truly it is to worship in spirit and in truth! But to proceed. When he had thus taken up a great part of the time allotted to us for disputation, in calumny, abuse, and falsehood, we[3] at last recited our arguments from written papers, with so much moderation as only to treat upon the matter in dispute, without wounding our opponents. The debate was at length concluded in such a manner, that there was hardly any one in the whole assembly, not even the Earl of Shrewsbury[4], who did not adjudge that day's victory to

[1 It is thus in the original manuscript, but it is suggested in a note by the transcriber that Jewel intended to have written *Poz! hosenknopf*, a vulgar exclamation of that period.]

[2 See Cicero de Nat. Deor.]

[3 Robert Horn, formerly dean of Durham, and soon afterwards bishop of Winchester, immediately rose, and produced the written argument of his party upon the question under discussion. Soames, Hist. Ref. iv. 648.]

[4 Francis, 5th Earl. He had been distinguished in the Scottish military expeditions in the reigns of kings Henry and Edward, and by that prudence

be on our side. It was afterwards arranged, that we should speak in the same manner respecting the second question on the Monday following, and that on the Wednesday we should reply to their first day's arguments, and they in turn to ours. On the Monday, when a vast multitude of the nobility had assembled, exceedingly desirous of hearing the debate, the bishops, I know not whether from shame at [the defeat of] the preceding day, or from despair of victory, first began to shuffle,—that they had yet much to say upon the first question, and that the matter must not go off in that way. The council replied, that if they had anything further to say, they might be heard on the third day following, as it had been originally agreed upon; but that they were now to confine themselves to the question before them, and not disturb the order of the disputation. Being driven from this position they nevertheless still evaded the question by saying, that if they must needs speak at all, they would not speak first;—that they were in possession of the ground, and that we, if we wished it, might try our strength in the first place; for that they would be doing great injury to their cause, if they should allow us to depart last, with the applause of the people, and leave the stings of our discourse fresh in the minds of the audience. The council[5] replied on the other hand, that it was originally settled that they, as being first in dignity, should be first to speak; and that this arrangement could not now be altered; they were surprised, however, at there being all this mystery, since one party must of necessity begin the discussion, or else nothing could be said by either; and it was the more extraordinary, because on the first day's disputation Cole sprung forth to speak first, even without being called upon. At last, when a great part of the time had been taken up in altercation, and the bishops would on no account consent to yield the [privilege of speaking in the] second place, the assembly broke up without any disputation at all. It is altogether incredible, how much this conduct has lessened the opinion that the people entertained of the bishops; for they all begin to suspect that they refused to say any thing only because they had not any thing to say.

On the day after, your friend White[6], bishop of Winchester,

and fidelity to queen Mary, which induced Elizabeth to call him, although a Romanist, to her privy council. He died Sept. 25, 1560.]

[5 The Lord Keeper, Bacon, who acted as president, or moderator, in conjunction with archbishop Heath. Soames.]

[6 White had formerly attacked Peter Martyr in a book in verse, called *Diacosia Martyrion*, prefaced by an abusive epistle. Strype, Memor. II. i. 423. See above, p. 16.]

and Watson, bishop of Lincoln, were committed to the tower for open contempt and contumacy. There they are now employed in *castrametation,* and[1] from weak premises draw bold conclusions. The rest are bound in recognizances to appear at court from day to day, and await the determination of the council respecting them.

Thus you have the account of an useless conference, and one which indeed can hardly be considered as such. I have, however, described it more copiously than there was any occasion for, that you might better understand the whole proceeding.

Farewell, my father, my pride, and even the half of my soul. Should there be at this time any farther news, I had rather it should be the subject of my next letter. Salute much, in my name, that reverend person, and my much esteemed master in Christ, master Bullinger, masters Gualter, Simler, Lavater, Wolfius, Gesner, Haller, Frisius, Herman, and Julius, your friend and mine. All our friends salute you, and wish you every happiness. London, April 6, 1559.

Your JOHN JEWEL.

This is the *second* letter I have written to you since my return to England.

XIII. J. JEWEL TO P. MARTYR. [A. 6.]

LONDON, *April* 14, 1559.

MUCH health. Our friend Sandys has done me much wrong; for, notwithstanding I had already written to you, though I earnestly besought him not to do so, he sent you his own letter unaccompanied by mine. However, except that I feel this duty of mine has long been owing to you, nothing has hitherto occurred which it would give you much pleasure to hear. O [queen] Mary and the Marian times! With how much greater tenderness and moderation is truth now contended for, than falsehood was defended some time since! Our adversaries acted always with precipitancy, without precedent, without authority, without law; while we manage every thing with so much deliberation, and prudence, and wariness, and circumspection, as if God himself could scarce retain his authority without our ordinances and precautions; so that it is idly and scurrilously said, by way of joke, that as heretofore Christ was *cast out* by his enemies, so he is now *kept out* by his friends. This dilatoriness has grievously damped the spirits of our brethren, while it has wonderfully encouraged the rage and fury of our op-

[1 A word is here illegible in the original MS.]

ponents. Indeed, you would hardly believe with how much greater boldness they now conduct themselves than they ever did before; yet the people every where, and especially the whole of the nobility, are both disgusted with their insolent exultation, and exceedingly thirsting for the gospel. Hence it has happened that the mass in many places has of itself fallen to the ground, without any laws for its discontinuance. If the queen herself would but banish it from her private chapel, the whole thing might easily be got rid of. Of such importance among us are the examples of princes. For whatever is done after the example of the sovereign, the people, as you well know, suppose to be done rightly. She has, however, so regulated this mass of hers, (which she has hitherto retained only from the circumstances of the times,) that although many things are done therein, which are scarcely to be endured, it may yet be heard without any great danger. But this woman, excellent as she is, and earnest in the cause of true religion, notwithstanding she desires a thorough change as early as possible, cannot however be induced to effect such change without the sanction of law; lest the matter should seem to have been accomplished, not so much by the judgment of discreet men, as in compliance with the impulse of a furious multitude. Meanwhile, many alterations in religion are effected in parliament, in spite of the opposition and gainsaying and disturbance of the bishops. These however I will not mention, as they are not yet publicly known, and are often brought on the anvil to be hammered over again.

Sandys, Grindal, Sampson, Scory, (and why should I particularize these?) all of us remain still in London, all in good health, in the same condition, the same circumstances, the same favour. Many persons make most honourable inquiry after you, where you are, how you live, what you are teaching, and whether, in case you should be recalled, you would feel disposed to return to England.

Sidall[2] lately desired me by letter, not to give credit to any injurious reports respecting him. I remember, when you were lecturing at Strasburgh respecting the power that sovereigns have over bishops, you stated that Sylverius[3] and Vigilius were removed from their office [of patriarch] by the emperor Justinian. When

[2 Henry Sidall, a vigorous defender of the truth in king Edward's time, recanted under queen Mary, and subscribed to queen Elizabeth's supremacy. He was canon of Christ Church, and vicar of Walthamstowe. Strype, Cranmer, 285; Parker, I. 154.]

[3 Sylverius, patriarch of Rome, was deposed and banished A.D. 537,

you next write, I will thank you briefly to point out the place where this circumstance is recorded.

We have as yet heard nothing respecting the queen's marriage, an event which we all desire most earnestly. Farewell, my father, and much esteemed master in Christ. London, April 14, 1559.

Yours wholly, JOHN JEWEL.

This is my *third* letter. I mention the number, that you may know whether, as may possibly be the case, any of them have been lost on the road.

XIV. J. JEWEL TO P. MARTYR. [A. 7.]

LONDON, *April* 28, 1559.

MUCH health. I have received three letters from you, and all of them nearly at the same time. Though they were, as they certainly ought to be, most gratifying to me on many accounts, both as coming from you, and letting me know the state of your affairs, and your affection for myself; yet for no other reason did they seem more acceptable to me, than because they expressed a desire that I should write to you, and gently though silently charged me with either forgetfulness or dilatoriness; of which the former is as much forbidden by the extent of your kindness towards me, as the latter is by the magnitude of my engagements. I have indeed written to you three letters since my return to England; which I perceive, however, had not reached you at the time you wrote. And it may be, as is often the case, that they are either loitering somewhere or other, and are, like religion among ourselves, reposing in listless inactivity, or else have been lost on the road. But however it be, there can be no great loss in that respect; inasmuch as they were almost empty, because there was not then much that either you would like to hear, or I to write. The cause of the pope is now agitated, and with much vehemence on both sides. For the bishops are labouring that they may not seem to have been in error; and this delays and hinders the progress of religion: but it is indeed no easy matter to accelerate its course, as the poet says, with such slow-paced horses. Feckenham, the abbot of Westminster, in order, I suppose, to exalt

through the machinations of the empress Theodora, and Vigilius was elected into the patriarchate by command of Belisarius. He was afterwards thrown into prison by Justinian for opposing the decrees of the second council of Constantinople (the fifth general council), in 553, and died at Syracuse on his return to Rome two years after.]

the authority of his own profession, in a speech that he made in the House of Lords, placed the Nazarites, the prophets, nay, even Christ himself and his apostles, in the monastic orders! No one more keenly opposes our cause than the bishop of Ely [Thirlby], who still retains his seat in parliament, and his disposition along with it. The lands[1] of the bishops are to be made over to the exchequer, and the rectories which heretofore belonged to the monasteries will be given them in exchange. In the meantime there is everywhere a profound silence respecting schools and the encouragement of learning. This indeed is driving out one devil, as they say, by another.

The queen both speaks and thinks most honourably of you: she lately told lord Russel that she was desirous of inviting[2] you to England, a measure which is urged both by himself and others, as far as they are able. But unless you should be seriously and earnestly and honourably recalled, I, for my part, will never advise your coming. For myself, indeed, there is nothing that I desire more, or with greater impatience, than to behold you, and enjoy your most delightful conversations, (which I heartily wish may one day be the case), either in England or at Zurich. But, as far as I can perceive, that inauspicious arrival[3] will present an obstacle to my wishes. For our [queen] is now thinking of [joining] the league of Smalcald[4]; but there is one who writes to her from Germany, that this can by no means be brought about, if you should return to us. Who this person is,—if I tell you that he was once a bishop, that he is now an exile, an Italian,—a crafty knave,—a courtier,—either Peter or Paul,—you will perhaps know him better than I do[5]. But however this may be, we have ex-

[1 For an account of this proceeding, see Strype, Annals, I. i. 142, &c. The bill passed the House of Lords on the 6th of April, 1559.]

[2 Martyr was invited to return, 1561, it is supposed, by the influence of the Duke of Norfolk, but excused himself, from his obligations to the city of Zurich. See his letter below, dated July 22, 1561, and Strype, Annals, I. i. 382.]

3 Inauspicata illa et saxis et Saxonibus damnata *παρουσία*.

[4 For an account of this, see Burnet, Hist. Ref. III. 170.]

[5 Vergerius is the person here referred to. Calvin in 1556 writes to A. Lasco, "Nihil tamen mihi displicuit magis quam te consilia cum Vergerio miscere, cujus hominis vanitatem tibi non fuisse citius cognitam miror. Mihi certe quicquid ille aggreditur suspectum est." And Cœlius Secundus Curio writing to Musculus in 1550, speaks in severe terms of his "artes curtisanæ," says that he is always moving about instead of minding his own little church "apud Rhætos," where he has a salary of 150 aurei a year; and adds, that he knows he has a longing to get a footing in England. Note by the Rev. Steuart A. Pears.]

hibited to the queen all our articles of religion and doctrine, and have not departed in the slightest degree from the confession of Zurich; although your friend Ἀρχιμάγειρος, [Sir Antony Cook] defends some scheme of his own, I know not what, most obstinately, and is mightily angry with us all. As yet not the slightest provision has been made for any of us; so that I have not yet abandoned the device which I designed for myself at Zurich, a book and a cross. I hear that Goodman[1] is in this country, but so that he dare not shew his face, and appear in public. How much better would it have been to have been wise in time! If he will but acknowledge his error[2], there will be no danger. But as he is a man of irritable temper, and too pertinacious in anything that he has once undertaken, I am rather afraid that he will not yield. Your books have not yet arrived, which I am the more surprised at, as so many of the English have long since returned from Frankfort. When your present arrives, it will, I doubt not, be most acceptable to the queen; and since you wish it, although it is in itself most excellent, yet, should I have an opportunity, I will set forth its value in my own words. As to the book which you sent me individually, I know not in what words to express my thanks. I choose, therefore, to sink under the weight of your present kindness, and the magnitude of all your former good offices towards me. And though I should most certainly never have dismissed you from my remembrance, yet excited as I am by this additional memorial, I shall entertain a more ardent and reverential affection for your name, as long as I live. Your other books have long since been brought over by the booksellers, and are purchased with the greatest eagerness; for every one is most anxious to see by what hunting spears the beast has been pierced.

Farewell, my father, and much esteemed master in Christ. Salute masters Bullinger, Bernardine, Gualter, Simler. I would add Frensham, did I not suppose that he was now at the bath, or on a journey; for at this season of the year, when one hears the cuckoo, he is rarely at home. London, April 28, 1559.

Your very affectionate and most devoted, JOHN JEWEL.

This is my *fourth* letter.

[1 For an account of him, see Strype, Annals, I. i. 181, &c.]

[2 Jewel probably alludes to a tract written by Goodman in queen Mary's time, entitled, *How superior powers ought to be obeyed of their subjects, &c.* in which he spoke against the government of women, but was obliged to retract his opinions before the lords of the council. Strype, Annals, I. i. 184.]

XV. J. JEWEL TO P. MARTYR. [A. 9.]

LONDON. [No date.]

MUCH health. And what, after all, can I write to you? For we are all of us hitherto as strangers at home. Return then, you will say, to Zurich. Most earnestly do I wish, my father, that this may some time be possible: for, so far as I can see, there is no hope of your ever coming to England. O Zurich! Zurich! how much oftener do I now think of thee than ever I thought of England when I was at Zurich! But though, as I observed, we are yet strangers in our own country, we hear sometimes ineffable and inexplicable things. Mischief, however, is often better kept at home[3].

As to religion, it has been arranged, I hope, under good auspices, that it shall be restored to the same state as it was during your latest residence among us, under Edward. But, as far as I can perceive at present, there is not the same alacrity among our friends, as there lately was among the papists. So miserably is it ordered, that falsehood is armed, while truth is not only unarmed, but also frequently offensive. The scenic apparatus of divine worship is now under agitation; and those very things which you and I have so often laughed at, are now seriously and solemnly entertained by certain persons, (for *we* are not consulted,) as if the christian religion could not exist without something tawdry. Our minds indeed are not sufficiently disengaged to make these fooleries of much importance. Others are seeking after a *golden*, or as it rather seems to me, a *leaden* mediocrity; and are crying out, that the half is better than the whole.

Some of our friends are marked out for bishops: Parker for Canterbury, Cox for Norwich, Barlow for Chichester, Scory for Hereford, and Grindal for London; for Bonner is ordered to vacate his see. When they will take possession, I know not. From this flowering I can easily guess beforehand, as you do of wine, what kind of a vintage it will be. Our enemies in the mean time are watching their opportunity, and promise themselves that these things cannot last.

In Scotland we hear that there have been some disturbances, I know not of what kind, respecting matters of religion; that the nobles have driven out the monks, and taken possession of the monasteries; that some French soldiers of the garrison have been slain in a riot; and that the queen was so incensed as to proclaim the

[3 Πολλάκι γὰρ τὸ κακὸν κατακείμενον ἔνδον ἄμεινον. Theognis.]

banishment of the preacher Knox by sound of horn, according to the usual custom in Scotland, when they mean to send any one into exile. What has become of him, I know not.

A commission is now appointed for the whole of England, with a view to the establishment of religion. Sandys will go into Lancashire, I into Devonshire, others into other parts. The queen declines being styled the head of the church, at which I certainly am not much displeased. Meanwhile, what *the hangman*[1] *of the church* [cavezzo della Chiesa] may think, or murmur, or what trouble he may give us, you who are less distant can hear more easily than ourselves. Our papists oppose us most spitefully, and none more obstinately than those who have abandoned us. This it is to have once tasted of the mass! He who drinks of it is mad. Depart from it, all ye who value a sound mind; who drinks of it is mad[2]. They perceive that when that palladium is removed, every thing else will be endangered.

A peace has been concluded between us and the French, on condition that Calais shall be restored, after eight years, into the possession of the English. It will need a marvellously strong faith to make my friend Julius believe this. However it be, we are expecting sureties from France to that effect. Nothing is yet talked of about the queen's marriage; yet there are now courting her the king of Sweden, the Saxon[3], and Charles the son of [the emperor] Ferdinand, to say nothing of the Englishman, [Sir William] Pickering. I know, however, what I should prefer; but matters of this kind, as you are aware, are rather mysterious; and we have a common proverb that *marriages are made in heaven.*

Farewell, my father, and much esteemed master in Christ. Salute, I pray you, in my name, the excellent old man master Bernardine, with masters Muralt and Wolf. The book which you sent as a present to the queen, was delivered to her by Cecil. By some accident or other, it never came into my hands: as often, however, as I go to court, I inquire very particularly whether she has any thing to say about it; but as yet I hear nothing. Whatever it be, I will take care to let you know. London.

JOHN JEWEL.

This is my *fifth* letter: you will find out whether any have been lost.

[1 The pope is probably intended by this expression.]

[2 Qui bibit inde furit; procul hinc discedite, queis est
Mentis cura bonæ: qui bibit inde furit.]

[3 The son of John Frederic, Duke of Saxony.]

XVI. J. FOXE TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 10.]

BASLE, *May* 13, 1559.

MUCH health, most learned and very dear [friend] in Christ our Lord. Master Abel, an English merchant, has within these few days written to me from Strasburgh, in which letter of his were inclosed some from England, written to yourself and masters Simler, Gualter, and Gesner. Should they reach you, I wish my letter, in which they were inclosed, to be forwarded to me at this place. Should they not reach you, I would not have you ignorant of the fact of their existence; for I have been informed of it by another letter of Abel written to myself. These letters, as far as I can learn, were dispatched to you from England in the month of March, and sent here in April; and now, in the month of May, I understand they have not yet been delivered. I had moreover written to Frensham, who is with you, on the 23rd of April, and do not yet know whether my letter has been received. I am exceedingly anxious to learn the state of his health. Your excellence will condescend to advise him in this respect, and at the same time to afford him, in case of necessity, any assistance in your power.

I am here harassed to the utmost of my strength, and almost beyond my strength, in collecting the histories of the Martyrs. Should you be in any way able to help me in this matter, I shall be glad of your assistance. And this you may do, if you will obtain from master Bernardine, and the other Italians resident in your city, a short statement of such occurrences of this kind as may have taken place in Italy; and also, if you will put down in a few words, whatever your memory may retain respecting events which have happened in your own neighbourhood, noting at least the names of the individuals and the places. For although I am more immediately concerned with British history, yet I shall not pass over the sacred history of other nations, should it come in my way.

May the Lord Jesus direct your health, studies, and labours for his glory! Basle. The day before the feast of Pentecost, 1559.

Yours in Christ, JOHN FOXE.

XVII. R. COX TO W. WEIDNER. [A. 11.]

LONDON, *May* 20, 1559.

WHENEVER I should leave Worms, my venerable friend, and much esteemed brother in Christ, I always determined with myself to write to you, and give you information some time or other respecting the state and condition of our affairs; which I considered it would not be disagreeable to you to hear, by reason of that ardent and sincere zeal with which you are always affected towards the gospel of Christ Jesus. I must confess that I have hitherto been constrained unwillingly to be silent, lest I should have to relate matters which would afford you no pleasure. Under the cruel reign of Mary, though but for the space of five years, popery so much increased both in numbers and strength, that it was hardly to be imagined how much the minds of the papists were hardened; so that it was not without great difficulty that our pious queen, with those about her who stood forth with alacrity on the side of truth, could obtain room for the sincere religion of Christ. The bishops, the *scribes* and *Pharisees*, opposed it in our great council, which from a French word we call the parliament; and because they had in that place but few who durst even open their mouths against them, they always appeared to gain the victory. Meanwhile we, that little flock, who for these last five years, by the blessing of God, have been hidden among you in Germany, are thundering forth in our pulpits, and especially before our queen Elizabeth, that the Roman pontiff is truly antichrist, and that traditions are for the most part mere blasphemies. At length many of the nobility, and vast numbers of the people, began by degrees to return to their senses; but of the clergy none at all. For the whole body remain unmoved,

"Tanquam dura silex, aut stet Marpesia cautes,"

as the poet sings. The matter at last came to this, that eight[1] of their leaders, either bishops, or the most select from among their men of learning, were to dispute concerning some heads of religion with eight of our abject and exiled party. And, to avoid a war of words, it was agreed to manage the debate in writing. The day was fixed: we are all present. The queen's council are present, and almost all the nobility. It was decided that the opposite party should first deliver their sentiments about the matters in dispute.

[1 See above p. 22, note 3, and Strype, Annals, I. i. 128, &c.]

One of them[2], in the name of the rest, like Goliath against David, comes vauntingly forward with his own statement, defends, and as it would seem, confirms it by irrefragable arguments, and congratulates himself as having already obtained the victory. One[3] of our party replied, relying on the truth, and not upon high-flown language; in the fear of the Lord, and not with the boasted affectation of learning. When the reply was concluded, an incredible applause of the audience was excited, to the great perturbation and confusion of our opponents. The other day arrives, appointed for a similar disputation. The opposite party is requested by the president[4] to proceed in the order before agreed upon, namely, that they should first declare their opinion respecting the next point in dispute, and that we should follow them. This however they refuse to do, being alarmed at the ill success of the preceding day's contest; and cry out that it is unjust for them to begin the dispute, who had so many years continued in possession of the catholic church; and that if we had any thing to say against them, we should bring it forward, that they might refute us by their authority, and silence us as degenerate sons, who had long since departed from the unity of the church. Thanks to Christ our Lord, they are very properly checked in their resistance to the order of the president, and lose their cause. The sincere religion of Christ is therefore established among us in all parts of the kingdom, just in the same manner as it was formerly promulgated under our Edward, of most blessed memory.

I have thought fit to write this brief but certain intelligence to one, who will, I know, truly rejoice in our joy; that you may together with us return thanks to the Lord our God, who of his truly fatherly compassion has regarded and comforted us in our low estate of humiliation and distress. May he grant that these his so great and inestimable benefits may never be forgotten by us! Your kindness will do me a great favour, if you will be pleased to communicate the above intelligence to my excellent friends master James Cornicius, the physician, and Vespasian Fittich. We are already endeavouring to break down and destroy the popish fences, and to repair under happy auspices the vineyard of the Lord. We are now at work; but the harvest is plenteous, and the labourers few: let us ask the Lord to send labourers into his harvest. These few things I had to communicate to you, as my regard

[2 Dr Cole. See above p. 25.]
[3 Dr Horn. See above p. 26.]
[4 The Lord Keeper Bacon.]

dictates. May the Lord Jesus preserve you, and increase your piety even unto your last breath! London in England, May 20, 1559.

Your most devoted, RICHARD COX.

XVIII. J. PARKHURST TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 12.]

LONDON, *May* 21, 1559.

JEWEL and I received your very courteous letter at the beginning of April, by which I perceived your intention of sending your son Rodolph, at some appointed time, to improve his education at the university of Oxford. This, however, as things now are, I would not advise you to do; for it is as yet a den of thieves, and of those who hate the light. There are but few gospellers there, and many papists. But when it shall have been reformed, which we both hope and desire may ere long be the case, let your Rodolph at length come over. I will not now tell you how much I shall be gratified by his arrival in England; for I would express my regard towards him by deeds rather than words.

The Book of Common Prayer, set forth in the time of king Edward, is now again in general use throughout England[1], and will be every where, in spite of the struggles and opposition of the pseudo-bishops. The queen is not willing to be called the *head* of the church of England, although this title has been offered her; but she willingly accepts the title of *governor*, which amounts to the same thing. The pope is again driven from England, to the great regret of the bishops and the whole tribe of shavelings. The mass is abolished. The parliament broke up on the eighth[2] of May. The earl of Bedford has made a present of three crowns to our friend Wolfgang, who in this respect is more fortunate than many others.

The bishops are in future to have no palaces, estates, or country seats. The present owners are to enjoy for life those they are now in possession of. They are worthy of being suspended, not only from their office, but from a halter; for they are as so many

[1 By the act for the uniformity of Common Prayer passed this parliament. For a note of the differences between the two books, see Strype, Annals, I. i. 122.]

[2 For the Lord Keeper's speech at the dissolution of parliament, see Strype, Annals, I. i. 99.]

Davuses, throwing every thing into confusion. The monasteries will be dissolved in a short time.

I cannot now write more, for within four days I have to contend in my native[3] place, both from the pulpit and in mutual conference, with those horrid monsters of Arianism; for which end I have read with much attention your very learned treatise on both natures in Christ. I hope to come sufficiently prepared to the contest, and so to overcome the enemies of Christ. Christ lives, he reigns, and will reign, in spite of Arians, Anabaptists, and papists.

Farewell! most excellent and very dear sir. Overwhelm, so to speak, with salutations in my name your good wife, sons[4] and daughters, and most honourable sons-in-law. The good Lavater has done me a very great kindness in sending me so excellent a book, and one too which is *Zurich all over*. Salute for me masters Bibliander, Collin, Haller, Wolfius, Wickius, Frisius, Bernardine, Ammian, Meyer, Sebastian, Coler, Funckius, Pellican, Froschover, and all friends. My wife salutes you, your wife, sons and daughters, and all friends. She very frequently falls into tears when any mention is made of the ladies of Zurich.

To your honourable magistrates, to the city and all the territory of Zurich, I wish every happiness. City of Zurich, farewell. Woe betide those who wish thee not all prosperity! City of Zurich, farewell. In haste. London, May 21, 1559.

Most entirely yours, JOHN PARKHURST.

[3 Namely, Guildford in Surrey.]

[4 Bullinger had six sons and five daughters. Of the former, three died young; two were ministers, and another died in France, in the troops of the prince of Orange, in 1569. Three of the daughters were married to ministers of Zurich: namely, to Hulric Zuinglius, son of the Reformer; to Lewis Lavater; and to Josiah Simler.]

XIX. J. PARKHURST TO C. GESNER. [A. 13.]

LONDON, *May* 21, 1559.

HAIL! again and again, most illustrious and very dear Gesner. As soon as I came to London, I sought out your friend Caius[1], that I might give him your letter; and, as he was from home, I delivered it to his maid servant; for he has no wife, nor ever had one. Not a week passes in which I do not go to his house two or three times. I knock at the door; a girl answers the knock, but without opening the door, and, peeping through a crevice, asks me what I want. I ask in reply, where is her master? whether he is ever at home, or means to be? She always denies him to be in the house. He seems to be every where and no where, and is now abroad, so that I do not know what to write about him. I shall certainly tell him something to his face, whenever I have the chance to meet him; and he shall know what kind of a man he has to deal with.

The pope is again cast out of England. This sadly annoys the mass-mongers. The pseudo-bishops opposed with all their might the pious designs of the queen; and, to be brief, brought upon themselves a consummation much desired by all good men. They are now abhorred both by God and man, and never creep out into public unless they are compelled to do so, lest perchance a tumult should arise among the people. Many call them *butchers* to their face. Whatever other news there may be, I have already written in my letters to our other friends. As I think the trifle I now send you will not be sufficient, I will send more; but it must be when I am richer than I am at present, (for we are all of us at this time poorer than Irus himself,) and you shall then perceive that I am not unmindful of you.

Farewell. Salute in my name your wife, Frisius, Simler, and all my other friends. My wife salutes you all. In haste. London, May 21, 1559.

Yours, JOHN PARKHURST.

[1 This was the celebrated co-founder of Caius College, Cambridge, and court physician in the reigns of Edward VI., queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth. Between him and Gesner an intimate friendship existed, and the latter, who was so eminent a scholar, philosopher and naturalist, as to have acquired the name of the Pliny of Germany, speaks of Caius in terms of the highest commendation, calling him, in an epistle to queen Elizabeth, "the most learned physician of his age."]

XX. J. JEWEL TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 14.]

LONDON, *May* 22, 1559.

MUCH health. Your letter, most accomplished sir, was most gratifying to my friend Parkhurst and myself, both as coming from one to whom we can never forget how greatly we are indebted, and also, as retaining the deepest traces of that courtesy and kindness of yours towards us, which we so largely experienced during the whole time of our exile. And I wish we may be able, some time or other, in some measure to requite your kindness: but however this may be, the inclination, at least, shall not be wanting. Your exhortation that we should act with firmness and resolution, was a stimulus so far from being unacceptable to us, that it was almost necessary. For we have at this time not only to contend with our adversaries, but even with those of our friends who, of late years, have fallen away from us, and gone over to the opposite party; and who are now opposing us with a bitterness and obstinacy far exceeding that of any common enemy; and, what is most vexatious, we have to struggle with what has been left us by the Spaniards, that is, with the foulest vices, pride, luxury, and licentiousness. We are doing, however, and have done, all that is in our power: may God prosper our exertions, and give them a happy issue! But at present we are so living, as scarcely to seem like persons returned from exile; for to say nothing else, not one of us has yet had even his own property restored to him[2]. Yet, although this long waiting is very tiresome to us, we doubt not but that in a short time all will be well. For we have a wise and religious queen, and one too who is favourably and propitiously disposed towards us. Religion[3] is again placed on the same footing on which it stood in king Edward's time; to which event, I doubt not but that your own letters and exhortations, and those of your republic, have powerfully contributed. The queen is unwilling to be addressed, either by word of mouth, or in writing, as

[2 A bill for this purpose passed the commons May 2, and was read a third time in the upper house. Yet, says Strype, I do not find it was enacted and passed into a law. Annals, I, i. 99.]

[3 The 24th day of June was the day appointed by the late parliament, from which the new service book was to be only used in the churches throughout England. Strype, Annals, I. i. 200. He says, p. 199, that the new morning prayer began in September at St Antholin's, London, the bell beginning to ring at five; when a psalm was sung after the Geneva fashion, all the congregation, men, women, and boys, singing together.]

the head[1] of the church of England. For she seriously maintains that this honour is due to Christ alone, and cannot belong to any human being soever; besides which, these titles have been so foully contaminated by antichrist, that they can no longer be adopted by any one without impiety.

Our universities are so depressed and ruined, that at Oxford there are scarcely two individuals who think with us; and even they are so dejected and broken in spirit, that they can do nothing. That despicable friar Soto and another[2] Spanish monk, I know not who, have so torn up by the roots all that Peter Martyr had so prosperously planted, that they have reduced the vineyard of the Lord into a wilderness. You would scarcely believe so much desolation could have been effected in so short a time. So that, although it would give me the greatest pleasure, under other circumstances, to see even a dog from Zurich in England, yet I cannot at this time recommend you to send your young men to us, either for a learned or religious education, unless you would have them sent back to you wicked and barbarous.

The Lord Russel lately asked me in what way he could most oblige both yourself and your other brethren and fellow ministers. He felt, in truth, an inclination to send you some acknowledgment of your kindness and hospitality, which he is continually commending. I told him, that nothing could be more acceptable to yourself and your friends, than for him studiously and boldly to promote the religion of Christ, and repress the insolence of the papists. This he promised that he would do, and he certainly does, as far as lies in his power.

The ambassadors[3] of the French king arrived to-day in London, to offer their congratulations about the peace. The head of the embassy is the young duke de Montmorenci. Nothing is yet said respecting the queen's marriage. The son of John Frederick [duke of Saxony,] and the second brother of [the emperor] Maximilian, are her suitors[4]. The public opinion, however, inclines towards [Sir William] Pickering, an Englishman, a wise and re-

[1 See pp. 34, 38.]

[2 John de Villa Garsya. Strype, Mem. III. ii. 29.]

[3 For the account of their arrival, see Strype, Annals, I. i. 285.]

[4 The queen was courted almost at the same time by Charles, Duke of Austria; James, Earl of Arran; Erick, King of Sweden; Adolph, Duke of Holstein; Sir William Pickering, a brave, wise, comely English gentleman; the Earl of Arundel, of very ancient nobility; and the Lord Robert Dudley, the late Duke of Northumberland's son, and the queen's especial favourite. Strype, Parker, I. 164.]

ligious man, and highly gifted as to personal qualities. May God prosper the event, whatever it be!

This the *first* letter that I have written separately to yourself since my return to England. But as I know that Peter Martyr, from the great intimacy that subsists between you, has communicated to you my letter to him, so I have no hesitation in regarding what I have written to him just the same as if it had been addressed to yourself.

Farewell, my father, and much esteemed master in Christ. Salute that excellent lady your wife, masters Gualter, Simler, Zuinglius and Lavater. Should there be any thing in which I can conduce either to the comfort or advantage of yourself or your friends, I promise you not only my labour, zeal, and diligence, but also every effort both of mind and body. London, May 22, 1559.

Your much attached, JOHN JEWEL.

XXI. E. GRINDAL TO C. HUBERT[5]. [B. 8.]

LONDON, *May* 23, 1559.

HEALTH in Christ. I believe that William Salkyns, the servant of Richard Hilles, who lived with us a long time at Strasburgh, is well known to you. I lately handed over to him some writings of Bucer, to be delivered to you. One was, his public disputation when he took his doctor's degree; another was concerning the entire controversy[6] between himself and Yong, whom you used to

[5 Conrad Hubert was preacher at St Thomas's, Strasburgh, and the editor of Bucer's *Scripta Anglicana*, which he dedicated to archbishop Grindal in 1577, both because he had been one of Bucer's chief friends at Cambridge, and also had procured most of the pieces then published. See Strype, Grindal, 298. This letter is preserved in the archives of St Thomas's at Strasburgh.]

[6 The controversy between Bucer and Yong was thus. One of Bucer's questions (in a public disputation at Cambridge) was, that *the good works which any seem to do before justification have the nature of sin.* Hereat Yong took great offence, and complained to the senate of the university against him, saying that Bucer was in a grievous error. The issue was, that Yong entered the lists of disputation with the reverend man against his tenet. Both of them penned their disputations, and Bucer sent a copy of his to Cheke to communicate to bishop Ridley, and in August 1550 wrote to Mr Grindal, president of Pembroke Hall, and chaplain to the bishop, desiring him to acquaint the bishop diligently with the truth of the case. (The letter is given in Bucer's *Scripta Anglicana*, and also in Strype's Life of Grindal,

call *fungus*. Whether this latter contains any thing else, I know not; for it is written in such a way as to require a conjuror rather than a reader; except that to you perhaps, who are conversant with the writings of this individual, it will not be a matter of so much difficulty to find out and unravel the meaning. Dr Parker, who sent me these manuscripts, wrote word that he had also some other fragments; but when he had brought them forth from the hiding-places, in which they had been concealed during the whole of these incendiary times, he found them gnawed by the rats and entirely spoiled: so that if you should derive any pleasure from those you have, you will immediately lose it again, because you are deprived of all hopes of receiving any more in future. You told me that you had a copy of the answer to the Antididagma[1], turned into Latin by Martin Bremius. We have nothing more of Bucer's here that I know of. I doubt not but that Salkyns will faithfully deliver every thing at your Strasburgh Fair.

Receive this brief account of our affairs in England. We found our church miserably torn in pieces, and all but overthrown. We were indeed urgent from the very first, that a general reformation should take place. But the parliament long delayed the matter, and made no change whatever, until a peace had been concluded[2] between the sovereigns, Philip, the French king, and ourselves. But now at last, by the blessing of God, during the prorogation of parliament, there has been published a proclamation to banish the pope and his jurisdiction altogether, and to restore religion to that form which we had in the time of Edward the sixth. If any bishops or other beneficed persons shall decline to take the oath of abjuration of the authority of the bishop of Rome, they are to be deprived of every ecclesiastical function, and deposed. No one, after the feast of St John the Baptist next ensuing, may celebrate mass without subjecting himself to a most heavy penalty. It is therefore commonly supposed that almost all the bishops, and also

p. 467.) Bucer said that he confessed and believed what the king's homilies taught of good works. Yong and his party could not but acknowledge that they were pressed hard with the king's homilies; and so, in effect, they confessed they made for Bucer against them. And yet these very homilies they had subscribed to. Abridged from Strype, Memor. II. i. 327.]

[1 The Antididagma was a work ascribed to John Gropper, one of the canons of Cologne, and published by the clergy there, in opposition to the book of Reformation drawn up by Bucer, Pistorius, and Melancthon in 1543, at the request of Herman, archbishop of that diocese. See Sleidan, Hist. Ref. Lib. xv. Vol. II. p. 199.]

[2 Namely at Câteau Cambresis, in April 1559.]

many other beneficed persons, will renounce their bishoprics and their functions, as being ashamed, after so much tyranny and cruelty exercised under the banners of the pope, and the obedience so lately sworn to him, to be again brought to a recantation, and convicted of manifest perjury. We are labouring under a great dearth of godly ministers: for many, who have fallen off in this persecution, are now become papists in heart; and those who had been heretofore, so to speak, *moderate* papists, are now the most obstinate. But it is our part to do what we can, and commit the whole to God. In conclusion, I pray you to commend us and our church to God in your prayers; and diligently salute masters Marpach and Sebald in my name. Farewell in the Lord, most courteous sir, and very dear brother in Christ. London, May 23, 1559.

Your most attached in the Lord,

EDMUND GRINDAL, *Anglus.*

I am in doubt (for I have a very bad memory) whether I or Lakin[3] undertook to send you the whole[4] account of the exhumation of Bucer and Fagius. But lest you should altogether be disappointed of your wish, I have positively determined to write on the subject to Dr Parker, who will, I hope, take care that a true description of the whole affair shall be prepared for me. Should he do this, I will take care that it shall be forwarded to you. If Lakin, who is now absent from London, will do the same, you may collect from each what is most important. Again farewell. I doubt not, but that with your wonted kindness you will see that the inclosed letters are forwarded by the earliest opportunity.

XXII. J. FOXE TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 15.]

BASLE, *June* 17, 1559.

HEALTH in the Lord. There was no need of your using any entreaty, my dearest Bullinger, whenever you might perceive any

[3 Thomas Lakin was one of the exiles with Grindal at Strasburgh.]

[4 Jan. 26, 1556. Commissioners from cardinal Pole, viz. Watson, bishop elect of Lincoln, Scot, bishop of Chester, and Christopherson, bishop elect of Chichester, came to Cambridge; and after a formal process, caused the body of Martin Bucer, late the king's professor of divinity, buried in St Mary's, to be taken up and burnt; and so also was served the body of Paul Fagius, late the king's professor of Hebrew, buried in St Michael's church; which was looked upon as barbarous. Strype, Memor. Eccl. III. i. 510.]

occasion for the employment of my services. Respecting the letters you mention, I have again called upon Peter Maclaine, a bookseller of this place, to whom those letters were directed by Abel, as he writes me word. My friend Lawrence was also with me, to whom Abel had directed (as he wrote me word) the entire packet of my letters. Peter replied to us in this way; that some one came to him with letters, who was not a carrier himself, but either hired by a carrier, or else one who had bought the letters from the carrier, that he might afterwards resell them with greater profit [upon the carriage]. Peter, being displeased at the unreasonableness of his demand, and seeing that the matter was no business of his, but of the English, for the sake of sparing his money sent the man to the neighbouring public-house, [the sign of] the Wild Man, telling him that he would there meet with some Englishmen who would take the letters off his hands. And yet I know that, besides ourselves, there were at that time no Englishmen in the town; and I cannot sufficiently wonder how it could come into Peter's mind to send the person to the Wild Man, when he knew well enough whereabouts in the town we ourselves dwelt, to whom he might much more properly have sent the man. But when I expostulated with Peter on this point, he replied, that he thought, and had heard, that there were some English at that time living at the Wild Man, &c. The case is this: because this Peter was unwilling to lay out his money on this covetous fellow, we have lost our letters. At which, however, I am not so much concerned on my own account, and that of my letters, which I have lost, (for they were inclosed in the same packet,) as for the sake of your letter, my best and dearest master Bullinger, which, as I learn from you, was written to you by an old friend. And I wish, as I then told Peter, that I had given him three times the money, if he had but satisfied the letter-carrier, or rather, I should say, the letter-stealer. And to confess to you ingenuously and sincerely, in proportion as I perceive you to be anxious about the letter, this same thing occasions greater uneasiness to myself; nor do I know what I can do more, or where I can make any farther inquiry on the subject.

Although your letter gives me but little hope respecting Frensham, yet, as he is still alive, and as long as he continues so, we must not cease to have some hopes of him. There was an English youth here of sixteen years old, who was in this present year not only on the borders of death through a similar cough and consumption, but even looked like death itself; and yet, to the astonishment of our physicians, he recovered, and is gone with his parents

into England. To Christ the Lord be the praise! And I wish that our friend Frensham may sometime have to laugh at your physicians in the same way, should it seem good to the Lord Christ, the chief Physician. But may his holy will be done.

If you have any thing concerning master Grinæus, whom you mention in your letter, I pray you to forward it hither, and let me know as soon as possible. I wish to know whether Hoper married a wife[1] from among you yonder, or here at Basle.

While I am collecting accounts of the other German martyrs, I would not have Zuinglius alone to be passed over. If you have, or if you choose, to communicate any thing respecting him, I will take care, God willing, that it shall be printed in England, if it cannot be done so conveniently by the printers in Germany.

I am desirous, if the Lord shall spare my life, of visiting and saluting you yonder, most kind and learned Bullinger, before my return home. Exhort Frensham, I pray you, if he is yet living, not to be so desponding in his mind as to cast away all hope of recovery; and not to let his mental anxiety seem greater than his bodily disease. Salute, I pray you, master Peter Martyr very much in my name. May the Lord Jesus advance your labours together with your safety, to the advantage of his church! Amen. Basle, June 17, 1559.

Yours in Christ, JOHN FOXE.

P. S. Give, I pray you, this second letter to Frensham, if he is yet alive.

XXIII. J. FOXE TO H. FRENSHAM[2]. [A. 15*.]

BASLE, *June* 17, 1559.

D. Frenshamo, animi et corporis salutem in Christo.

MASTER FRENSHAM. As you in your letters have oft comforted me, so I would I could likewise comfort you: but where my comfort is small, the Lord Jesus, the comforter of all, work in you sure consolation which may comfort both your body and soul! In whom I desire you be strong and valiant, so much as the

[1 Strype, Mem. II. i. 399, says that Hoper's wife was an *Helvetian* woman; but in another place he calls her "a discreet woman of the *Low Countries*." Mem. II. i. 170. Other accounts make her a native of Burgundy.]

[2 This letter is transcribed from the original *English*, which was inclosed in the preceding one to Bullinger, and did not probably reach Zurich till after the death of the person to whom it was addressed.]

weakness of your disease can bear. Be nothing discouraged, nor be not out of hope in yourself. I have seen here amongst our countrymen in the like disease greater weakness recover full well.

I desire you, in your contemplation of Christ, let your spirit be so noble and high in him, that ye may tread under your feet all other things, seem they never so strong, mighty, terrible, or great in this world; for he that hath overcome the world, what hath not he overcome in the world? Life or death, sickness or health, things present or to come, height or low, are nothing in Christ. Only, my brother, master Frensham, a hearty faith in Jesus Christ is all together whereby alonely we miserable and corruptible wretches are saved, do stand, do triumph, yea, in death and over death, in sin and over sin, and finally have victory over all evils, sin, death, hell, Satan, and all. For so it hath pleased the Father to save us by this faith only in his Son, to the end that we seeing his justice could not otherwise be satisfied but by his Son, we might the more fear him for his great righteousness, and love him for his great mercy, being saved by this faith in his Son. To this all the scripture beareth witness. The Lord Jesus stir up the quickening and feeling of this faith in our dull senses! To will you this in my prayer as I do not cease, so I do not despair of your recovery altogether: the mighty Lord Jesus, if it be his pleasure, put to his helping hand in restoring your health again! His good will be done. The bottle ye sent is not yet come to me. Basileæ, June 27, [1559].

Tuus in Christo, JOHN FOXE.

XXIV. L. HUMPHREY TO H. BULLINGER. [B. 9.]

BASLE, *June* 23, 1559.

AN opportunity is now afforded me of doing what my duty has long required from me; which however the sudden arrival and departure of the messenger, and want of time, will not allow me to perform as I ought, and as I could wish. You must therefore, at this time, with your fatherly kindness, take in good part both the shortness of my letter, and my negligence in writing.

There came to me from master Abel a packet of letters inclosed in mine, and which I send to your reverence by the bearer, a native of Zurich, a trustworthy man, and one not unknown to you. The other packet that you inquired after, I have not yet been able to meet with, though I have made diligent search after it, and do

not yet cease my inquiries, as well for my own sake, as for that of yourself and others. They tell me that the waggoner gave it to some one at the sign of the Wild Man of the Cave[1]. What became of it afterwards, I know not. Should the letters fall into my hands, of which indeed I have no hope after so long an interval, I will do my best endeavour, that, God willing, they may reach you. And this, excellent sir, is the first motive which now induces me to write. Another is, either the illness or death of my friend Frensham[2]: if he is alive, that by the consolation, exhortation, and aid, which you so well know how to afford, you may comfort him on his bed of sickness. He has always exceedingly valued your advice, and, if I mistake not, will listen to it even at his latest moments. If he is no longer living, you will cherish his remains with such care as is befitting one who is at rest in the bosom of Abraham, or rather of Christ. Both master Foxe[2] and myself are anxious to know what is his state, that is, whether he has departed, or is yet alive; that if living, we may either personally visit him, should there be occasion for it, or attend him with our absent prayers: and if he be not alive, that we may at least honour the funeral of our very dear friend with a pious tear.

The third reason for my now wishing to write, namely, that I might thank you for all your kindness towards myself and others, when I was living with my friends at Zurich, I will defer till another opportunity. Meanwhile I commend your piety and holy labours to the Lord, whom I pray to guide by his holy Spirit, and to advance unto all honour, piety, and holiness, both our own church now reviving, and yours which has been long established. Amen. June 23.

Your most devoted, Laurence Humphrey.

XXV. E. GRINDAL TO C. HUBERT. [B. 10.]

London, *July* 14, 1559.

Greeting. As I have been formerly accustomed, very dear brother in Christ, to make the most friendly use of your kindness,

[1 See above, Letter XXII. p. 46.]

[2 Frensham was now dead. His will is still preserved at Zurich, by which it appears that he left a large portion of his property to charitable purposes, among others, to the poor of Halden, Northam, Woodchurch, Cranbrook, Frittenden and Biddenden. The first words of this document are, "In Dei nomine, Amen. Testamentum meum et voluntatem ad suam gloriam dirigat Deus."]

when I was present with you, so I shall not hesitate, when absent, to entreat your assistance in a matter which I hope will be of no great difficulty to you. For I am in want of some amanuensis to be always at hand in those important occupations and employments to which I am daily called[1]. As we labour under the greatest want of good ministers, we are obliged to employ our own young men, who might be qualified for this office, in the ministry of the churches. I therefore request your piety, that, if you can meet with any one of your young men who is willing to undertake this employment, and to serve me in this manner upon suitable terms, (of which I leave the arrangement to yourself,) you will take care that he be sent over to me, and make use of the services either of John Abel or William Salkyns in this matter. I should require in the individual to be sent, that he should be ready at writing Latin, and that his hand-writing should be tolerably good. He should, moreover, be somewhat acquainted with Greek, and especially with Hebrew, and should take delight in the study of the holy Scriptures. All these qualifications are generally to be met with in your young men. And I offer these terms on my part. First, I will bear the expenses of his journey hither, and have written to John Abel respecting the advancement of the money; and I could wish, if it were possible, that he should come over in his company. In the next place, I will not employ him in any laborious or servile work, but in reading, writing, and similar occupations; excepting only that he will sometimes be required to wait at table, &c. I will give him, moreover, besides his board and two suits of clothes after the English fashion, a fixed salary of twenty Rhenish dollars, or which is the same thing, twenty English crowns, besides what may be added from my liberality, as occasion shall arise. Lastly, if either on account of ill health, or any other reasonable cause,—for example, if England should not agree with him, or if he should be called away by his parents or friends,—I will also defray the expenses of his return home. And should he wish to learn our language, which does not very much differ from the German, it will not, I hope, be difficult for me to provide for him in a respectable way. If I do not appear to you to propose terms sufficiently liberal, I am quite ready to allow your prudence to assign more

[1] Grindal was employed with others to draw up a form of prayer and public worship to be laid before parliament; and was also one of the eight protestant divines at the Conference at Westminster, in March. He was employed too in the summer of this year as a commissioner for the royal visitation in the north. Strype, Grindal, p. 35.]

liberal ones; and, the Lord willing, I will perform them, if only you will provide me with a respectable and godly youth, whom I will endeavour so to treat, that he shall not repent of having visited England. I request you to salute master doctor Marpach in my name, without whose aid and assistance I am well aware that this business cannot be accomplished; but I hope that with his wonted kindness he will lend a favourable ear to my request. For the person, whoever he may be, will not be the less useful to your churches, if he shall return to you with the collected experience of some years' travel.

The state of our church (to come to that subject) is pretty much the same as when I last wrote to you, except only that what had heretofore been settled by proclamations and laws with respect to the reformation of the churches, is now daily being carried into effect. The popish bishops are almost all of them deprived; and if any yet remain, they will be deprived in a few days for refusing to renounce their obedience to the pope. They are however treated with sufficient lenity, not to say too much so; for they are allowed to retire into private life, and devour, as master Bucer used to say, the spoils of the church. Many persons think that they begin to repent of their firmness, now they see the French king[2], Henry II., in whom their chief hope was placed, taken off not without the manifest declaration of divine vengeance. Many of our friends, who were in exile in Germany, are now marked out for bishops. This is all that I had to write respecting our affairs. I shall be able, I trust, to send you in a few days the account of the burning of Bucer's bones[3]. I pray you to send me all the German works of Luther, bound by your bookseller Christopher [Froschover.] Abel or Salkyns will pay the money. This is one reason why I wish for a German amanuensis, because I am unwilling entirely to forget your language. Should you not meet with a suitable person among your friends at home, write, I pray you, to those at Basle, that you may procure me some one even from thence. Write back, I pray you, in three words, what you have been able to do for me. I leave other matters to be more fully explained by John Abel or William Salkyns. I wish you all health in the Lord. London, July 14, 1559.

Yours wholly in the Lord, EDMUND GRINDAL, *Anglus.*

[2 Henry II. of France was killed in a tournament, July 10, 1559.]

[3 See Historia vera de vita, obitu, sepultura, &c. D. Martini Buceri et Pauli Fagii. Argent. 1562.]

XXVI. P. MARTYR TO T. SAMPSON[1]. [B. 11.]

ZURICH, *July* 15, 1559.

I SEE you, my friend, altogether in your letter. You are afraid on both sides: for if you reject the ministry, you seem to let go an opportunity of directing things in a proper manner; while, if you undertake the offered function, you have just and good cause to fear lest you should appear to assent to those ordinances, which not only impair and weaken the pure worship of God, but also corrupt and marvellously bring it to decay; although they may seem to have but little weight and importance in the eyes of men who are but faintly disposed towards the gospel; for they account all such things as matters of indifference. But will any one who is somewhat better instructed in religion, when he sees you, a messenger of Christ and zealous trumpeter of the gospel, arrayed in these vestments, praying at an altar before the image of the crucifix, repeating holy words, and distributing the sacraments,—will any one, I say, not think that these rites are not only tolerated, but also approved by you? Whereby no credit will be given you hereafter, when you teach otherwise. For he whose teaching is at variance with his actions, builds up the things that he destroys, and in like manner destroys the things that he builds up. Neither can the example of the apostle be alleged in excuse for such conduct, who for a time retained the Jewish ceremonies with a safe conscience; since the Mosaic institutions were brought in of old by the authority and law of God, and neither devised by man's understanding, nor condemned in regard to worship. But the things of which we now speak were both instituted by men without any divine sanction, and have splendidly subserved that worship which all godly persons do now abominate. I would that those who have thought fit that these things should be retained, had perceived that, as long as they remain, the gospel is not sufficiently established. Truly, if we hated superstitions from the heart, we should endeavour by all means that their very vestiges should be rooted out. I would that we had been somewhat better instructed by the obstinate zeal of our adversaries. They diligently avoid every thing that in any measure savours of our

[1 This letter is addressed, in the printed volume of Martyr's letters, to a certain friend of his in England; whom Strype considers to have been bishop Grindal. From the internal evidence, however, of this and subsequent letters addressed to the same person, they appear with greater probability to have been written to Thomas Sampson. See below, Lett. XXXIII.]

religion, and of set purpose, as far as they are able, depart from the simple worship of Christ and the most ancient custom of the apostles. Why do not we take care in like manner to depart as far as possible from their pernicious institutions, and aim at apostolic simplicity, not only in doctrine, but also in the administration of the sacraments?

I do not see how the things retained by you can properly be regarded as matters of indifference. Certainly since they present to the beholders an express resemblance of the pernicious mass, wherein ungodly men will exceedingly delight themselves; (for they will say that the mass was so holy a thing that the splendid representation thereof could not displease even us; for though we do not retain it, we nevertheless imitate it in many remarkable ways;) who thereupon shall prevent such of the bystanders, in whose hearts popery still remains, from adoring the image of the crucifix? Undoubtedly they will do it, nor can the intention of their mind be prevented. And will the contrivers of these counsels say that this is not done through any fault of theirs, but through the fault of those who are badly taught, and too much addicted to their own superstitions? They cannot however deny that they give the occasion; and woe unto those by whom the offence cometh! Neither can they bring any one proof for their opinion either out of the holy scriptures, or the ordinances of the primitive church. But if the desire only of making a new covenant drives them to these things, we must remember that the covenant made of old between us and God is far more excellent than any covenants of man; and we must diligently take heed, lest, while we follow after civil things, we suffer the loss of heavenly things.

Wherefore, my very dear brother in Christ, since things are in this state, I give you two pieces of advice; first, that you still retain the function of preaching, and cease not, both in public and private, to defend the truth of doctrine, and to declaim against rites which are full of offence and occasions of falling. The other is, that you abstain from the administration of the sacraments, until these intolerable blemishes be removed. By these means the opportunity of doing good will not be lost, neither will you confirm others in their superstition by your example. And this is not only my advice, but the same is also the opinion of the reverend and most excellent master Bullinger. As to your former question, I remember that I sent you an answer, but my letter has probably been lost or intercepted. And I would have now replied a second time, but that I know not where your letter is, and when I looked

for it, was not able to find it. If therefore you wish another answer, you will not think much of writing your questions over again. Salute all our friends. Here master Bullinger, my wife, and Julius with his wife and the rest of our family, salute you. And I especially salute your wife, and Jane. July 15, 1559.

PETER MARTYR.

XXVII. J. JEWEL TO P. MARTYR. [A. 16.]

LONDON, *Aug.* 1, 1559.

I HAVE hitherto, my father, written to you less frequently, because many engagements, both of a public and private nature, have prevented my correspondence. I now write, not because I have more leisure than heretofore, but because I shall have much less in future than I have at present. For I have now one foot on the ground, and the other almost on my horse's back. I am on the point of setting out upon a long and troublesome commission[1] for the establishment of religion, through Reading, Abingdon, Gloucester, Bristol, Bath, Wells, Exeter, Cornwall, Dorset, and Salisbury. The extent of my journey will be about seven hundred miles, so that I imagine we shall hardly be able to return in less than four months. Wherefore, lest you should in the mean time suppose me dead, notwithstanding I wrote to you twelve days since upon our common affairs, I think it not unmeet to send you this short greeting at the very moment of my setting out. Our affairs are now in a favourable condition. The queen is exceedingly well disposed; and the people every where thirsting after religion. The bishops, rather than abandon the pope, whom they have so often abjured before, are willing to submit to every thing. Not, however, that they do so for the sake of religion, of which they have none; but for the sake of *consistency*, which the miserable knaves now choose to call their *conscience*. Now that religion is every where changed, the mass-priests absent themselves altogether from public worship, as if it were the greatest impiety to have any thing in common with the people of God. But the fury of these wretches is so great that nothing can exceed it. They are altogether full of hopes and anticipations, (for, as you know, they are a most *anticipative* race, and mightily addicted to *futuritions*,)

[1 This commission was dated July 19, 1559, and addressed to William, Earl of Pembroke, John Jewel, S. Th. P., Henry Parry, Licentiate in Laws, and Will. Lovelace, lawyer. Strype, Annals, I. i. 248.]

that these things cannot last long. But, whatever may happen in future, we render thanks to Almighty God that our affairs are as they are.

Every thing is in a ferment in Scotland. Knox[2], surrounded by a thousand followers, is holding assemblies throughout the whole kingdom. The old queen (dowager) has been compelled to shut herself up again in garrison. The nobility with united hearts and hands are restoring religion throughout the country, in spite of all opposition. All the monasteries are every where levelled with the ground: the theatrical dresses, the sacrilegious chalices, the idols, the altars, are consigned to the flames; not a vestige of the ancient superstition and idolatry is left. What do you ask for? You have often heard of *drinking like a Scythian;* but this is *churching it like a Scythian.* The king of France that now is, styles himself king of Scotland, and in case of any thing happening to our queen, (which God forfend!) heir of England. You must not be surprised if our people are indignant at this; and how the matter will at length turn out, God only can determine. A common enemy perhaps, as is sometimes the case, may be the occasion of reconciling with us our neighbour Scotland; in which event, although the [queen's] marriage should also take place,—but I will not prognosticate. Master Heton salutes you, and that not less affectionately than if you were his father. Some of us are appointed to bishopricks; Cox to Ely, Scory to Hereford, Allen to Rochester, Grindal to London, Barlow to Chichester, and I, the least of the apostles, to Salisbury. But this burden I have positively determined to shake off. In the mean time there is a dismal solitude in our universities. The young men are flying about in all directions, rather than come to an agreement in matters of religion.

But my companions are waiting for me, and calling to me to set off. Farewell, therefore, my father, and my pride. Salute that reverend man, and on so many accounts dearly-beloved in Christ, master Bullinger, to whom also, if I had time, I would send a separate letter. Salute masters Gualter, Simler, Lavater, Haller, Gesner, Frisius, Herman. I have five golden pistoles from master Bartholomew Compagni, for the venerable old man master Bernardine, with a letter to him from the same. I would write to him concerning the whole business, were I not prevented by want of time. I pray you, however, to let him know, that, except [the payment of] this money, nothing else is settled. Court affairs,

[2 Knox arrived in Edinburgh from France, May 2, 1559. Strype, Annals, I. i. 176.]

as far as I can see, are so difficult of management, that I know not whether any thing can be made of it. The queen is now a long way off in Kent[1], so that nothing can be done.

Farewell, my father, farewell. May you be as happy as I can wish you! Salute in my name your Julius, and Anna, and your little son, [Martyrillus.] London, Aug. 1, 1559.

Your every way most attached, JOHN JEWEL.

XXVIII. J. FOXE TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 17.]

BASLE, *Aug.* 2, 1559.

GRACE and health through Christ our Lord. Either all my conjectures deceive me, most courteous Henry, or I have at last discovered those letters of ours which were so long lost. In which matter I am more indebted to some sort of accident, than to any pains taken about it. The occasion was this: there came into a merchant's house by reason of some letters, I know not what, a certain honest Italian, the husband of Peter Perne's sister. The master and head manager of that house offered him some letters to read, thinking they were written in Italian. Although this Italian was unacquainted with English, yet seeing my name on the address, he forthwith came to me with the letters, and told me that the master of the house [above-mentioned] desired I would come to him immediately. I went forthwith, taking with me my friend Laurence, and a certain under-schoolmaster of Basle to act as interpreter. The master states that this letter, long since thrown aside, had been lately discovered by a servant boy; and that there had also been found other letters written both to yourself and master Gesner, which he had already given to Peter Maclaine to forward to you. On opening mine, I find it to be the same as was sent to me from Abel at the same time and in the same packet with yours; which circumstance leads me to conjecture that they are the very same letters of ours which we were looking for. You will better ascertain this when you have opened them; and I wish that you would let me know at your leisure.

If master Frensham is still living, I pray God that he may long live. Do you bid and exhort him not to despair of himself,

[1 July 17th. The queen removed from Greenwich in her progress, and goes to Dartford in Kent. August 5th she was at Eltham. Strype, Annals, I. i. 289.]

and much less of the divine favour, which, should it seem expedient, can easily exceed all the powers of medicine, and deceive the expectations of the physicians themselves. Yet I have not heard of any physician who openly and positively despaired of him. And if they did despair, they are better judges perhaps of German [constitutions] than of English ones.

I desire that you would inform me in time, if you have any information respecting the martyrs, either about Bartholomew Grinæus, as you seem to intimate in your letter, or about the whole affair and cause of Zuinglius. If the history of Zuinglius cannot be printed here, it can nevertheless be done in England, and no where better. Salute in Christ master Frensham among others, and master Peter Martyr. Be mindful of me in your prayers to the Lord. Basle, Aug. 2, 1559.

Yours in Christ, JOHN FOXE.

XXIX. T. LEVER TO H. BULLINGER. [B. 13.]

LONDON, *Aug.* 8, 1559.

MUCH health in Christ. As I know that you will receive fuller and better information respecting many of the most important affairs of the state and church of England by the letters of others, I will now write to you, according to my slender ability, about a few things of less consequence. On returning from you towards England, in the course of my journey I saw at Strasburgh a proclamation[2], that is, an edict published by the authority of queen Elizabeth, strictly prohibiting all preaching and exposition of holy scripture, or any change of religion throughout all England, until the great council, which we call the Parliament, hereafter to be called together, shall have come to a decision respecting religion. When then I returned to England, I saw, according to the proclamation above mentioned, or rather, I shrunk from seeing, masses and all the follies and abominations of popery, every where sanctioned by the authority of the laws, and the gospel no where to be met with, except among some persons at London, who were either admitted to preach before the queen at court on a few stated days, only in the time of Lent, or else in a congregation that remained in concealment during the whole time of persecution, and then not venturing forth beyond such private houses as were open to them,

[2 See above, Letter VIII. note 4.]

on the cessation of the persecution, they were permitted by queen Elizabeth in open private houses, but in no public churches. For there had been a congregation[1] of faithful persons concealed in London during the time of Mary, among whom the gospel was always preached, with the pure administration of the sacraments; but during the rigour of the persecution under that queen they carefully concealed themselves, and on the cessation of it under Elizabeth they openly continued in the same congregation. But as their godly mode of worship was condemned by the laws of the realm, the magistrates, though they connived at their frequent assembling in private houses, would not allow them, notwithstanding, to occupy the parish churches. In consequence of which, large numbers flocked to them not in the churches, but in private houses. And when the Lord's supper was administered among them, no strangers were admitted, except such as had been kept pure from popery and even from the imputation of any evil conduct; or who, ingenuously acknowledging their backsliding and public offence, humbly sought pardon and reconciliation in presence of the whole assembly. I have frequently been present on such occasions, and have seen many returning with tears, and many too in like manner with tears receiving such persons into communion; so that nothing could be more delightful than the mutual tears of all parties, on the one side lamenting their sins, and on the other congratulating them on their reconciliation and renewed communion in Christ Jesus.

Some of us preachers, who had returned to England from Germany, being much affected with these things, and considering that the silence imposed for a long and uncertain period was not agreeable to the command and earnest injunction of Paul, to preach the word of God in season and out of season, having been requested to do so, forthwith preached the gospel in certain parish churches, to which a numerous audience eagerly flocked together. And when we solemnly treated of conversion to Christ by true repentance, many tears from many persons bore witness that the preaching of the gospel is more effectual to true repentance and wholesome reformation, than any thing that the whole world can either imagine or approve. For while these things were taking place among private individuals, without the sanction of any public authority, behold, at the very same time masses were being celebrated with all the idolatrous superstition of popery among persons distinguished for

[1 See above, Letter VIII. note 5. See also Foxe's Acts and Mon. for some interesting details relative to this congregation.]

their influence, their wealth, and their public offices, and this with the whole authority of law, proclamation, and practice. And now popery is at length abolished by authority of parliament, and the true religion of Christ restored: this unclean world, both in the one and the other, seeks after nothing but base lucre and filthy pleasure. Very many persons are so drawn over from that to this, that they are neither willing to purify the dross of the one, nor embrace the purity of the other, but are disposed to frame themselves after the fashion of this world. For there are many who love, possess, and ostentatiously glory in the monuments of superstition, the emoluments of lucre, the liberty, yea, even the pleasures of the flesh, to the great scandal and disgrace of the religion they profess. But God will at length give the victory to the little ones of the weak flock of Christ, against the powerful tyrants of the world. For all the sanguinary bishops here are deposed; learned, pious, and discreet persons are sent forth to visit all parts of England[2]. Zealous preachers of the gospel, who used to preach at first contrary to the queen's proclamation, have now, by means of letters sealed with the queen's seal, free license to preach throughout all England. And I, who have long been preaching the gospel among the most ignorant persons in the remoter districts, have determined, God willing, to return to-morrow from London to them and others like them, who have seldom or never heard any exposition of the gospel of Christ. For such persons seem to me most of all in want of, and most ready to receive, the edification and consolation afforded to them in Christ's gospel.

But I must not write any more of myself, except only that I wish now to promise you by letter, what I will at all times faithfully perform according to the opportunity and ability which God shall give me; namely, that I will use every endeavour that you and your countrymen, who so kindly provided for us English, when in exile for the sake of religion, may be assured that we are not unmindful of so great kindness, and that we shall ever continue grateful for it.

Commend us to the prayers of all the godly. Salute for me your wife, my excellent hostess, with your children, and all your household, to whom I wish abundant blessings from God in Christ. Salute the ministers of your church, and especially its chief pillars, masters Bernardine, Martyr, and Gualter. May the Lord Jesus long preserve you to the edification of his universal Church in Christ! Amen. London, Aug. 8, 1559.

Your ever faithfully attached in Christ, THOMAS LEVER.

[2 For an account of this visitation, see Strype, Annals, I. i. 245, &c.]

XXX. J. JEWEL TO P. MARTYR. [A. 19.]

LONDON, *Nov.* 2, 1559.

I HAVE at last returned to London, with a body worn out by a most fatiguing journey. You probably supposed me dead, because I did not write: meanwhile, I was kept away three whole months by this very tedious and troublesome commission. While I was at Bristol, there was delivered to me that letter from you which our friend Randolph[1] had brought with him; written in so friendly and agreeable a manner, as altogether to remove from my mind the wearisomeness both of the journey and of my employments. For I could then fancy myself to be conversing with you just as if you had been present. Randolph had gone away into France before my return: so that poor I was deprived of a great part of those delightful communications which you had personally charged them with. My letter, I perceive, was lost on the road; for that which I had sent you as the *eighth*, was, I find, only the *fifth* that had reached you.

But what, you will say, has been done after all by this commission of yours? Receive then in one word, what it took me a long time to investigate. We found every where the people sufficiently well disposed towards religion, and even in those quarters where we expected most difficulty. It is however hardly credible what a harvest, or rather what a wilderness of superstition had sprung up in the darkness of the Marian times. We found in all places votive relics of saints, nails with which the infatuated people dreamed that Christ had been pierced, and I know not what small fragments of the sacred cross. The number of witches and sorceresses[2] had every where become enormous. The cathedral churches were nothing else but dens of thieves, or worse, if any thing worse or more foul can be mentioned. If inveterate obstinacy was found any where, it was altogether among the priests, those especially who had once been on our side. They are now throwing all things into confusion, in order, I suppose, that they may not seem to have changed their opinions without due consideration.

[1 It would seem from the extract from the state papers given in Lett. XXXV. (No. 7), that Randolph, who was entrusted with the safe conveyance of the earl of Arran from France into Scotland, visited Peter Martyr at Zurich during this journey, from whom he brought the letter here referred to.]

[2 A Bill against witchcraft and enchantments was brought into the house of Lords from the lower house April 27, 1559, and was passed in the following session. Strype, Annals, I. i. 88.]

But let them make what disturbance they please; we have in the mean time disturbed them from their rank and office.

That *consistent* man, Harding[3], has preferred to change his condition rather than his opinions. Sidall[4] has subscribed too, and with equal consistency, that is, sorely against his will. But your friend Smith[5], what has he done? you will ask. Can any good thing come out of Nazareth? Believe me, that he might retain his old consistency, he has now at last recanted for the fifth time! The silly man, when he saw religion change, changed his habit, and forthwith prepared to take refuge in Scotland; but while he was loitering on the borders, he was apprehended, and brought back from his travels. And now this grave personage, this prop and support of religion, has come over to us, deserted all his party, and become all of a sudden the most inveterate enemy of the papists. Go now and deny transubstantiation, if you can.

The ranks of the papists have fallen almost of their own accord. Oh! if we were not wanting in our exertions, there might yet be good hopes of religion. But it is no easy matter to drag the chariot without horses, especially up hill.

Yesterday, as soon as I returned to London, I heard from the Archbishop of Canterbury that you are invited hither, and that your old lectureship is kept open for you. I know not how true this may be; I can only affirm thus much, that no Professor of Divinity is yet appointed at Oxford. For my own part, my father, I most exceedingly long to see you, and especially in England; and how can I do otherwise than desire this, who am so perpetually desiring to see you even at Zurich? But I know your prudence; and you know the character and disposition of us islanders. I pray that what we now see the beginning of may be lasting. Nothing can be in a more desperate condition than the [Divinity] school is at present. You will think, that when you were formerly there, you had employed all your exertions to no purpose.

> "Thus in the garden that was once so gay,
> The darnel and the barren weed bear sway[6]."

Your book on Vows[7], like all your other works, is caught up

[3 T. Harding, of New College, Oxford; who under king Edward VI. had been a very zealous protestant, but under queen Mary came about, and was as hot the other way, being preferred under her to a prebend of Winchester, and the treasurership of Sarum. Strype, Annals, I. ii. 175.]

[4 See above, p. 29, note 2.] [5 See above, p. 24, note 2.]

[6 Infelix lolium et steriles dominantur avenæ.—Virg.]

[7 A refutation of Richard Smith's two books, concerning single life and monkish vows.]

with the greatest avidity. We are all now looking for you to publish your further commentaries on the book of Judges, and on the two books of Samuel; for all our friends are now aware that you have those books in hand, and are intending to publish them. The Swede[1], and Charles[2], the son of [the emperor] Ferdinand, are courting at a most marvellous rate. But the Swede is most in earnest, for he promises mountains[3] of silver in case of success. The lady however is probably thinking of an alliance nearer home. My friend Allen[4] has departed this life, after having been nominated bishop of Rochester. We hear at this time nothing from Scotland that can be new to you. The gospel is taught; churches are diligently brought together, and all the monuments of the old superstition demolished. The French however are still hoping to retain both the kingdom and their religion. Whatever may happen, I will write to you fully at another time. That sixtieth year is now approaching, concerning which you were sometimes wont to relate some wonderful predictions of a certain Italian, named Torquatus[5]. God grant us the enjoyment of real and substantial joy, that the man of perdition may at length be made manifest to the whole world, and the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ be universally exhibited!

Farewell, my father, and salute your wife[6] in my name, a lady indeed personally unknown to me, but with whom I am nevertheless now well acquainted, both by your letter, and our friend Abel's commendation of her. I congratulate you on her account, and her on yours. Salute masters Bullinger, Gualter, Bernardine, Herman, Julius, his wife, and my little Martyr. A long farewell to my friend Frensham, who I imagine has now departed from you to be

[1 The prince of Sweden, whose title was duke of Finland, landed at Harwich on Sept. 27, 1559, and reached London Oct. 5. His object was to make suit to the queen on behalf of the king [Eric XIV.] his brother. Strype, Annals, I. i. 291. 368.]

[2 Archduke of Austria, and brother of the emperor Maximilian.]

[3 Aug. 30, 1561, the news was that the king of Sweden was sending a great number of waggons laden with massy bullion, and other things of value to England. He continued his courtship most eagerly till 1562. Strype, Annals, I. i. 405.]

[4 Edmund Allen, an exile for religion in the reign of queen Mary. He was buried on the 30th of August. Strype, Annals, I. i. 199.]

[5 Torquatus was a physician and astrologer at Ferrara, in the 15th century. He wrote a "prognostic" of the ruin of Europe, dedicated to Matthias king of Hungary, in which he foretold events from 1480 to 1540.]

[6 Catherine Merenda, Peter Martyr's second wife, was recommended to him from the Italian church at Geneva, where she lived an exile for religion.]

with Christ. All our friends salute you, and wish you every happiness. London, November 2, 1559.

Yours most heartily, JOHN JEWEL.

Master Heton urgently entreated me to salute you in his name. Could he write Latin himself, he would not make use of my pen: believe me, there is no one who speaks of you more frequently, or with greater commendation. His wife also sends her respects both to you and yours.

XXXI. J. JEWEL TO R. GUALTER. [A. 20.]

LONDON, *Nov.* 2, 1559.

MUCH health. That you so kindly congratulate, not myself so much on this accession of care and anxiety, as our church, respecting which you tell me that you no longer despair, I return you my thanks, most accomplished sir, not indeed on my own account, upon whom I feel such a heavy burden is imposed, but in the name of our church, concerning which I perceive your thoughts are so anxiously occupied. For, as it regards myself, you well know what an undertaking it is, especially for a man unskilled in business, and always brought up in inactivity and obscurity, to be raised at once to the government of the church; and though scarcely able to manage his own affairs, to take upon himself the management of those of others. Since however it is the cause of God, I will endeavour to make up by diligence what is wanting in ability; for though I am deficient in other respects, I shall not, I hope, be wanting in inclination. Do you meanwhile, since you have safely landed your vessels, and brought them ashore, pray to God that we may at length bring our vessel, hitherto tossed by the waves, and attacked on all sides by pirates and robbers, into harbour. For the rage of the papists among us at this time is scarcely credible; and rather than seem to have been in error in any respect, they most impotently precipitate and throw all things into confusion. May that God whose honour and glory alone we look to, aid our endeavours, and confound the conspiracies and wicked designs of his enemies! Parkhurst is gone to his people at Cleeve[7], where he now reigns like a king, and looks down upon all bishops. Whatever news I had to communicate, which, indeed, was neither certain nor of much importance, I have written at some length,

[7 He was at this time rector of Bishop's Cleeve near Cheltenham.]

both to masters Bullinger and Martyr. If there is any thing in which I can contribute either to your advantage or enjoyment, bear in mind, that in whatever situation I may be, I am, and always shall be at your service.

Fare thee well, most excellent and accomplished sir. Salute in my name the honoured lady your wife, as also masters Bullinger, Simler, Lavater, Zuinglius, Frisius, Gesner, Wolfius, and your other friends whom I so justly value. Though Parkhurst is a long way off, yet I salute you, your wife, and all your family, in his name. All our friends salute you and all yours. Again farewell. London, Nov. 2, 1559.

Yours from my heart, JOHN JEWEL.

XXXII. J. JEWEL TO J. SIMLER. [A. 22.]

LONDON, *Nov.* 2, 1559.

YOU congratulate me, my dear Josiah, with your accustomed kindness, but I cannot congratulate myself. For though as yet nothing more has been imposed upon me than the name of bishop, (for upon the office[1] itself and its duties I have not yet entered,) I feel nevertheless that even this burden is far beyond my strength, and that I am already beginning to bend under an empty title. What, think you, will be the case, when I come to undertake the charge itself?

Your letter, however, arrived most acceptably; for I discovered therein your affectionate regard and love to me. And what indeed that is otherwise than agreeable can proceed from Josiah, who is himself most agreeable? Wherefore, although the subject of it seems exceedingly unpleasant and annoying to me, I return you my most grateful thanks both for your letter and your congratulations.

As to your expressing your hopes that our bishops will be consecrated without any superstitious and offensive ceremonies, you mean, I suppose, without oil, without the chrism, without the tonsure. And you are not mistaken; for the sink would indeed have been emptied to no purpose, if we had suffered those dregs to settle at the bottom. Those oily, shaven, portly hypocrites, we have sent back to Rome from whence we first imported them: for we require our bishops to be pastors, labourers, and watchmen. And

[1 He was consecrated bishop of Salisbury, Jan. 21, 1560.]

that this may the more readily be brought to pass, the wealth of the bishops is now diminished and reduced to a reasonable amount, to the end that, being relieved from that royal pomp and courtly bustle, they may with greater ease and diligence employ their leisure in attending to the flock of Christ.

In that you are so earnest in your recommendation of our mutual friend Julius, although you are Josiah, yet I must think that in this matter you do me injustice. For why? am I not sufficiently acquainted with my good Julius, my host, my friend, my brother? Can his baldness, remarkable as it is, ever slip from my remembrance? No, never. As often as I behold any bald, stooping, crooked old man, clumsy and uneasy in his movements, my friend Julius is sure to come into my mind. Be assured, that under whatever circumstances, whether he may need advice, or assistance, or money,—or even a halter, Julius shall be always Julius as far as Jewel is concerned. But, joking apart, whenever my friend Julius shall come to me, if Jewel has ought to spare, he shall not want.

Fare thee well, my Josiah, and salute in my name that most excellent lady your wife, and that most talented and accomplished young man Herman. Parkhurst is gone into the country, to his *kingdom*[2]. He desired me, however, before he went, to salute you most dutifully in his name. Farewell, my Josiah, farewell: I wish I may some day be able face to face to say, Josiah, how do you do? London, Nov. 2, 1559.

Yours from my heart, JOHN JEWEL.

XXXIII. P. MARTYR TO T. SAMPSON[3]. [B. 14.]

ZURICH, *November* 4, 1559.

THE letter that you sent me on the 27th of August, I received towards the end of October: wherefore if I am somewhat late in my reply, it is no fault of mine; especially since trustworthy couriers to Strasburgh are not often to be met with. But with respect to the subject of your present inquiry, I know that I have written at length in another letter; so that either my letter must have miscarried, or you had not received it when you last wrote. But that you may not be disappointed of my advice and assistance,

[2 Bishop's Cleeve, of which he was rector. See p. 63.]

[3 There is no address to this letter, but it is acknowledged by Sampson in Letter XXXIX. below.]

I will repeat what I have before written. There seems no reason why you should trouble yourself about impropriations; for you have nothing to do with the question, whence or how the queen may choose to afford a maintenance or stipend either to the bishop or the parochial clergy. But should they seem to be destitute of suitable provision, you may petition and intercede on their behalf; or if you have more than enough yourselves, impart to them somewhat of your own comfortable means of subsistence. With respect also to wearing the round cap or habit at other times besides that of divine service, I think you ought not to contend more than is necessary; for superstition does not properly seem to have any thing to do therein. But in regard to the use of garments as *holy* in the ministry itself, seeing they have a resemblance to the mass, and are mere relics of popery, master Bullinger is of opinion that you should not use them, lest a thing that occasions offence may be sanctioned by your example. But though I have always been opposed to the use of ornaments of this kind, yet as I perceived the present danger of your being deprived of the office of preaching, and that there will perhaps be some hope that, like as altars and images have been removed, so this resemblance of the mass may also be taken away, provided you and others who may obtain bishopricks, will direct all your endeavours to that object, (which would make less progress, should another succeed in your place, who not only might be indifferent about putting away those relics, but would rather defend, cherish, and maintain them;) therefore was I the slower in advising you rather to refuse a bishoprick, than to consent to the use of those garments. However, as I saw that offences of that kind must be altogether avoided, I easily fell into his opinion. But where altars and images are retained, I myself of my own accord maintain, as I have also written to you in another letter, that you must by no means officiate.

This is all that I can write upon the present subject. And you must take care on your part not to do any thing against your conscience. But I am afraid lest my letter should arrive too late, which fault however is none of mine, for I have not omitted any opportunity of writing. Lastly, I wish you to understand that questions of this kind are also full of difficulty to us here, and therefore advice cannot be so easily given. As to myself, when I was at Oxford, I would never wear the surplice in the choir, although I was a canon, and I had my own reasons for doing so. Wherefore I recommend you also to take advice upon the spot. I know that my example ought not to be considered sufficient to

determine you; but that which then influenced me, influences me still, and perhaps also may influence you, namely, to do nothing which might give any sanction to what my conscience disapproves. You bade me write briefly, and I have briefly written. Take it in good part, pray for me, salute our friends. Master Bullinger salutes you, as doth also my wife, and Julius with his wife. Fare you well, my most loving brother and esteemed master in Christ. Zurich, Nov. 4, 1559.

PETER MARTYR.

XXXIV. J. JEWEL TO P. MARTYR. [A. 23.]

LONDON, *Nov.* 5, 1559.

Two days after my return from a long and tiresome journey, when, wearied and exhausted with travelling, I had written to you I know not what, three letters from you reached me at the same moment; by the most delightful perusal of which I was so refreshed, as entirely to banish from my mind all the troubles of the preceding days. For though, whenever I think about you (as I certainly do every hour of my life, and should be very ungrateful if I did not,) I am delighted at the very thought and remembrance of your name; yet when I read your letters, I seem to myself to be at Zurich, and in your society, and in most delightful conversation with you, which indeed, believe me, I value more than all the wealth of the bishops.

As to what you write respecting religion, and the theatrical habits, I heartily wish it could be accomplished. We on our parts have not been wanting to so good a cause. But those persons who have taken such delight in these matters, have followed, I believe, the ignorance of the priests; whom, when they found them to be no better than mere logs of wood, without talent, or learning, or morality, they were willing at least to commend to the people by that comical dress. For in these times, alas! no care whatever is taken for the encouragement of literature and the due succession of learned men. And accordingly, since they cannot obtain influence in a proper way, they seek to occupy the eyes of the multitude with these ridiculous trifles. These are, indeed, as you very properly observe, the relics of the Amorites. For who can deny it? And I wish that sometime or other they may be taken away, and extirpated even to the lowest roots: neither my voice nor my exertions shall be wanting to effect that object.

As to your writing that there are some persons[1] who as yet have given no expression of their good will to you, I rather suspect to whom you allude. But believe me, they are neither in the rank or position you suppose them to be, and in which all [our] Israel hoped they would be. For if they had been—They have hitherto refrained from writing to you, not from any disinclination or forgetfulness of you, but because they were really ashamed to write. Both of them are now suffering most severely under an attack of ague; but Ἀρχιμάγειρος [Sir Antony Cook], as being of a more melancholy temperament, is much the worse.

With your usual affection to the common cause, you were grieved at hearing that no provision had been made for any one of us. You may now resume your grief, for nothing whatever has been done up to the present moment. We only bear about the empty titles of bishops, and have deserted the ranks of [Duns] Scotus and Thomas [Aquinas] for those of the Occamists and *Nominalists*. But as you know, state affairs move slowly. The queen herself both favours our cause, and is desirous to serve us. Wherefore, although these beginnings are painful enough, we do not lose our spirits, nor cease to hope for better things. That which easily comes to maturity, easily decays.

I wrote to you, as I remember, at some length, respecting your book, before I left London; but my letter, as is often the case, was probably lost on the road: I added also, that the queen of her own accord eagerly perused both your letter and the book itself, and wonderfully commended both your learning and character in general; and that your book was made so much of by all men, that I know not whether any thing of the kind was ever so valued before. But alas! what must I say, when no recompence has been as yet made to you? I am ashamed, and know not what to answer. The queen however made diligent inquiry of the messenger, as to what you were doing, where you lived, in what state of health and what circumstances you were, and whether your age would allow you to undertake a journey. She was altogether desirous that you should by all means be invited to England, that as you formerly *tilled*, as it were, the university by your lectures, so you might again *water* it by the same, now it is in so disordered and wretched a condition. But since then, the deliberations about Saxony and the embassy from Smalcald have put an end to those counsels. Yet, whatever be the reason, nothing is at this time more talked about, than that Peter Martyr is invited, and daily

[1 Sir Thomas Wroth, and Sir Antony Cook. See the next letter, p. 73.]

expected to arrive in England. Oh! how I wish that our affairs may sometime acquire stability and strength! For I am most anxious, my father, to see you, and to enjoy your most delightful conversation and most friendly counsels. If I should ever see that day, or rather, as I hope I may say, *when* I shall see it, where is the Amiens or Salisbury that I shall not look down upon? Farewell, my pride, and more than the half of my own soul. Salute in my name that excellent lady your wife: may God grant her a happy delivery[2], and make you the father of a beautiful offspring! Salute masters Bullinger, Gualter, Lavater, Simler, Gesner, Frisius, Julius, his wife, and my little Martyr, likewise Herman, your friend and mine. All our friends salute you. London, Nov. 5, 1559.

Yours most heartily, JOHN JEWEL.

XXXV. J. JEWEL TO P. MARTYR. [A. 24.]

LONDON, *Nov.* 16, 1559.

MUCH health. Although I wrote to you not many days since, and there is nothing going on here at this time which you would much desire to know, yet since I doubt not but that you wish it, I had rather write that *nothing*, than dismiss the courier, who, as I have just learned accidentally, is about to proceed to Cologne, without a letter from me.

Religion among us is in the same state which I have often described to you before. The doctrine is every where most pure; but as to ceremonies and maskings, there is a little too much foolery. That little silver cross, of ill-omened origin, still maintains its place in the queen's chapel. Wretched me! this thing will soon be drawn into a precedent. There was at one time some hope of its being removed; and we all of us diligently exerted ourselves, and still continue to do, that it might be so. But as far as I can perceive, it is now a hopeless case. Such is the obstinacy of some minds. There seems to be far too much prudence, too much mystery, in the management of these affairs; and God alone knows what will be the issue. The slow-paced horses retard the chariot. Cecil favours our cause most ardently. The bishops are as yet only marked out [for promotion], and their estates are in the mean time gloriously swelling the exchequer. Both our universities, and

[2 Peter Martyr had two children by this wife, who both died very young, and before him; and he left her with child of a third, which proved a daughter.]

that especially which you heretofore cultivated with so much learning and success, are now lying in a most wretched state of disorder, without piety, without religion, without a teacher, without any hope of revival. Many of our leading men, and those not unknown to you, are fixing their thoughts upon yourself, and are anxious that you should be invited at the earliest opportunity, in spite of all the German leaguers. But I, who most of all mankind, anxiously and above all things desire to see you, cannot but recommend you, if you should be invited, (which however I scarcely think will be the case in the existing state of affairs,) to do nothing in a hurry. I know your prudence, and you also, I hope, on your part, are aware of my regard for you. I can indeed with truth affirm thus much, that there is no man to whom your presence would be more agreeable than to myself. But yet, as our affairs are so fluctuating, uncertain, unstable, and in one word, *insular*, I had rather hear of you absent and in safety, than see you present among us and in danger.

But all this is very little to the purpose; for it is but just that learning should be silent amid the din of arms. We are aiding our neighbours, the Scots, both by land and sea. For you know [the old saying],

> "'Tis like to prove your own concern,
> When neighbouring walls begin to burn[1]."

They say that the French king is coming with all his army; and he will probably be met by no inferior numbers.

Pamphilus[2], the companion of your friend Crito, has lately

[1] "Tum tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet."

[2] The fictitious names of *Pamphilus* and *Crito* occur not unfrequently in Jewel's correspondence with Peter Martyr. The following extracts from the state papers of the time are presented to the reader, with the view of aiding him in the detection of the persons intended by them.

1. In a letter from Sir Nicolas Throgmorton to secretary Cecil, dated Paris, June 21, 1559, is the following passage; "I praye you Sr. in case *Thomas Randal* be not dispatched before the receipt hereof, to worne him, that after his arrivall in France he take upon him to be a merchant,……*and that his passage may be as secretly as may be.*" Forbes's Full View of the public transactions in the reign of queen Elizabeth. Vol. I. p. 136.

2. Another letter from the same to the same, dated June 28, 1559, states, "The French king hath lately sent sertayne commyssyoners to apprehend th' *erle of Arrayne*, with grete severite and extremity, to bringe hym either quicke or deade. Whereupon the sayd erle of Arrayne, to save hys lyfe, is fled, no won can tell whyther." Forbes, p. 147.

3. The queen thus writes to Sir N. Throgmorton, July 17, 1559.

written to me from Scotland, as well about other matters, as that I should write to you something, I hardly know what, (for he did

"Touching the *erle of Arrayne*, as theis bearers can declare unto you, we be desyroose that he shold be helped from Geneva into this realme, or into *Scotland;* and for that purpoose, our meaning shall better appeare in a memoryall, ciphred by the new last ciphre, sent from you.....whereunto we remitt you." Forbes, p. 162.

4. Extract from the above mentioned memorial. "The sauff conveying of the *earl of Arrayne* hither unto this realme, or *Scotland*, semeth here a thing both proffitable, and nedeful. The doing of it cannot be here prescribed, but is referred to your discretion; wherein ye shall observe great commendation. It must be done *secretly*, as well in respect of th' emperor's subjects and friends, and the king Catholique's as of the French's.....Ye must nedes take the chardge to appoint one for the expedition of the earl of Arrayn, from Geneva."

5. The queen again writes to Sir N. Throgmorton, July 19, 1559. "Common charite, the honor of the partye, and our own experience of such lyke calamities, moveth us to have compassion; and therefore we wold, that ye shuld employe your wisedome, how he might be safely counselled to preserve hymselfe from the danger of the Frenche king and the Guises. Wherein although there maye many other wayes be devised; yet we see not presently, if he shall be forced to depart thence, (which we wold not without evident necessite,) than ether, *persona dissimulata*, to goo to Geneva, and there to remayne, untill tyme shall reveale hym furder counsell; or els to come into our ile of Jersaye, and so to come to Plimmonth or Hampton, and so to passe to his father unto *Scotland.*" Forbes, p. 166.

6. It appears from a memorial dated July 21, 1559, that Henry Killigrew was sent to Sir N. Throgmorton, to "devise the most *secret* and spedy wayes to convey the erle of Arrayne from Geneva." His directions were "to provide that the said erle comme not into the possessions of th' emperor, the kings of Spayne, the bishops papists, nor others confederate with the French, *that he in no wise appeare who he is, in all his journaye, not to his most assured, but ether as a merchant, or scoller.*" Forbes, p. 171.

7. Killigrew arrived at Paris July 22, and on the 27th, Sir N. Throgmorton writes to the queen, "Of the *earle of Arrayne* I have not learned any thing certainly, since the dispatching of *Mr Randall* from hence to Chastelereu, in the company of th' erle of Arrayne's master of the horse; and whether th' erle of Arrayne be at Geneva, or *Tigure*, where order was by me taken for his arryvall, I do not yet know." Forbes, p. 172. If he visited Tigure, (Zurich), as seems probable from the above extract, it will account for Jewel's mentioning him as the friend and guest of Pet. Martyr, in letter XLIII. It appears that Randolph met the earl of Arran at Geneva, and accompanied him from thence.

8. Sir N. Throgmorton writes to Sec. Cecil, July 29. "I suppose youe shall hear of the earl of Arrayne there in England before I can now here of hym; for he departed the 6 of July from Losanna in Suyser-land in post, and sent me word he wold embark, where he cold most commodiously find passage." Forbes, p. 183.

not clearly express himself,) respecting our friend Frensham. He seemed, however, to wish me to make some inquiry respecting Frensham's will. What has been done about it, I do not know; but I entreat you, since there is no one else in those parts, upon whom I can take the liberty of imposing so much trouble, to undertake the management of this business, together with your friend Julius. If Frensham is still alive, I wish him well: if he is, as I suppose, and am informed by letter, no longer living, I hope it is well. I hear that a packet of your book upon vows, against Smith, has arrived in London, and that there is among them a copy sent by you expressly to myself. I have not yet seen it, for I am often absent from London, and am much taken up by my engagements in different parts of the country; but wherever it may be, I will scent it out. Meanwhile, however, I offer you, as I ought to do, and as your kindness demands, my lasting thanks. I would not that master Bernardine[1] should suppose that I have forgotten him. My influence and exertions have not been wanting; but every thing is now sought after, and retained for the support of the army. The five Italian crowns, which I received from master Barthol. Compagni in his name, I handed over to Acontius. We are now exerting ourselves about his canonry; and there is a good prospect of obtaining it.

If my friend Julius should come to us, I promise him every kindness: I advise him, however, to wait a little while, lest we

9. By a letter of Cecil to Sir R. Sadler and Sir James Croft, of Sept. 11, 1559, it appears that the earl of Arran travelled under the feigned name of Monsr. de Beaufort. He says, "I wold be gladd to here of the sure entry of Monsr. de Beaufort, *ye knowe what erle I mean.*" Sir R. Sadler's state papers. Vol. I. p. 437.

10. A letter from Sir R. Sadler to Cecil, dated Berwick, Sept. 16, 1559, states, without mentioning the earl's name, that "*he was safely delivered in Teeydale to one of his friends hands, that undertoke to convey him surelie and secretlye to his father;* so you shall understande that we have now certein advertisement, that he is *safely in the castell of Hamilton with his father;*..... and hitherto he remaineth there, so *secret*, that at the writing thereof it was *not known in Scotland, that he is arrived there.* He hath *sent hither for Randall whom we woll send unto him by the same man that conveyed him before, with as moch spede as we may covenyently.*" Sadler, p. 447.

It will readily be concluded from a comparison of these extracts, that the Pamphilus and Crito in Jewel's correspondence, are the Randolph and earl of Arran above mentioned.]

[1 Bernardine Ochinus accompanied Peter Martyr into England in 1549, and was received into the family of archbishop Cranmer. Strype, Memorials, II. i. 309. Cranmer, 279.]

should be obliged to return together to Zurich. Farewell, my father and much esteemed master in Christ. Salute the excellent lady your wife, and give a kiss for me to your little son Isaac, whom I can fancy that I hear bawling even here. Salute masters Bullinger, Bernardine, Gualter, Simler, Gesner, Lavater, Wickius, Haller, Wolfius, (that most agreeable man, and native of a most honourable city), Frisius, Herman, our friend Julius, his wife, and that most good tempered boy Martyrillus. Almost all our friends are dispersed among the Gentiles. Bishops Grindal of London, Sandys of Worcester, Cox of Ely, together with [Sir Antony] Cook, and [Sir Thomas] Wroth, who are still suffering with ague, salute you. Again and again, my father, farewell. London, Nov. 16, 1559.

Wholly yours, JOHN JEWEL.

XXXVI. J. JEWEL TO P. MARTYR. [A. 25.]

LONDON, *Dec.* 1, 1559.

THERE was brought me yesterday from Scotland a letter from Pamphilus[2], the presiding angel and companion of our friend Crito, respecting the whole state of affairs in that kingdom from the very beginning of the disturbances; all which he entreated me to communicate to you with diligence, and in the order of events. He would rather have written to you himself, if either the circumstances of time or place had allowed him to do so. As for me, since I know that you especially delight in brevity, I will write briefly.

The Scotch [congregation] at the beginning published certain declarations; first, that they only regarded the public weal, and that none of them sought any individual advantage to himself; next, that it appeared to be for the general interest, that the queen should desist from fortifying Leith, a maritime town and most convenient for the French, should there be any occasion for their services. Should she refuse to accede to this, they would then act as became men zealous for liberty, and lovers of their country. The queen however, being a haughty woman, and of French blood, rejected these terms, exclaiming that it was an indignity to her to be dictated to by her subjects. Nor were there wanting a great many Scots, who were still obedient to her authority. The result,

[2 See note 2, p. 70.]

however, was that they came to an engagement; when the bishop of St Andrews, a soldier, and worthy, forsooth, to be the slave of a weak woman, was deserted by all his own people before the battle. Only two little boys remained with him, I suppose that he might not have to return to his mistress alone and unattended.

The Scots have in their camp the preachers Knox and Goodman, and they call themselves the "congregation of Christ." Their next step was to send to the queen to retire from Leith, if she would not be driven from thence by force and violence. And from this time they began to treat about an alliance with England. The queen, a woman with a man's courage, though she was every day deserted by some of her own party, was nevertheless nowise dismayed; she kept possession of the garrison, made sallies against the enemy, planned every thing, surveyed every thing with her own eyes. The Scots are a powerful and numerous people; and had they not been unskilled in sieges and the art of war, they would have effected something long before this time. Slight skirmishes took place on both sides up to the sixth of November, after which the Scots retired into winter quarters; whereupon a rumour was spread abroad by the queen's party, that the Scots had run away with their spirits broken. But they, with their leaders, still maintain their ground, and hold councils, and increase their numbers, and levy money, and have troops in readiness, should there be any occasion for their services.

I have but briefly touched upon these matters: I will write more at length hereafter, when I shall be better informed respecting them; for great news is expected. We are raising troops, and seriously thinking about war.

Farewell, my father. Salute your wife, masters Bullinger, Bernardine, Herman, Julius and his wife.—London, the first of December, on which day I first heard of the death of (queen) Mary.

Yours, JOHN JEWEL.

XXXVII. J. PARKHURST TO J. SIMLER. [A. 26.]

BISHOP'S CLEEVE, *Dec.* 20. 1559.

I CANNOT express to you, my very kind Josiah, the pleasure it gave me to learn from your letter that you are in good health; which indeed our friend Gualter had before informed me of, but not having paid sufficient attention to his letter, I imagined you were dead. So great was my stupidity, or rather, so great my

love, that on very slight grounds I suspected what was by no means the case, and which indeed grieved me most exceedingly. *Res est solliciti plena timoris amor.*

I was restored to my [rectory at] Cleeve on the second of September, that is, after harvest, when every thing had been taken away, and nothing left for me. How then, you will say, can you subsist? Not by plunder, but by borrowing. A single harvest will set every thing to rights. Let others have their bishopricks; my Cleeve is enough for me. Many of the bishops would most willingly change conditions with me; though one or two perhaps, a little ambitious, might decline doing so. And you must know, that I myself[1] also was to be enrolled among their number; but I implored some of our leading men, and my intimate friends, that my name should be erased from the list which the queen has in her possession; and though I could not effect this by my prayers and entreaties, yet I have hitherto, by their assistance, kept my neck out of that halter. When I was lately in London, one of the privy councillors, and Parker, the archbishop of Canterbury, threatened me with I know not what bishoprick. But I hope for better things; for I cannot be ambitious of so much misery. I am king here in my parish, and for two years act as sole bishop. The bishop of Gloucester is living all this time away from hence; but every third year he has some business to transact here, as also in other places.

Thus much of my affairs, respecting which you desired information. I thank you very much for your "astronomical institutes." You have, moreover, made I know not what collections from Athanasius, and others. When do you mean to publish? I was anxious to write you a very full letter, but am prevented by my various engagements.

Salute in my name your excellent wife and recent bride, your Anna. Commend me most dutifully to Wonlychius, and his very amiable Susanna. What I write to you I write to him. Salute also in my name masters Martyr, Bibliander, Bernardine, Lavater, Zuinglius, Frisius, Pellican, Liberian, Christopher Rotaker, Stumphius, Renner, Hirter, your neighbours, male and female, and all. My wife salutes you and all the rest. Farewell. Bishop's Cleeve, Gloucestershire, Dec. 20, 1559.

Yours, JOHN PARKHURST.

[1 He was consecrated bishop of Norwich, Sept. 1, 1560. Strype.]

XXXVIII. J. CALVIN TO SIR W. CECIL. [B. 15.]

GENEVA, [after *January* 29, 1559[1].]

THE messenger to whom I gave in charge my commentaries upon Isaiah to be presented to the most serene queen, brought me word that my homage was not kindly received by her majesty, because she had been offended with me by reason of some writings[2] published in this place. He also repeated to me, most illustrious sir, the substance of a conversation held by you, in which you seem to me more severe than was consistent with your courtesy, especially when you had been already assured by my letter, how much I promised myself from your regard towards me. But though sufficient reasons prevent me from vindicating myself by a serious discussion, yet lest I should seem by my silence to confess in some measure the consciousness of having done wrong, I have thought it right to state, in few words, how the matter stands. Two years ago John Knox[3] asked of me, in a private conversation, what I thought about the government of women. I candidly replied, that as it was a deviation from the original and proper order of nature, it was to be ranked, no less than slavery, among the punishments consequent upon the fall of man; but that there were occasionally women so endowed, that the singular good qualities which shone forth in them, made it evident that they were raised up by divine authority; either that God designed by such examples to condemn the inactivity of men, or for the better setting forth his own glory. I brought forward Huldah and Deborah;

[1 This letter seems to have been written after the one dated Jan. 29, 1559, in Calvin's letters, Ep. 275. The original is preserved in the archives of the church at Berne.]

[2 One of these was composed by John Knox, and printed at Geneva, in the reign of queen Mary, about the year 1556 or 1557, and entitled *The first blast against the monstrous regiment and empire of women.* The other was printed by Christopher Goodman in 1558, and bare this title; *How superior powers ought to be obeyed of their subjects, and wherein they may lawfully be disobeyed and resisted. Wherein also is declared the cause of all this present misery in England,* [namely, in queen Mary's time,] *and the only way to remedy the same.* See Strype, Annals, I. i. 177, &c. These books were answered by Aylmer, afterwards bishop of London, in a tract entitled "An Harborowe for faithful and trewe subjectes, against the late blowne blaste concerning the government of women," printed at Strasburgh, April 1559.]

[3 Cecil, writing to Sadler and Croft, says, "Of all others, Knoxees name, if it be not Goodmans, is most odiouse here; and therefore I wish no mention of hym hither." Sadler, I. 532.]

and added, that God did not vainly promise by the mouth of Isaiah, that queens should be the nursing mothers of the church; by which prerogative it is very evident that they are distinguished from females in private life. I came at length to this conclusion, that since both by custom and public consent and long practice it has been established, that realms and principalities may descend to females by hereditary right, it did not appear to me necessary to move the question, not only because the thing would be invidious, but because in my opinion it would not be lawful to unsettle governments which are ordained by the peculiar providence of God. I had no suspicion of the book, and for a whole year was ignorant of its publication. When I was informed of it by certain parties, I sufficiently shewed my displeasure that such paradoxes should be published; but as the remedy was too late, I thought that the evil which could not now be corrected, should rather be buried in oblivion than made a matter of agitation. Inquire also of your father-in-law[4], what my reply was when he informed me of the circumstance through Beza. And Mary was still living, so that I could not be suspected of flattery. What the books contain, I cannot tell; but Knox himself will allow that my conversation with him was no other than what I have now stated. But although I was moved by the complaints of some godly men, yet, as I had not been informed in time, I did not dare to make any decided opposition, lest greater confusion should ensue. If my easiness has occasioned any offence, I think there would have been just reason to fear, lest if the subject had been brought under consideration, by reason of the thoughtless arrogance of one individual, the wretched crowd of exiles would have been driven away not only from this city, but even from almost the whole world; especially since the mischief could not now be remedied, otherwise than by applying a mitigation. I am indeed exceedingly and undeservedly grieved, in proportion to my surprise, that the ravings of others, as if on a studied pretext, should be charged upon me, to prevent my book from being accepted. If the offered present were not acceptable to the queen, she might have rejected it by a single word, and it would have been more candid to have done so. This certainly would have been more agreeable to myself, than to be burdened with false accusations, in addition to the ignominy of a repulse. However, I shall always reverence both the most serene queen, and shall not cease, most illustrious sir, to love and respect yourself

[4 Sir Antony Cook, whose daughter Mildred was married to Sir William Cecil in 1546.]

also, for your most excellent disposition and your other virtues, although I have found you less friendly to me than I had hoped, and though you say nothing about mutual good-will for the time to come. From this, however, I am unwilling to draw any unfavourable conclusion. Farewell, most accomplished and esteemed sir. May the Lord evermore be present with you, guide, protect, and enrich you with his gifts. Geneva. As I am in doubt whether my former letter has reached you, I have thought right to send you a copy.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

XXXIX. T. SAMPSON TO P. MARTYR. [A. 27.]

Jan. 6, [1560.]

I RECEIVED on the third of January the letter which you wrote on the fourth of November. I have now been in England one year, and that not a quiet one; but I fear that the year now coming on will bring me yet more trouble. I am not however the only one who am afraid for myself, but we are all of us in fear for ourselves; yet I dare not commit to writing the evils that seem to be hanging over us. I implore you therefore, most revered fathers, by Jesus Christ, and especially you, Peter [Martyr], my father and very dear master, to pray God most earnestly on our behalf. Contend for this, for this I say, that the truth of the gospel may be neither obscured nor overturned in England.

I thank you, my much endeared father, for your promptitude in writing to me. You have satisfied my inquiries, as has also master Bullinger; may our God reward you both! The consecration of some bishops[1] has already taken place. I mention, as being known to you by name, Dr Parker, [archbishop] of Canterbury, Cox, [bishop] of Ely, Grindal of London, Sandys of Worcester. One other, a native of Wales, is also a bishop[2], but with whom you are not acquainted. Pilkington [bishop elect] of Winchester[3], Bentham of Coventry, and your friend Jewel of Salisbury, will

[1 The consecration of these prelates took place in December, 1559; that of Archbishop Parker on the 17th; and of the others on the 21st. Strype, Annals, I. i. 230, 232.]

[2 Namely, Rowland Merick, consecrated bishop of Bangor, Dec. 21, 1559. Strype, as above.]

[3 He was consecrated bishop of Durham, March 2, 1560. Horn was appointed to Winchester, Feb. 16th. Strype, Annals, I. i. 230.]

follow shortly; for they are soon, as I hear, to be *consecrated*, as we call it. I am yet loitering on the threshold, for there is neither ingress nor egress. Oh! how glad should I be to find an egress! God himself knows how much I desire it. Let others be bishops; as to myself, I will either undertake the office of a preacher, or none at all: may the will of the Lord be done!

O my father! what can I hope for, when the ministry of Christ is banished from court? while the crucifix[4] is allowed, with lights burning before it? The altars indeed are removed, and images also throughout the kingdom; the crucifix and candles are retained at court alone. And the wretched multitude are not only rejoicing at this, but will imitate it of their own accord. What can I hope, when three of our lately appointed bishops are to officiate at the table of the Lord, one as priest, another as deacon, and a third as subdeacon, before the image of the crucifix, or at least not far from it, with candles, and habited in the golden vestments of the papacy; and are thus to celebrate the Lord's supper without any sermon? What hope is there of any good, when our party are disposed to look for religion in these dumb remnants of idolatry, and not from the preaching of the lively word of God? What can I hope, when injunctions are laid upon those appointed to preach, not to handle vice with too much severity; when the preachers are deemed intolerable, if they say any thing that is displeasing? But whither is my warmth of feeling carrying me away? I must be silent, though I have scarcely touched upon the heads of the misery that is hanging over us. Eternal Lord, have mercy on us, through Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour.

I will propose this single question for your resolution; for I wish, my father, to employ you as my medium of correspondence with masters Bullinger and Bernardine. It is this: whether the image of the crucifix, placed on the table of the Lord with lighted candles, is to be regarded as a thing indifferent; and if it is not to be so considered, but as an unlawful and wicked practice, then, I ask, suppose the queen should enjoin all the bishops and clergy, either to admit this image, together with the candles, into their churches, or to retire from the ministry of the word, what should be our conduct in this case? Should we not rather quit the ministry of the word and sacraments, than that these relics of the Amorites should be admitted? Certain of our friends, indeed, appear in some measure inclined to regard these things as matters of indifference: for my own part, I am altogether of opinion, that

[4 See Strype, Annals, I. i. 259.]

should this be enjoined, we ought rather to suffer deprivation. I now beg of you, my father, this once to perform your part: that is, to inform me as diligently and speedily as possible, what your piety thinks of these matters, and what is the opinion of you all, I mean yourself, Bullinger, and Bernardine. His authority, I know, has very great weight with the queen. Should he at any time be disposed to write to her, to exhort her to persevere with all diligence in the cause of Christ, I can most cordially testify, what I certainly know to be the fact, and assert most confidently, that she is indeed a child of God. But she has yet great need of such advisers as himself; for what Augustine said to Boniface, is true of princes in general, namely, that they have many friends in their temporal concerns, and but few who are concerned for their souls. And what I am so anxious to obtain from him, I would also, if I dare, request from yourselves; but I submit myself in this matter to your discretion. She is acquainted, as you know, with Italian, and also well skilled in Latin and Greek. If any thing is written in these languages either by yourself, or master Bernardine, I am quite of opinion, that you will not only afford much gratification to her majesty, but perform a most useful service to the church of England. May God for ever guide you by his spirit!

Farewell, and reply to me for this once as speedily as you can. Salute affectionately in my name master Bullinger, and your wife, and Julius. Communicate only to masters Bullinger and Bernardine what I have now written; for I should be loth to have any rumours spread abroad under my name. I should not indeed have written this even to you, were it not that I hoped some good might ensue. You will perhaps either write, as I have above mentioned, or at least give me some good advice as to the question proposed. Act according to your godly discretion. Again farewell. In haste. January 6, [1560].

Yours, THOMAS SAMPSON.

P. S. If either yourself or masters Bernardine or Bullinger should think of writing to the queen's majesty, you are well aware that it must not seem as if you had been urged by any one to do so. My friend Chambers cordially salutes you. My wife is afflicted with the ague. Jane is well, as I believe are also Heton and his wife. I am living in the country, preaching Christ to the peasantry according to my measure. Pray God for me. Either Springham or Abel will take care that your letter is forwarded to me.

XL. BISHOP COX TO P. MARTYR. [A. 28.]

[LONDON.][1]

IT is a long time, my very dear friend in Christ, since I received your letter; but the book which you so courteously dedicated to me, has not yet come to hand. I happened very lately to look into a little book in the possession of some friend, which I found had been published with a dedication to myself. I acknowledge myself very much your debtor, even on this account, that some degree of notoriety has accrued by your means to such an obscure individual as I am; for it is a matter of great importance to be commended by those who are themselves distinguished both for learning and piety. And I hope that I may, some time or other, by some little act of courtesy on my part, be in a position to deserve your kindness. I will not be wanting to myself: may the Lord second my desires!

I congratulate you on your new wife, and hope also to be able to congratulate you on a new offspring. We are here diligently exerting ourselves on behalf of your friend Julius, and have already effected something. Richard Bruerne[2], an excellent Hebraist, is in possession of your prebend. If you will send me your letters of attorney for the restoration of your stall, I may possibly be able to do something for you in that respect.

As I was writing this, your book was brought to me as a present from the author. Respecting our affairs, what shall I write? By the blessing of God, all those heads of religion are restored to us which we maintained in the time of king Edward. We are only constrained, to our great distress of mind, to tolerate in our churches the image of the cross and him who was crucified: the Lord must be entreated that this stumbling-block may at length be removed[3].

The perfidy and ambition of the French [king], at the instiga-

[1 This letter has no date, but must have been written after Dec. 21, 1559, when Cox was consecrated bishop of Ely.]

[2 See note 3, p. 24.]

[3 "Cox, bishop of Ely, being appointed to minister the sacraments before her there, [viz. the queen, in her chapel] made it a matter of conscience to do it in a place which he thought so dishonoured by images; and could scarce be brought to officiate there, denying it a great while; and when he did it, it was with a trembling conscience, as he said." Strype, Annals, I. i. 260, who has preserved a letter which the bishop wrote to the queen on this subject.]

tion of the antichrist of the church, are threatening to occasion us some trouble. The popish priests among us are daily relinquishing their ministry, lest, as they say, they should be compelled to give their sanction to heresies. Our enemies are many and mighty, but the Lord is mightier than all of them.

Our neighbours, the Scots, have for the most part embraced the gospel, and are professing it under a heavy cross, which they are still forced to bear, through the violence of the French king, who is daily making attacks upon them, and contriving schemes for their extermination; so that, unless there should arise help from some other quarter, an end will shortly be put both to them and to the gospel among them. Meanwhile they must be aided by the prayers of the godly.

Greet your wife in my name, though unknown to me, and also Julius. May the Lord Jesus very long preserve you to us in safety!

Your most affectionate and very dear brother in Christ,

RICHARD COX, Bishop of Ely.

XLI. THE EARL OF BEDFORD TO R. GUALTER. [B. 16.]

LONDON, *Jan.* 21, 1560.

HEALTH in Christ. I received your[1] letter written to me last January, and choose rather to answer it in this present January than not at all; lest I should not only seem tardy in writing, but altogether unmindful of you, or forgetful of my duty in this respect. That it has not been performed sooner, you will interpret for the best, when you consider that we are separated by a very great distance, and cannot often light upon trustworthy persons to convey our letters to you. At length, however, to begin my reply, I would have you know, that the piety of your letter, the importance of your advice, your singular regard and sincere anxiety for our church, and the clear indication of your good-will towards myself, have been very gratifying to me; and I thank you for your commendation and counsel. I wish I could deserve the praises you bestow upon me as my applauder: I wish I were able to follow the counsel of my adviser as much as I desire to do; to act upon it, as well as keep it in my remembrance. I wish it were my happiness to behold our affairs in such a state as I desire, and as

[1 See above, Letter VI. p. 11.]

you recommend; we should then be in a far more prosperous as well as a more exalted condition. But your prudence is such, that you cannot be ignorant that the first beginning of nascent affairs is attended with the most difficulty, and that the wisest counsels are not immediately followed by a happy result, but that it is accomplished by degrees; and that religion, like every thing else, has crude and weak beginnings, as well as its increase, and progress, and maturity. And in reliance on a good hope, and reposing on the compassion of our most merciful God, I think that I can truly promise that this our religion, wounded and laid low as it were with a whirlwind by the tyranny of the time, and now, by God's blessing, again beginning in some measure to revive, will strike its roots yet deeper and deeper; and that which is now creeping on and advancing by little and little, will grow up with greater fruitfulness and verdure. As far as I can, I am exerting myself in this matter to the utmost of my poor abilities: others too are labouring for the same object, to which especially is directed the godly diligence of certain preachers, and particularly of Jewel, now elected a bishop, and your friend Parkhurst; to both of whom, excited by your commendation of them, as well as by the report of their virtues, I am most favourably disposed, as I ought to be, and consider them deserving of the greatest honour and advancement. We have need of these and other artificers and architects to build up the church of God. We have need also of your assistance. We commend ourselves and our England to you, and to your godly prayers. Pray that God may build up this house, already begun, into a holy temple, to the glory of his name and the consolation of his people; and may he bless your pious labours. Farewell, most learned and courteous sir. Salute for me all my brethren in the Lord, to whom I wish every happiness. May Christ prosper your endeavours, that you may daily more and more exert yourselves to subvert and destroy the kingdom of Satan, the pomp of the world, and the power of antichrist, so that the church of Christ may be preserved among you and in all other places safe and unshaken. London, Jan. 21, 1560.

Yours heartily, F. Bedford.

XLII. P. MARTYR TO T. SAMPSON. [B. 17.]

ZURICH, *Feb.* 1, 1560.

GREETING. I have received, my very dear brother in Christ, and most honoured master, two letters from you at the same time, namely on the 24th of January; the one, dated in the month of October, the other in December. Wherefore you perceive how long they are in coming. I have already replied twice to your inquiries; but if my letters are intercepted, or are so long in reaching you, you must not charge me with neglect, but should rather lament the ill fortune of our letters than find fault with me as though I had discontinued my duty of writing. However, setting aside complaint, I come to the subjects upon which you require information. In the first place, I exhort you, by reason of the great want of ministers in your country, not to withdraw yourself from the function offered you: for if you, who are as it were pillars, shall decline taking upon yourselves the performance of ecclesiastical offices, not only will the churches be destitute of pastors, but you will give place to wolves and antichrists. By remaining without any office you will be so far from amending those things which you dislike, that you will hardly retain what is now conceded. But if you sit at the helm of the church, there is a hope that many things may be corrected, though not all. You say that they have taken away the church[1] lands; but consider that *you* have not alienated them. These things have been done without your concurrence, so that there is no blame in this respect to be laid upon you. Meanwhile, what income is left for the parochial clergy? They must be maintained by the bishops. In this matter we must put our trust in God, who will open some way, and point out some means for their support. He feedeth the fowls of the air, he clothes the lilies of the field; nor doth he ever forsake any one who is rightly walking in his vocation. But you must take heed lest you be thought by those who seek occasions against you, as though you had an eye to wealth and personal interest.

As to the square cap and episcopal habit in ordinary use, I do not think there is need of much dispute, seeing it is unattended by superstition, and in that kingdom especially there may be a po-

[1 The queen now (chiefly to gratify some of her courtiers) made exchanges with her bishops by the authority of a late act of parliament; taking to herself their ancient good manors and lordships, and making over to them in exchange tithes and impropriations. Strype, Grindal, 42.]

litical reason for its use. Touching the garments which they call holy, I confess the case is somewhat more difficult, and one that troubles me not a little, so that I wonder they are so pertinaciously retained. For I should wish every thing to be done with the greatest possible simplicity. I think however that if peace could obtain between the churches of Saxony and our own with respect to doctrine, this sort of garments would never cause a separation; for though we should by no means approve of them, we would nevertheless bear with them, congratulating ourselves upon our having got rid of them. You may therefore use those habits either in preaching, or in the administration of the Lord's supper, provided however you persist in speaking and teaching against the use of them. But I can never recommend any one, either when about to preach or to administer the Lord's supper, to have the image of the crucifix upon the table.

As touching the correction of the papists for things past, you must remember that punishments have been more than once discontinued for the sake of peace; and that an amnesty hath sometimes been granted in the church, and that heretics have been received with their former honours and dignities, provided only they would subscribe unto sound religion. Care however must be taken by you, that in future they do nothing in opposition to the religion now received. But as to those who are presented to you by their patrons to be promoted by reason of advowsons, such persons ought not to be instituted by you without subscribing to the religion which is now established; which if they will not do, I think you are at liberty to reject them.

With regard to the unleavened bread which is used at the holy Supper, none of our churches, as you are well aware, have any contention about it, nay, indeed, they all every where make use of it. And whereas you write that very many persons are offended with the episcopal habits and the holy garments, as they call them, I can easily believe it. But you will avoid all blame in this matter, if you will shew in your sermons that they are also offensive to yourselves, and if you will endeavour by every means in your power that they may sometime be laid aside. But concerning those processions in Rogation-week, which seem to have been derived from the Ambarvalia[2] of the heathen, I scarcely know what I can rightly advise you. This I say, that superstition is altogether to

[2 The Ambarvalia were solemn processions in honour of Ceres. See Virg. Georg. I. 338, &c.]

be avoided. But if in these processions only prayer is made to God, that he will graciously supply us with new fruits, and grant us a good use of them, and thanks be given at the same time for the sustenance of the year preceding, superstitions perhaps will seem to have been sufficiently avoided: although both magistrates and people should be instructed against such ceremonies, and every effort must be made to get rid of them as relics of the Amorites.

These were the things, my brother, that I had to write at present. May God either commend these to your judgment, or suggest better! Upon the whole matter I have conferred with Master Bullinger, who both gives his assent, and sends you his hearty salutations. My wife too, with Julius and Anna, desire their commendations to you and all yours. Zurich, February, 1560.

Yours wholly, PETER MARTYR.

XLIII. BISHOP JEWEL TO P. MARTYR. [A. 29.]

LONDON, *Feb.* 4, 1560.

MUCH health. O my father! what shall I write to you? My materials are not great, but my time much less. However, as I know that you delight in brevity, I will write briefly after your example.

This controversy about the crucifix is now at its height. You would scarcely believe to what a degree of insanity some persons, who once had some shew of common sense, have been carried upon so foolish a subject. There is not one of them, however, with whom you are acquainted, excepting Cox. A disputation upon this subject will take place to-morrow. The moderators will be persons selected by the council. The disputants on the one side are the archbishop of Canterbury and Cox; and on the other, Grindal the bishop of London and myself. The decision rests with the judges. I smile however, when I think with what grave and solid reasons they will defend their little cross. Whatever be the result, I will write to you more at length when the disputation is over; for the controversy is as yet undecided; yet, as far as I can conjecture, I shall not again write to you as a bishop. For matters are come to that pass, that either the crosses of silver and tin, which we have every where broken in pieces, must be restored, or our bishopricks relinquished.

For your kind entertainment of my friend Frensham I return you, my father, the thanks I ought to do. Your letter first in-

formed me of his death. I know not what to say respecting the money which he left at Zurich on his decease; for I have never seen his will myself, and my friend Randolph, who has seen it, is now in Scotland. However should there be any thing, I would by all means have provision made for my friend Julius. And I beg you to make it known to him in my name, that should there be any thing which Frensham has not bequeathed to any one by name, he may keep a portion for himself, and use his own discretion in the matter.

Various reports, and all of them favourable, are announced from Scotland. And it must suffice, at present, to have told you this in one word; for I have as yet nothing certain to relate as to the particulars. We have a large body of troops on the borders, and are bringing succour to the Scots, both by land and sea. Your guest Crito, and his friend Pamphilus, are not idle. The saucy youth came to Athens, and won the good graces of Glycerium[1]. Do you know? But what am I doing? I am in want of time, overwhelmed with business, and unwillingly obliged to conclude. You should know, however, that your friend White, the *great* and *popular* bishop of Winchester, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, Baines of Lichfield, and Tunstall the *Saturn*[2] of Durham, all died

[1 That the queen was courted by the *earl of Arran*, appears from the note in p. 42. The following extract from a letter of Sir N. Throgmorton to the queen will throw additional light upon this subject. It is dated Paris, August 25, 1559. "I perceive by his (the king of Navarre's) discourses to me, he wolde have yowe marry none of the house of Austria, neyther the *earl of Arran*, neither any that I have heard namyd...I wolde wyshe your majestie should honorablye and very graciously receave the earl of Arran in your courte, geving hime as good hope as any other; for yf he be the same that they here report of him, he is as well worthy as any other." Forbes's Full View, &c. Vol. I. p. 212. The interest manifested by the queen for the earl of Arran appears from her letter to Sir N. Throgmorton, of which an extract is given in p. 71. She added, however, "In any wise, let not hym think this our promptnesse to releve hym commeth uppon any other cause, than that in honer both for God's cause, and his parentage, we cannot permitt hym to be oppressed with this calamitee, adding hereunto the experience that we ourselves have in these and worse cases felt and yet passed, through the inestimable goodness of Almighty God." Forbes, p. 166. Agreeable to this is the instruction sent to Sir N. Throgmorton, that the earl "must be informed that this the quene's majesty's inclination to helpe hym is of hir princely nature, to releve such noble personages as be in adversite, uppon the experience of hir oune lyk trooble, and for the preservation of the sayd erle." Forbes, p. 171.]

[2 He died Nov. 18, 1559, having lived to the age of eighty-five or eighty-six years. Strype, Annals, I. i. 213.]

some days since. Sampson is in the country, a long way off; Parkhurst in his kingdom[1]. You must not therefore be surprised, if they do not often write to you.

Salute, I pray you, the most reverend father, master Bullinger, Bernadine, Wolfius, Herman, and Julius, to all of whom I would gladly write at this time, had I leisure. Salute the excellent lady your wife, and Anna, and my little Martyr. Heton, Abel, and their wives, Grindal, Sandys, Scory, Falconer, Aylmer, salute you; and though they wish all good things for you, they nevertheless desire nothing more than England. However, as matters now stand, believe me, it is as well to be at Zurich. Farewell, my father, farewell. London, February 4, 1560.

Your most devoted, JOHN JEWEL.

XLIV. BISHOP COX TO G. CASSANDER. [B. 18.]

Ely House, LONDON, *March* 4, 1560.

WERE I to attempt, my very dear friend in Christ, to enumerate all your friendly offices towards me, I should indeed labour to no purpose. Meanwhile, you must know that they are treasured up in the inmost recesses of my heart, as obligations which it will be impossible for me ever to forget. After it seemed good to our Lord, on whose providence we evermore depend, to recall me to my country, I left Worms among the foremost [of the exiles] and went to Cologne, in the hope of meeting both Cassander and Cornelius, and of bidding them farewell; but I could find neither of them. From thence I proceeded straight to England, where, thank God, since the death of Mary, every thing is quiet. Elizabeth, the lover and patron of godliness, is on the throne, and by her the popish superstition is driven away, the gospel of Christ re-established, the popish clergy banished, the shepherds of Christ restored. The Lord grant that we may shew forth our profession of the gospel of Christ by a life worthy of the gospel, lest hereafter a worse thing happen to us! There is no open quarrel, but yet there does not exist an entire agreement among us with respect to setting up the crucifix[2] in churches, as had heretofore been the practice. Some think it allowable, provided only that no worship or veneration be paid to the image itself: others are of opinion, that all images are

[1 i. e. his rectory at Cleeve, where he calls himself king, p. 75.]

[2 See above, Letter XL. p. 81.]

so universally forbidden, that it is altogether sinful for any to remain in churches, by reason of the danger so inseparably annexed to them. But we are in that state, that no crucifix is now-a-days to be seen in any of our churches. As I have always deferred very much to your judgment, I earnestly request you to be so kind as briefly to let me know your opinion upon this subject. I have nothing at this time worth writing to you about, except that our neighbours, the Scots, are under some apprehension from France, those especially who embrace the gospel, and who form a tolerably large proportion of the population. We must pray the Lord to vouchsafe to be on their side. I should be rejoiced to hear, on account of the respect I bear him, that your Duke is promoting the true religion of Christ in spite of all the papists. Farewell in Christ, my very dear Cassander, and salute your most faithful Achates, and my beloved masters Gerard the merchant, John and Gualter Gymnicus and Ambrosius, of Duisburg. From the city of London in England, at my house in Holborn. March 4, 1560.

Your much attached,

RICHARD COX, Bishop of Ely.

XLV. BISHOP JEWEL TO P. MARTYR. [A. 30.]

LONDON, *March* 5, 1560.

MUCH health in Christ. Although these engagements of mine have the effect of making me write to you less frequently, they will never make me either love you less, or have you less frequently in my thoughts. For how can I do less, especially to one whom I ought to regard as a father? I wrote to you not long since by our friend Burcher, by whom also I received your letter, though after a long interval; for notwithstanding it was written at the beginning of October, I did not, I think, receive it till the thirteenth of January; so long was he compelled to linger on the road. This, I imagine, has likewise not unfrequently been the case with respect to my letters to you; and especially since our friend Abel has left Strasburgh, where there is no Englishman now remaining, who can undertake the management of these matters.

Should the will of my friend Frensham be at this time sent to Frankfort, I have given a commission to Conrad, the servant of Arnold Birkman, an honest and trustworthy young man, to receive it from Froschover, and take it away with him, and keep it under his own care. For I shall not be in London when he returns, as

I have long been anxious to go to Salisbury, but have been prevented by a thousand hindrances. In the mean time, while I am detained here, I know not what Pan is tending my sheep! But I know nothing about that will and the money; and can do nothing without Randolph. For if I did know, or were able to act, I would make over liberally, and without solicitation, a certain sum to our friend Julius. But Randolph is still absent in Scotland, a long way off; so that I still keep by me unbroken the letters written to him both by Bullinger and yourself. Indeed, I do not see by what means they can be safely forwarded to him, at so great a distance.

Religion is now somewhat more established than it was. The people are every where exceedingly inclined to the better part. The practice of joining in church music has very much conduced to this. For as soon as they had once commenced singing in public, in only one little church in London, immediately not only the churches in the neighbourhood, but even the towns far distant, began to vie with each other in the same practice. You may now sometimes see at Paul's cross, after the service, six thousand persons, old and young, of both sexes, all singing together and praising God. This sadly annoys the mass-priests, and the devil. For they perceive that by these means the sacred discourses sink more deeply into the minds of men, and that their kingdom is weakened and shaken at almost every note. There is nothing, however, of which they have any right to complain: for the mass has never been more highly prized within my memory; each being now valued, to every individual spectator, at not less than two hundred crowns. Your friend White, who so *candidly* and *kindly*[1] wrote against you, is dead, as I think, from rage; and religion, which you may be surprised at, has not suffered in the least. It sorely vexed this patient man to see both himself and his party laughed at by the very boys in the streets.

If our friend Julius should come over to me, he shall not want for either board, or clothing, or money; for I greatly esteem and wish him well, not only for your sake, to whom I owe every thing, but also for his own. However, as matters are at present, my advice is that he should wait a little, till the present confusion shall have subsided. Meanwhile, my father, do not suppose that there are none here who think of you in your absence. Your Divinity lecture at Oxford is still kept open, and, as I hope, for no

[1 The work here alluded to is, "De veritate corporis et sanguinis Christi in Sacramento altaris, contra Petrum Martyrem Hæreticum."]

one but yourself, if you are so disposed. Cecil is your friend. (Sir) William Petre speaks of you with the greatest kindness. After a while, when the work is finished, and the affairs of religion and the state thoroughly settled, should you be spontaneously and honourably recalled, in the name both of the queen, who still bears you in mind, and of the commonwealth, I entreat you not to be unwilling to return. You will return, I hope, to men who are not ungrateful, and who still remember you with kindness.

Farewell, my father, my pride, and the better half of my own soul. Salute in my name your wife, and your dear little boy. Salute masters Bullinger, Gualter, Simler, Lavater, Gesner, Haller, Wolfius, Frisius, and especially Bernardine, (whose affairs here I could wish to see more speedily settled,) the most talented young Herman, Julius, his wife, and my little Martyr. Farewell, my father, farewell. Oh! that I may sometime or other be allowed to say, "My father, how do you do?" London, March 5, 1560.

Your most attached friend,

JOHN JEWEL, Bishop of Salisbury.

This, if I am not mistaken, is my 13th letter. You will perceive whether they have all reached you. Should master Lælius return to his head quarters, salute him, I pray you, in my name.

XLVI. G. CASSANDER TO BISHOP COX. [B. 19.]

Dated at [WORMS, 1560.]

I HAVE received from you, reverend sir, a letter[2] written at London on the 4th of March; the reason of my tardy and brief reply to which has been a severe illness, which attacked me shortly after the receipt of it, and from which I have hardly yet begun to recover. I was glad to hear of your advancement to the dignity, or rather the work and office, of a bishop; and I pray God to grant you his Spirit, by whose aid you may fulfil that office to your own salvation and the edification of the flock committed to your charge. And I thank you too, that notwithstanding your elevation to so great a dignity, you have not been unmindful of my inferiority and lowliness; and I willingly accepted your little present of two crowns, which were inclosed in the letter, as a memorial of our former intimacy.

I understand that you are not altogether agreed among your-

[2 See above, Letter XLIV.]

selves with respect to the setting up the image of the cross or the crucifix in the church; but I do not sufficiently understand whether the question refers to the mere figure of a cross, or also to the image of Christ hanging upon it. I have seen here a certain print, which contained a cross only in the middle, with some texts of holy scripture in the English language written on each side; whence I suspect that your question only refers to the figure of the cross. But I acknowledge your modesty in requesting my opinion upon this matter: for when you abound in so many copious fountains yourselves, why should you drink water from so insignificant and turbid a streamlet? As however you desire it, I will briefly declare my sentiments. Your excellence is aware, in what frequent use and in what great esteem the figure of the cross was held among the early Christians; insomuch that it was every where placed and represented in their buildings, sacred and profane, public and private; and this too before the practice of setting up other images in the churches, whether of Christ himself, or of the saints, had come into use; that on the destruction of all monuments of idolatry, by which every thing was defiled, the figure of the cross, which was as it were a sacred symbol of Christianity, succeeded under better auspices into their place. And like as the word *cross* in the writings of the evangelists and apostles mystically signifies the passion, death, and triumph of Christ, and the afflictions of the saints; so also by the figure of the cross every where set up, and meeting the eye, they intended all these things to be set forth, as it were by a mystic symbol, and infixed in men's minds: wherefore they made a great distinction between the figure or representation of the cross, and all other images. Upon which subject you may see Charlemagne[1], Lib. II. c. xxviii. against the synod of the Greeks: for in the latter there is a simple and bare signification, while in the former there is a secret and mystical representation. Whence it was not regarded as a bare sign, but as a kind of mystery; so that it was not only represented substantially and by painting,

[1 The title of this chapter is, "Quanta ratione mysterium dominicæ crucis ab imaginibus distet, quas quidem illi eidem æquiparare contendunt." One sentence from this chapter may be quoted: Non ergo per materiales ab opificibus conditas imagines, sed per crucis mysterium, quæ a Judæis putatur scandalum, a gentibus stultitia, superba sæculi et inflata sapientia corruit. Nec per picturam quandam, sed per crucem patuit, quod stultum Dei est, quanto sit hominibus sapientius, et quod infirmum Dei est, quanto sit fortius hominibus. Caroli M. de impio imaginum cultu. Lib. IV. Hanoveræ, 1731.]

both in churches and other buildings, and upon the walls of houses, but was also frequently signed by the hand upon the forehead and breast: to which fact the most ancient ecclesiastical writers, both Greek and Latin, unanimously bear witness. This observance therefore, as it is of the greatest antiquity throughout all churches, I am unwilling should be regarded as superstitious, though I would have the superstition of the people, which is commonly discovered even in the most excellent regulations and institutions, to be repressed and guarded against; and this seems to have been your object in that representation which I saw here.

But take it, I pray you, in good part, if I freely state what I consider wanting in it. First of all, in representing this figure of the cross, I could wish that regard were had to the appearance and form of its archetype, that is, of the true cross on which our Saviour was offered; which also, were it attended to in other images of illustrious and holy men, would occasion less inconvenience: namely, that they might be preserved and looked upon only as memorials, in the same manner as we see at this day the effigies of the Roman emperors and other illustrious personages preserved in medals. Moreover, it is evident what was the form of the cross, both from some ancient images and statues, some of which I have seen, and very clearly from that most ancient writer Irenæus[2], and a more recent one, Gregory of Tours; and which is also supported by the reason of the thing itself. For how, I ask, could it be possible for a human body, weighed down at the approach of death, and hanging down in a stretched out position, not to tear asunder by its bulk and weight the palms of the hands that were nailed to the cross? And the possibility of this occurrence was so provided against, that about the middle of the standing and upright post there was let in a little board, upon which rested the feet of the person doomed to this punishment; and the nails were fastened in such a way that the appearance was not so much that of a man hanging as one standing. The words of Irenæus are plain. "The form of the cross," he says, "has five ends and extremities, two in the length, two in the breadth, and one in the middle, upon which the person who is fastened with the nails rests his weight." To this entirely agrees Gregory of Tours. "The reason therefore," says he, "that there were four nails in our Lord's cross is this: two were fastened to his hands, and two to the soles of his feet; and the question is, why the feet were

[2 Irenæus was born A. D. 140, and suffered martyrdom A. D. 202. Gregory of Tours was born A. D. 543, and died A. D. 595.]

nailed, which in the holy cross rather seemed to hang down than to stand. But it is evident that an opening was made in the upright post, and that the end of a small board was let in to this opening, and upon this board were nailed the sacred feet, as it were those of one in a standing posture[1]." I have seen representations of a cross of this kind of a considerable size, not only some pourtrayed many years ago in this country, but also a very remarkable one painted in the remotest part of Armenia, and which an Armenian priest used to carry about with him in his prayer-book, described in the language and characters of his nation; in all which figures a little board of this kind was evidently jutting out, according to the description of Irenæus and Gregory of Tours: which things, although some persons may deem them too trifling, I do not think will be displeasing to others who have a regard for what is decent.

Another point that I propose to lay before you, is, whether it would not be more suitable, if, instead of those texts of scripture with which you have surrounded and fenced on all sides that figure of the cross, there were written such texts as explain the mystery and hidden signification of it; which are both sufficiently numerous in the writings of the new testament, and exceedingly well adapted to the instruction of the people, and contain the whole mystery both of our redemption by Christ and of our regeneration in Christ. Of which kind are those in the second chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians [vv. 13—15.] *And you, being dead in sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh, hath he quickened together with him, having forgiven you all trespasses; blotting out the hand-writing of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross; and having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in himself.* Also in chap. i. [vv. 18—20.] *And he,* that is, the Son of God, *is the head of the body, the church; who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead, that in all things he might have the pre-eminence: for it pleased* [*the*

[1 Irenæus, cont. Hæres. Lib. II. c. 24. Ipse habitus crucis fines et summitates habet quinque, duos in longitudine, et duos in latitudine, et unum in medio, ubi requiescit qui clavis affigitur. Greg. Turon. de Glor. Mart. Lib. I. cap. 6. Clavorum ergo Dominicorum gratia, quod quatuor fuerint hæc est ratio: duo sunt affixi in palmis, et duo in plantis, et quæritur cur plantæ affixæ sint, quæ in cruce sancta dependere visa sunt potius quam stare. Sed in stipite erecto foramen factum manifestum est. Pes quoque parvulæ tabulæ in hoc foramen insertus est. Super hanc vero tabulam tanquam stantis hominis sacræ affixæ sunt plantæ.]

Father] *that in him should all fulness dwell, and making peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself, whether they be things in earth, or things in heaven.* And in Gal. vi. [14.] *But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.* And 1 Cor. i. [17.] *Lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect.* Gal. ii. [19.] *For I through the law am dead to the law, that I might live unto God. I am crucified with Christ.* And Matt. x. [38.] *He that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.* And chap. xvi. [24.] *If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.* These and similar texts would instruct the people in the true use of the mystery of the cross: but this you will with your wisdom determine better than I can. I should be very indiscreet in thus pretending to teach you, did I not think it improper for me not to declare in some way or other my respect for you. You will, I doubt not, receive this my rude and unpolished writing with the same modesty and courtesy with which you have written to me. Farewell. GEORGE CASSANDER.

XLVII. P. MARTYR TO T. SAMPSON[2]. [B. 20.]

ZURICH, *March* 20, 1560.

GREETING. I have not replied before to the letter that you wrote to me on the sixth of January, because I did not receive it until the first of March, and at Zurich couriers are not easily to be met with. Now you must be persuaded of this, that those things which grieve you and others like you, do also very much grieve both myself and my brethren. But I do not think it worth while to reply to your questions a second time, because I suppose all my letters have reached you, in which I gave such answer as I was able, though perhaps not such as the subject required, or so much as you yourself wished for: nevertheless I said what then seemed to be to the purpose. The things which you fear, we can avert from you no otherwise than by our prayers, which, believe me, we diligently offer and will continue to do. Finally, to come to your last question; to have the image of the crucifix upon the

[2 Strype (Life of Grindal, 47) refers to this letter as addressed to Bishop Grindal: but it rather seems to have been written in reply to that of Sampson, above, Letter XXXIX. p. 78.]

holy table at the administration of the Lord's supper, I do not count among things indifferent, nor would I recommend any man to distribute the sacraments with that rite. But you, who are in the very midst of the contest, must not expect counsel from hence, as we are at so great a distance from you: you must take counsel on the field of contest itself. A calling is not rashly to be thrown away, nor yet to be undertaken with injury to the truth. The sum of the matter is, that the worshipping of images must in no wise be tolerated. Neither master Bullinger nor myself count such things as matters of indifference, but we reject them as forbidden. Unless however you are driven to this strait, do not refuse the ministry that is offered you.

As to writing a letter to the queen upon this matter, you must understand that I am now so overwhelmed with business, that were I ever so willing, I should not have it in my power. For I have been the sole lecturer in the school for nearly two months, the reason of which there is no occasion to commit to writing. Besides this, I do not think that any letter of mine will have much weight. I have already written twice, publicly and privately, and have been unable to discover whether my letters were received. Moreover, if, as it is reported, it be the determination of your countrymen to embrace the Confession of Augsburgh, and court an alliance with the [German[1]] protestants, you may judge for yourself in what esteem my letters, and the letters of those like me, will be held. The only thing I can do, I will not fail to do; namely, to pray that your state and church, together with your most serene queen, may flourish in all happiness.

I have communicated your letter, as you wished me, to master Bernardine. He is in a weak state of health, both through old age and the diseases incident to that time of life: yet he did not decline the office of writing [to the queen,] but promises to do so as soon as he is able. As to Bullinger, I have no doubt but that he will write, for he is exceedingly zealous in this matter; but though he has read your letter, he has not yet pointed out any suggestions that I can inform you of. But you are indeed wonderful people. You pay no attention to the *public* letter of the Swiss, nay, you do not even answer it: how much notice, I pray you, will *private* letters obtain from you? But keep these things to yourself, and do not send any answer to them, for fear the letter should be lost or intercepted. Farewell. Master Bullinger, all

[1 The German protestants retained the crucifix in their churches. Strype, Grindal, 48. See above, p. 21, note 6.]

our fellow-ministers, my wife, Julius and his wife, salute you. A son was born to me on the second of March, and died on the tenth. Salute all your friends in my name, and cease not to love your Martyr. March 20, 1560.

Yours wholly, PETER MARTYR.

XLVIII. BISHOP SANDYS TO P. MARTYR. [A. 31.]

LONDON, *April* 1, 1560.

HEALTH in Christ. That I have not written to you, reverend sir, of so long a time, does not proceed from any forgetfulness of my duty to you, or from any light estimate of what your kindness deserves at my hands; but having been overwhelmed with a multitude of engagements, I unwillingly put off for a while the business of writing, which, now the opportunity of sending a letter is afforded me, I perceive can no longer be delayed. When I wrote to you at the beginning of August, I was sent by the command of the queen into the northern parts of England[2], as an inspector and visitor, as they call it, for the purpose of removing the abuses of the church, and restoring to it those rites which are consistent with true religion and godliness; and having been employed in those quarters up to the beginning of November, in a constant discharge of the duties entrusted to me, and with excessive fatigue both of body and mind, I at last returned to London. New labours here awaited me on my arrival, and an increased weight of business was laid upon my shoulders; for my services were required by the queen for the government of the see of Worcester; and the episcopal office is at length imposed upon me, though against my inclination. I wished, indeed, altogether to decline this bishoprick, as I did that of Carlisle, to which I had been nominated before; but this could not be done without drawing upon myself the displeasure of the queen, and in some measure deserting the church of Christ.

While this was going forward, Burcher delivered me your

[2 The commissioners were Francis, earl of Shrewsbury, president of the council in the north; Edward, earl of Derby; Thomas, earl of Northumberland, lord warden of the east and middle marches; Thomas, Lord Evers, Henry Percy, Thomas Gargrave, James Crofts, Henry Gates, Knts; Edwin Sandys, D.D., Henry Harvey, LL.D., Richard Bowes, George Brown, Christopher Escot, and Richard Kingsmel, Esq. The commission began at St Mary's Nottingham, Aug. 22, 1559, *Die Martis*. Strype, Annals, I. i. 245, &c.]

letter, full of all kindness; which, however, I delayed to reply to by him on his departure from hence, partly because our English affairs being at that time not much altered, but remaining in pretty much the same state, afforded very few materials for writing; and partly, because my new burden (for it may be more truly called so than an honour) distracted me most wonderfully with cares and engagements. And thus, my most esteemed sir, you have the reason of my long silence.

The doctrine of the Eucharist, as yet by God's blessing unimpugned, remains to us, and we hope will continue to remain, pure and inviolate. For both myself and my episcopal brethren will maintain it, by God's help, to the utmost of our power, as long as we live. We had not long since a controversy respecting images[1]. The queen's majesty considered it not contrary to the word of God, nay, rather for the advantage of the church, that the image of Christ crucified, together with [those of the virgin] Mary and [Saint] John, should be placed, as heretofore, in some conspicuous part of the church, where they might more readily be seen by all the people. Some of us [bishops] thought far otherwise, and more especially as all images of every kind were at our last visitation not only taken down, but also burnt, and that too by public authority; and because the ignorant and superstitious multitude are in the habit of paying adoration to this idol above all others. As to myself, because I was rather vehement in this matter, and could by no means consent that an occasion of stumbling should be afforded to the church of Christ, I was very near being deposed from my office, and incurring the displeasure of the queen. But God, in whose hand are the hearts of kings, gave us tranquillity instead of a tempest, and delivered the church of England from stumbling-blocks of this kind: only the popish vestments remain in our church, I mean the copes; which, however, we hope will not last very long.

How much injury England is now receiving by your absence, as to the affairs of the church and religion, I am accustomed very frequently and earnestly to impress upon those to whom is committed the management of the state. But their minds are so much occupied with other matters of the greatest importance, that nothing, I see, has been hitherto determined with respect to inviting you back. The queen I know was at one time very desirous of recalling you: you will easily comprehend, I suppose, what prevented it. The cause of Christ has always many adversaries, and the best

[1 See p. 86.]

persons are always the worst spoken of. This pretence of unity is daily giving rise to many divisions.

I congratulate you on your new marriage, and pray that it may be happy and prosperous; as I also wish for myself, who have lately entered into the same state of matrimony[2]. There is a wonderful preparation for war, partly to repel the French forces, if, in attempting to subjugate Scotland, they should invade our borders; and partly to aid the Scots against the French, if the latter at any time should violate the treaty of peace[3] that they have made with us. God grant that all things may turn out to the glory of his name, and the advancement of the gospel.

I have thought it right to let you know these things by letter, before I set off for Worcester, where I hope to arrive shortly. But I should have written more fully, did I not know that my brother Jewel, the bishop of Salisbury, has given you frequent and diligent information about all our affairs. Should I be able to serve you in any way, believe me, my honoured Peter, you may use my services as long as I live (nay, were it possible, even after life), according to your discretion.

Salute very much in my name, I entreat you, the illustrious master Bullinger. I am a letter in his debt; indeed, I owe every thing to him, and, should opportunity arise, I will repay him as far as I am able. Salute your wife, Julius and his wife, Herman, Paul, and my little Martyr, to all of whom I wish every happiness. Farewell, most courteous, learned, and much esteemed master Peter. In haste. London, April 1, 1560.

Yours from my heart, EDWIN WORCESTER.

XLIX. T. SAMPSON TO P. MARTYR. [A. 32.]

LONDON, *May* 13, 1560.

RELEASED at length, by the power of God, from the cares of episcopacy[4], I am enabled, my most esteemed father, to converse with you more freely than usual. But lest you should suppose

[2 This second wife was Cecilia, daughter of Thomas Wilford, of [Hastridge, in] the county of Kent, Knight. Strype, Annals, III. ii. 65.]

[3 April 8, [1559] peace was proclaimed between the queen and Henry the French king, the Dauphin of France, and Scotland, for ever. Strype, Annals, I. i. 283.]

[4 It seems that Norwich was the bishopric that was offered to him. Burnet, Hist. Reform. III. 440.]

that I am set free by any fault of my own, I would give you an account of the whole affair, did not want of time prevent me, wearisomeness dissuade me, and some other circumstances seem to forbid me. Meanwhile I entreat you thus much, not to give too easy a credence to every informant. For not only many of those persons who are most inclined to speak freely about it, are quite in ignorance of the real state of the case; but others also, who are still your friends, as they formerly were mine, and who know more themselves than they wish me to know, will perhaps relate to you (if they tell you any thing at all) what is not exactly the truth. I do not write this either as lamenting my own lot, or the injury I have received from others. I feel nothing of the kind; all I desire is, that when you hear of this matter, you will suspend your judgment till you hear, if ever you do hear it, the whole state of the case. If I am not mistaken, I have received all your letters, and return you my best thanks for having given me such advice on the subject; and I had altogether determined to adopt your wholesome counsel, and that of master Bullinger; but the thing was never carried so far as to compel me to that step. My friend Parkhurst now holds the bishopric in question, namely, of Norwich, and I wish him every success, as we all do. The danger of any improper person obtaining that see was well provided against: to God Almighty be the praise. My own unfitness too, under the circumstances, was at the same time well considered. I scarcely know how to be sufficiently thankful to the Lord God. Do you, my father, praise him, and do not cease to pray for me.

Religion is flourishing among us as heretofore, and I pray that it may flourish more and more to maturity. We are now on the point of being involved in war. May the Lord vouchsafe also to deliver us for the glory of his name! We are in fear of evil, and that to a great extent; nor will it be undeserved. But may the good Father of mercies come to our aid, and in his compassion relieve us from our troubles! In a word, I must say, that our state of affairs is such as to demand the repeated prayers of every godly person. You have therefore England most earnestly commended to your prayers.

Farewell, my excellent father, and most esteemed master. Salute most dutifully in my name master Bullinger, likewise your wife and children, Julius, and all your friends. Again farewell. London, May 13, 1560.

Yours, THOMAS SAMPSON.

L. BISHOP JEWEL TO P. MARTYR. [A. 33.]

LONDON, *May* 22, 1560.

MUCH health. If, as you tell me, eight of my ten letters have reached you, my very dear friend and father, there is much less loss than I expected; for I could never entertain the hope that even one third of the number would arrive in safety. But although they are, as usual, idly loitering on the road, or lying hid in some place or other, or even lost on the journey, I shall not on that account desist from doing my duty; nor shall I ever so act as to seem inclined to get rid of my engagement, through the treacherousness of the courier. For believe me, I am never employed more to my satisfaction than when I am either writing to you, or thinking about you. Hence, how often do I imagine myself at Zurich, and, agreeably to the delightful intimacy that exists between us, fancy that I am now hearing you, now conversing with you; to the end that, although I cannot in reality enjoy that pleasure, I may at least enjoy an ideal and shadowy gratification! But when our affairs are settled, and peace established, and the government placed on a firm footing, as I hope will shortly be the case, I shall dismiss these shadows and idealities, and, I hope, behold you face to face. For you ought to know that this is anxiously endeavoured both by myself and all good men. In the mean time, our universities, and more especially Oxford, are most sadly deserted; without learning, without lectures, without any regard to religion. The blind deity will some time or other be more favourable to us. But at present you see what is the character of these times. War, destructive war, is utterly draining the very source of wealth. As soon as a calm shall return, and these disorders shall have subsided, there shall not be wanting to your Eleazar[1] of Damascus either that which you mention, or other things of more importance. If he should, or rather when he shall, come to me, I shall regard him as a brother.

I do not assume so much to myself as to be able to afford you any consolation concerning your Eliperius[2]. But I know your good sense, and that you are wont to anticipate by reflection that comfort which time would otherwise impart. I wish, however, that you

[1 Julius Santerentianus, the attendant of Peter Martyr.]

[2 Eliperius seems to have been the son who, Peter Martyr writes to Sampson on March 20, 1560, "was born unto me the 2nd day of March, and died the 10th day of March."]

could have had, especially in your declining years, a son to survive you, so endearing, and so like yourself; not only to have amused you with his prattling, but also to have been the inheritor of your talents and piety, of all your virtues, and of your learning. But since the great and good God has willed things to be as they are, they cannot be better than as they are.

Respecting those five Italian crowns, I have written three times to our friend Julius, and twice to master Bernardine. But I delivered them seven months since to Acontius, an Italian, who is now with the earl of Bedford. He promised to take care that they should be sent over to Zurich most faithfully, and at the earliest opportunity. I am surprised therefore that in all this time Bernardine has neither received his money, nor had any intelligence either from me or from Acontius.

The will of our friend Frensham has been placed in my hands. Those two hundred crowns are still at Antwerp, in the care of Arnold Birkman, with whom they are as safe as if I had them myself. Pamphilus is in Scotland, diligently exerting himself for his friend Crito. The business therefore will not be entered upon till his return.

On the seventh of May the great spire of my cathedral at Salisbury was, not merely struck, but so shattered by lightning, that a continued fissure was made from the top for sixty feet downwards: consider whether there is any thing ominous in this circumstance. It so happened that I had not yet arrived there: had I done so, so foolish and superstitious are men's minds, that all this mischief would have been ascribed to my coming. I shall, however, go thither to-morrow, and put my hand to the plough. May God prosper his own cause!

Peter Alexander[1] came to me on the first of May, and after some days was completely reinstated in his prebend. He is now staying in London with your friend Heton, and preaching in the French church.

Crito is in high favour. Whatever enemies he had heretofore, he has at length by his piety and discretion converted into friends. This our friend Pamphilus has made known to me by letter; but concerning all these matters I am writing more fully to master Bullinger.

Our friend Falconer is dead. Parkhurst is made bishop of

[1 Of Arles. He was encouraged to come over to England by archbishop Cranmer, in 1547, and was made a prebendary of Canterbury, and rector of Allhallows, Lombard-street. Strype, Memor. II. i. 321.]

Norwich. Bonner[2], the monk Feckenham[3], [Dr] Pate[4], [Dr] Story the civilian, and Watson, are sent to prison, for having obstinately refused attendance on public worship, and every where declaiming and railing against that religion which we now profess. For the queen, a most discreet and excellent woman, most manfully and courageously declared that she would not allow any of her subjects to dissent from this religion with impunity.

We are raising forces in all quarters, and making all manner of preparation for war. If the French should come, they will not, I hope, find us unprepared. Yet, as the times now are, that enemy[5] has not so much leisure at home as to allow of his interference in the concerns of others. May God at length put an end to these disorders, that when our affairs are settled, we may be able to recall you to England! For, believe me, there is no one living about whom our friends are wont to discourse more frequently, or with greater interest and respect. Cecil, with whom I dined yesterday at court, Knolles, and Wroth, desired me to salute you very much in their name. And, what perhaps you would hardly expect, Sir William Petre, when he heard you mentioned, earnestly entreated me to do the same for him.

Give my kind remembrances to the excellent lady your wife, Bullinger, Gualter, Lavater, Gesner, Haller, Simler, Wolfius, Frisius, Herman, Paullus, my friend Julius, his wife, and the little Martyr; to all of whom, and to the whole church and commonwealth of Zurich, I pray and desire every blessing.

Farewell, my father, my father, farewell. Farewell, my most esteemed master in Christ. I commend our church and cause to your prayers. London, May 22, 1560.

Most cordially and sincerely yours, JOHN JEWEL.

[2 Sent to the Marshalsea April 20. He grew old in prison, and died a natural death in the year 1569. Strype, Annals, I. i. 214.]

[3 May 20th, *Feckenham*, late abbot of Westminster, *Watson*, late bishop of Lincoln, *Cole*, late dean of St Paul's, *Chedsey*, late archdeacon of Middlesex, at liberty, as it seems, before, were all sent to the Tower. And the same day, at eight o'clock at night, Dr *Story*, the civilian, was sent to the Fleet. Strype, Annals, I. i. 220.]

[4 He went away privately beyond sea, after some confinement in the Tower, where he was again a prisoner in 1563, perhaps for presuming to sit in the council of Trent. Strype, Annals, I. i. 215.]

[5 The Guises discovered a conspiracy among the French nobles at home, which made them desirous of recalling their army from Scotland for their own protection.]

LI. BISHOP JEWEL TO P. MARTYR. [A. 34.]

SALISBURY, *June* 1, 1560.

MUCH health in Christ. I wrote to you, my father, not long since, two days before I left London; and gave my letter as I was going away, to our friend Heton, that it might be forwarded to you by the first opportunity. Now, since I have come among my people at Salisbury, though there is no diminution in my regard for you, yea, though it is in many respects increased, and is daily increasing, by your very long, and to me most painful, absence; yet my opportunities of letter writing seem not to be what they were some time since. For I am now far distant from the crowd and bustle [of London], and am much less conversant with passing events; and when I am ever so much inclined to write, I cannot meet with a courier who is going your way. However, I will write, whatever it may be; aye, even though it be nothing at all. My letter may be lost on the road, if it should so happen; but my regard, and respect, and affection for you will never perish. The time, I hope, will at length arrive, when we may be able to salute each other in person. Should I ever see that day, and live to welcome you [in England], I shall think that I have lived long enough. This subject is one of great interest to us all; and we do not see what should hinder you, unless perhaps, as I suspect, and as I have sometimes written to you, that Peter and Paul[1] have stopped the way to your return. Woe betide such apostles! Your lectureship, however, is still vacant, and I do not know for whom it should rather be kept open than for yourself. In the mean time every thing there is falling into ruin and decay; for the colleges are now filled with mere boys, and empty of learning.

Smith is gone into Wales, where, they say, he has taken a wife, with the view, I suppose, of refuting all your arguments. However this may be, he boasts of his grey hairs and empty head. He now keeps a victualling house, and gains his livelihood by a hired tavern, despised by our friends and his own; by those who know him, and those who do not; by old and young, by himself, by every one.

Our friend Sidall[2] is a disciple of Harpocrates, and conceals his opinions; so that he is now reckoned neither among the birds nor beasts. He is, as you know, and as I also am convinced, a good sort of man, and one who esteems and loves you. And perhaps, when he sees our forces increased, he will lay aside this dissembling,

[1 Vergerius. See above, p. 31, n. 5.] [2 See above, p. 29, n. 2.]

and join us of his own accord, and openly come forward. But in mustering an army some one must needs be hindmost.

Some of the Marian bishops are in the tower. The bishop[3] of London is in his old lodging, which he formerly occupied in king Edward's time. When he was conveyed thither, and had arrived in the interior of the prison, where (being a most courteous man, and gentlemanly both in his manners and appearance) he politely saluted the prisoners who were present, and addressed them as his friends and companions; one of them immediately disclaimed this, and cried out, "Do you take me, you brute, for a companion of yours? Go to hell, as you deserve; you will find companions there. As for me, I only slew one individual, and that not without reason; while you have causelessly murdered vast numbers of holy men, martyrs of Christ, witnesses and maintainers of the truth. Besides, I indeed am sorry for what I did, while you are so hardened that I know not whether you can be brought to repentance." I write this, that you may know in what a state he must be, when even wicked and abandoned men reject and avoid him, and will not endure him in their society.

There is a prevailing report, which is indeed confirmed, both by the common discourse of many persons, and also by letter, that our forces have at length, after a long siege, taken Leith[4] by capitulation, and driven out the French garrison with only the clothes on their backs. There are various rumours respecting the terms, but we have not yet received any certain information. It is now of the utmost consequence that the English and Scots should be united, not only in a political, but also in a religious alliance. Should this take place, as I hope and desire, it will be all well respecting Crito and Glycerium. And I wish that those may not prevent it, who neither wish well to them nor to ourselves. But these matters are as yet only in their infancy, and, so to speak, immature; after a while we shall see all things more clearly. Pamphilus has not yet returned. He was appointed by Glycerium to accompany Crito. He sometimes writes to me when he has an opportunity, and hopes that things will turn out as we wish. Whatever may happen, Crito will occasion no delay.

The Swede is expected with a numerous fleet; he is a powerful

[3 Bonner's first imprisonment was in September 1549, of which the reason was, because he did not publish in a sermon the king's authority during his minority, as he was commanded. Strype, Memor. II. ii. 185.]

[4 The capitulation took place July 5, 1560. For the terms, see Camden's Elizabeth, p. 42.]

prince, with plenty of money, and very liberal in regard to expense. But he resides a long way off, and all the seas are frozen over in the winter, so that he can neither come to us, nor get back again if he did.

May God at length put such an end as we could wish to these disorders in France, and restrain the rage and wickedness of the Guises! By the blessing of God, all is now quiet among us, not only as regards religion, but also the state. The harvest is plenteous, labourers only are wanting. Yet, as the French are said to be arming a fleet, and threatening some mischief or other, lest any danger should arise unexpectedly, as is not improbable, we are raising levies in all quarters, and getting troops in readiness, in case we should require their services. For my own part, however, as times now are, I scarcely think they have sufficient leisure from their own affairs to attend to ours. You have now all our news.

I desist from making any promises respecting my friend Julius. Only let him come; he knows the way hither, and he shall not want any thing that I can give him. But why do I bid him come by himself? Let him rather wait a little while, and come with you. Yet why should I bid him wait, when he ought to have come long since?

Farewell, my father, farewell. I shall one day, I hope, say to you face to face, "My father, how do you do?" Salute in my name that most excellent lady your wife, masters Bullinger, Gualter, Lavater, Frisius, Simler, Gesner, Haller, Wickius, Herman, (if he is still with you,) Julius, his wife, and the little Martyr. We are all so scattered in this dispersion of the nations, that I cannot at all write for certain as to what our brethren are doing. I doubt not however, but that they are piously occupied in the furtherance of the gospel, and that they are mindful of you and of all your friends.

Again, my father, farewell, and pray God that he may make this our present light to be perpetual. Salisbury, June 1, 1560.

Your most attached, JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus.*

LII. N. GALLASIUS[1] TO J. CALVIN. [B. 21.]

LONDON, *June* 30, 1560.

I WAITED upon the bishop, by whom I was received very

[1] Nicolas des Gallars was recommended by Calvin to be minister to the French congregation in London, at the desire of Grindal, bishop of London, that he would send over some honest able person for that place. Strype,

courteously. I presented to him, my father, your letter[2], which he read in my presence with an open and cheerful countenance, and forthwith briefly related to me its contents; expressing his thanks to you for having written to him in so friendly a manner, and also for reminding him of his duty. He then accosted the elders who had accompanied me to his residence, to some of whom my arrival was by no means agreeable, and exhorted them not to be ungrateful to God and you, since they had obtained more than they had dared to hope for; that they should follow my recommendations, and henceforth act in all circumstances by my advice, and shew themselves friendly towards me, and admonish the whole church of their duty towards me. Then turning to me apart, he offered me his good offices, and that I might have familiar access to him as often as I wished. I requested that all matters in our church might be determined by his authority, by which means our people would be more effectually kept to their duty; and that he would be pleased to be present, or rather to preside, at the reading of your letter to them. He replied, that in this matter he resigned all his authority to myself, but that he would willingly attend, if he could be of any use. He afterwards added something about appointing as my colleague Peter Alexander, who was acceptable to the people, and had begun to gather a church before my arrival; and who was the more acceptable, because he neither required any salary, nor was likely to become a burden to what is now a poor and necessitous church; for he has a valuable prebend at Canterbury, the revenue of which he could easily receive during his absence under the plea of this appointment. I replied that I would farther deliberate and confer with him upon this matter, but that I would take no steps without consulting him[3].

[Nicolas Gallasius.]

Cranmer, 594. The following extract, taken verbatim from the original document in the archives of Geneva, refers to this subject: "Apres le deces de la Royne Marié d'Angleterre, et a l'advenement de Elizabeth sa sœur, les persecutions y cesserent et y eut quelque liberté pour les Chrestiens. L'Eglise de Londres requist a Geneve ung ministre pour redresser l'estat nagueres ruyne, et obtint Nicolas des Gallars. Alors s'en departirent les Angloys de Geneve, ayans pris humble congé de la Seigneurie, le 30 de May 1560, et presenté ung livre de leurs noms et de leurs enfans, pour estre a tousjours retenus au debvoir qu'ils avoient a la ville. Car les ungs avoient acquis le droict de bourgeoysie, et tous ensemble se estoient honnestement portez. Les Ecossois aussi s'en allerent en leur pays, ou l'Evangile commençoit aussi à florir." Chroniques de Roset, Liv. VI. Chap. 58.]

[2 This letter is printed in Calvin's Epistles, p. 232. Ed. Genev. 1575.]

[3 The above extract contains all that relates to England. There are at

LIII. T. LEVER TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 35.]

COVENTRY, *July* 10, 1560.

MUCH health in Christ Jesus. I have received two letters from your reverence, since my return to England; and I have once written to you both concerning religion, and also something about myself; which letter of mine, I learn from your first letter, came safe to hand. In your last from Zurich of the 20th of March, (which however did not reach me in England until the 22nd of June,) you state that various and uncertain reports respecting our affairs are circulating amongst you, but that you are looking for more certain intelligence from ourselves. This then is a true and certain statement which I am now writing, as were also those other things which I wrote last year, both to yourself and the people of Berne; namely, to masters John Haller, and Musculus. The true and sincere doctrine is freely preached throughout England, by those who are known to possess both ability and inclination for this work, by commendatory letters from the queen, or one of the bishops, to authorise the admission of strange preachers into the churches. No discipline is as yet established by any public authority; but the same order of public prayer, and of other ceremonies in the church, which existed under Edward the sixth, is now restored among us by the authority of the queen and parliament; for such is the name of our great council. In the injunctions, however, published by the queen, after the sitting of parliament, there are prescribed to the clergy some ornaments, such as the mass-priests formerly had and still retain. A great number of the clergy, all of whom had heretofore laid them aside, are now resuming similar habits, and wear them, as they say, for the sake of obedience[1]. There are indeed but few of us, who hold such

Zurich several very long letters written by Gallasius, relating, however, principally to the dissensions caused by Alexander in the French church in London, and referring repeatedly to the interposition of the bishop on his behalf.]

[1 The first bishops that were made, and who were but newly returned out of their exile, as Cox, Grindal, Horn, Sandys, Jewel, Parkhurst, Bentham, upon their first returns, before they entered upon their ministry, laboured all they could against receiving into the church the papistical habits, and that all the ceremonies should be clean laid aside. But they could not obtain it from the queen and parliament, and the habits were enacted. Then they consulted together what to do, being in some doubt whether to enter into their functions. But they concluded unanimously not to desert their ministry for some rites, that, as they considered, were but a

garments in the same abhorrence, as the soldier mentioned by Tertullian[2] did the crown. But we are not ignorant what occasion the papists will take from thence, as a cause of stumbling to the weak. For the prebendaries in the cathedrals, and the parish priests in the other churches, retaining the outward habits and inward feeling of popery, so fascinate the ears and eyes of the multitude, that they are unable to believe, but that either the popish doctrine is still retained, or at least that it will shortly be restored. Many of our parishes have no clergyman, and some dioceses are without a bishop. And out of that very small number who administer the sacraments throughout this great country, there is hardly one in a hundred who is both able and willing to preach the word of God; but all persons are obliged to read only what is prescribed in the books. Thus indeed is the Lord's harvest very abundant among us, but the labourers are very few. Those who were heretofore bishops, with the other leading papists, preferring the supremacy of the pope to the authority of the queen, are deprived of all their honours and emoluments in England. Some[3] of them also have been lately committed to custody and confinement, and it is not yet known what is to become of them.

The gospel is received in Scotland, not indeed universally and by general consent, but yet with great zeal and sincerity by the greater part. And the Scots have now for a long time been trying to drive the French out of Scotland, so that we are making great preparations for war, and sending a great number of troops to their assistance. There is a harbour in Scotland, which in our language is called Leith: this, fortified with ditches, ramparts, cannon and [other] arms, is in the possession of the French; the English[4] are besieging it. Numbers are slain on both sides, and, as it is said, no quarter is allowed. I have heard, what I suspect to be the case, that such now-a-days are the conditions of a peace among the

few, and not evil in themselves, especially since the doctrine of the gospel remained pure and entire. Strype, Annals, I. i. 263.]

[2 In his treatise *De Corona militis*, (written upon occasion of a donative granted by the emperors Caracalla and Severus to the soldiers, about A.D. 209), in which he defends a soldier, who having refused to place upon his head a garland such as his fellow-soldiers wore, and being brought before the tribune, and asked the reason of his non-compliance, answered, he was a Christian, and therefore could not wear it, it being unlawful for a Christian thus to adopt a pagan custom.]

[3 See above, p. 103, n. 3.]

[4 Lord Grey of Wilton advanced to the attack on Leith, at the head of 6000 English foot, and 1200 horse. Camden's Elizabeth, p. 41.]

powers of the world, that if a single prisoner is kept alive by either party, they are altogether violated, but that whatever numbers may be slain on either side, they remain in all their force. And this I gather from the circumstance, that as yet no war has been publicly declared between the French and English, but rather such a peace, as that there is free liberty of trade on both sides; while in the mean time the troops of both nations are perishing in this miserable and hostile conflict in Scotland.

If you wish for any tidings respecting myself, I would have you know, that immediately after my return to England, I travelled through a great part of it, for the sake of preaching the gospel. And there is a city in the middle of England, called Coventry, in which there have always been, since the revival of the gospel, great numbers zealous for evangelical truth; so that in that last persecution under Mary, some were burnt[1] [at the stake], others went into banishment together with myself; the remainder, long tossed about in great difficulty and distress, have at last, on the restoration of pure religion, invited other preachers, and myself in particular, to proclaim the gospel to them at Coventry. After I had discovered, by the experience of some weeks, that vast numbers in this place were in the habit of frequenting the public preaching of the gospel, I consented to their request, that I should settle my wife and family among them; and thus, now for nearly a whole year, I have preached to them without any hindrance, and they have liberally maintained me and my family in this city. For we are not bound to each other, neither I to the townsmen, nor they to me, by any law or engagement, but only by free kindness and love.

My wife has lately borne me a daughter, who is alive and well, together with three other little children, which she had brought me from her late husband. We therefore salute you and yours, and pray for you every happiness in Christ. For when I understood from your letter, that your wife, your children and sons-in-law with their children, were well, it afforded me the same pleasure as if I had been by nature, as I am in affection, one of those your children, whom I pray God in Christ to bless to you, and make happy for ever.

I hear with much satisfaction, that you have written against the sect of the anabaptists: and I do not wonder at your head-aches

[1 Among whom were Robert Glover, and Cornelius Bungey, about Sept. 20, 1555. To these may be added John Careless, who died in prison, July 1, 1556. See Foxe, Acts and Monuments, Vol. VII. p. 398, &c. Ed. 1839.]

becoming more painful and frequent with your advancing age; but I grieve, when I think upon your years and labours, and pray God, that he may be pleased long to preserve you safe and sound to us and to his church.

Many of us English, who lived together in the same house at Zurich, are now of necessity dispersed all over England, and at a great distance from each other. It is, however, impossible but that we shall all of us retain a grateful remembrance of that exceeding hospitality and beneficence, which Zurich exhibited to us under your patronage, with so much comfort and benevolence and friendly regard. Although therefore I am writing alone and separate from the rest, I must entreat you to offer thanks in all our names, both to the magistrates of the commonwealth, the ministers of the church, and the other good people of Zurich, for the seasonable, agreeable, and so much needed hospitality there afforded to us exiles for the cause of Christ. And I beg you will salute from us in the Lord that good woman Elizabeth, who attended upon us. I entreat you likewise to be so kind as to salute in my name those most pious and learned persons, Peter Martyr, Bernardine Ochinus, R. Gualter, Theodore Bibliander, your very dear sons-in-law, Lavater, Zuinglius, and Simler; and also John ab Ulmis, who formerly lived in England, and John Burcher, an Englishman, with the other pious persons among you, known to me in the Lord. It would also be doing me a kindness, if sometime in your letters to the people of Berne[2] or Arau[3], you would make mention of me with thanks. I have written, after my poor way, to the ministers and head schoolmasters of both churches, and will shortly write again, God willing. May he grant that we may always be mindful and ready upon all occasions to repay the debts we owe you in Christ! Farewell. Coventry, July 10, 1560.

Yours faithfully in Christ, THOMAS LEVER.

[2 In a letter from Lever to the martyr Bradford, he says, "I have seen the places, noted the doctrine and discipline, and talked with the learned men of Argentine, Basil, Zurich, Berne, Louvaine, and Geneva. Strype, Memorials, III. i. 404.]

[3 He had been minister of the English congregation at Arau. Strype, Annals, I. i. 153.]

LIV. BISHOP JEWEL TO P. MARTYR. [A. 36.]

SALISBURY, *July* 17, 1560.

MUCH health in Christ. I wrote to you, if I remember right, not long since, on the first of June, respecting the general state of our affairs, as it then was, or at least was reported to be, at the time of writing. You shall now receive the intelligence which is every where spread abroad among the people, and which has this day been sent to me from court.

Matters are all settled respecting Scotland. The French garrison, having sustained from our troops a siege so long and tedious, as if they were only in sport, were at last compelled to surrender. Especial care was taken by our party, to avoid every thing that might have the appearance of undue severity, through the wantonness or rage of the soldiery; so that, with the exception of those skirmishes which occasionally, as usual, took place on both sides, and which could not be without bloodshed, as little of human life was wasted as could have been expected.

The French[1] king, when he made overtures of peace, promised that he would in future relinquish those titles and armorial[2] bearings of the kings of England, which he had heretofore assumed, together with his own, in right of his Scottish wife, the great[3] niece of Henry the eighth; and that he would be content only with his lilies and ancestral titles. He engaged too, that the government of Scotland should be administered by twelve[4] commissioners, all Scotsmen; and that in case there should arise any dispute about matters of religion or civil polity, the decision thereof should rest with the parliament of the whole kingdom: that only a hundred and twenty French soldiers should be left in all Scotland; and this, not as hostile to the government, but as evidences of the defeat and disgrace they had sustained, should any one hereafter venture to call it in question: that he would have them obey the directions of

[1 Francis II. His plenipotentiaries were the bishop of Valence, and count Randau; those of Elizabeth were Secretary Cecil and Dr Wotton.]

[2 The debating of satisfaction for wrongs offered to queen Elizabeth, and about caution for the fifth article (respecting the title and arms of England and Ireland) was referred to another meeting to be holden at London; and if then it could not be agreed, it was to be committed to the catholic king. See Camden's Elizabeth, p. 43.]

[3 Mary, queen of Scots, grand-daughter of Henry's sister Margaret, by James IV. of Scotland.]

[4 The states were to name twenty four persons, of whom the queen of Scots should choose seven, and the states five. Hume.]

the twelve commissioners, in whatever they should command. Both sides separated upon these conditions. The fortress of Leith was levelled to the ground by our troops; the French were sent on board the fleet, to be taken home, sorrowful and dejected, and with scarcely the clothes on their backs. I doubt not, my father, but that all this intelligence has already reached you either by messengers, or report; yet I doubt not likewise, but that my relation of these events, even now, will neither be unpleasant nor unacceptable to you.

The Duke[5] of Holstein has returned home after a magnificent reception by us, with splendid presents from the queen, having been elected into the order of the garter, and invested with its golden and jewelled badge.

The Swede[6] is reported to be always coming, and even now to be on his journey, and on the eve of landing; yet, as far as I can judge, he will not stir a foot. Every one here is talking about a peace, I know not upon what terms; and that a general council is expected for settling the affairs of religion. For my own part I neither think that a peace will suit these times, nor that a council will ever come together.

You have now, my father, received all the news we have at present. Farewell, and take care of yourself, that is of the half of my own soul. Salute the excellent lady your wife, masters Bullinger, Gualter, Simler, Lavater, Wolfius, Haller, Gesner, Frisius, Herman, Julius, his wife, and the little Martyr. Salisbury, July 17, 1560.

Yours from my heart, JOHN JEWEL.

[5 The duke was nephew to the king of Denmark, who sent him to be a suitor to the queen, to obtain her for his wife. And this the rather to intercept the Swede, his neighbour, endeavouring the same thing. Strype, Annals, I. i. 296.]

[6 Eric XIV. son of Gustavus Vasa. About the beginning of September, she [the queen] came to Windsor, and was there every hour in expectation of the king of Sweden's coming; being very shortly looked for at Westminster, where certain works were in hand, and the workmen wrought day and night to finish them against his reception. His business was to court the queen for his wife. But he came not himself, being advised to the contrary, yet his brother [John] the Duke [of Finland] did; and was a passionate advocate for his brother with the queen. Strype, Annals, I. i. 368.]

LV. BISHOP GRINDAL TO C. HUBERT. [B. 22.]

LONDON, *Oct.* 5, 1560.

GREETING. I send you at last, most courteous Hubert, the promised account of the exhumation of Bucer and Fagius, which I have caused to be carefully drawn up by a certain learned man, who was a spectator of the whole tragedy. Many reasons have occasioned me to be thus late in performing my promise. They have arisen, partly, from my official engagements, which, in this restoration of evangelical doctrine that, by the goodness of God, we have lately accomplished through the instrumentality of our most illustrious queen, have been numerous and important; and partly, from the opportunity embraced by the university of Cambridge[1] of restoring the reputation, as they call it, of masters Bucer and Fagius by a public and solemn decree. For I was loth that there should go forth any testimony of my country's ingratitude and cruelty towards the remains of Bucer, (although it was oppressed at that time by the tyranny of the Romanists,) before the memorial of its gratitude and affection. You have therefore not only the account of the exhumation of Bucer, but also that of his restoration and in some measure his revival. I send you likewise, by way of appendix, some writings of Bucer himself, which had hitherto lain unnoticed among the papers of the most reverend archbishop of Canterbury, and which he has given me for this purpose.

Salute, I pray you, in my name your whole college, both of ministers and professors; especially masters Marpach, John Sturmius, Zanchius, Andernach, and Sebald. Commend to God in your prayers our churches, now again becoming united in Christ their

[1 Archbishop Parker, Bishop Grindal, and Dr Haddon, by virtue of power committed to them by the queen, wrote letters to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Andrew Pern, and the rest of the University of Cambridge, to restore Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, deceased in that university, to their due honour. The said letters being read in the senate, it was asked, *Placetne vobis ut gradus et honoris titulus, quæ olim Martino Bucero et P. Fagio publicis hujus academiæ suffragiis adempta erant, eisdem in integrum restituantur, et omnes actus contra eos aut eorum doctrinam rescindantur?* which they all agreed to. This was done July 22; and on the 30th Dr Acworth, the public orator, made an oration publicly in St Mary's in honour of these learned men; which done, Dr James Pilkington preached from the 112th Psalm. See Pilkington's Works, Parker Society's Edition, p. 651, Strype, Parker, I. 170, Historia de obitu Buceri, &c. appended to Buceri Scripta Anglicana, Basil. 1577, p. 935, &c.]

head. Both I myself, and all the rest of us, who were received there with so much kindness and hospitality during the time of our exile, pray for every blessing and happiness to the state of Strasburgh, and are prepared to shew every manifestation of gratitude in our turn, if we can any way be of use to it. Salute likewise my very courteous host, master James Heldelin, the minister at Wasselheim, together with his most excellent wife. May the Lord preserve you all, and guide you by his Spirit! Amen. Dated at London, Oct. 5, 1560.

Your much attached in Christ,
EDMUND GRINDAL, Bishop of London.

I have sent, for the most part, the originals themselves. Should there be any errors either in the arrangement or orthography, you will use your own judgment in correcting them.

LVI. BISHOP JEWEL TO P. MARTYR. [A. 38.]

SALISBURY, *Nov.* 6, 1560.

MUCH health in Christ. What to write to you at this time, my father, I do not know. For I have very little news, and much less time for writing, as I am now preparing for the assembling my clergy, and the visitation of my diocese; which will be a work of two months. I was on the point of writing to you, I know not what, about a month since; indeed I had already begun my letter. But when a rumour was every where circulated about you, unfavourable to yourself, painful to us all, and to myself especially most distressing; and this too, not only confirmed by common report, but also by the letters of Grindal and the archbishop of Canterbury, I was, believe me, compelled through grief and anxiety of mind to leave off, and tear up what I had begun. Now, however, since our brethren from Geneva, who have very lately returned among us, relate that all is with you as we desire, I cannot refrain from writing something to you, though in truth I have at this time nothing to write about.

Our church, by the blessing of God, is at length in peace. And no wonder; for those winds which heretofore stirred up the waves, are now admirably confined by Æolus, to prevent their doing any mischief. We are only wanting in preachers; and of these there is a great and alarming scarcity. The schools also are entirely deserted; so that, unless God look favourably upon us, we cannot hope for any supply in future. The existing preachers, who are

few in number, those especially who have any ability, are listened to by the people with favour and attention. We found at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth a large and inauspicious crop of Arians, anabaptists, and other pests, which I know not how, but as mushrooms spring up in the night and in darkness, so these sprung up in that darkness and unhappy night of the Marian times. These, I am informed, and hope it is the fact, have retreated before the light of purer doctrine, like owls at the sight of the sun, and are now no where to be found; or, at least, if any where, they are no longer troublesome to our churches.

That volatile Ubiquitarian[1] doctrine cannot by any means gain footing among us, though there have not been wanting from the first outset those who had the subject much at heart. In the French church, which they now have in London[2], I hear there are some unquiet and turbulent men, who are openly beginning to profess Arianism. May God at length remove these tares from us!

The queen[3], now that our affairs are settled, promises to give us a pure and undebased currency, and is therefore beginning to call in all the base coinage of the late times. There is no further news from Scotland, beyond what I acquainted you with in my last

[1 The Ubiquitarian controversy was another plague, which our church was likewise fortunate enough to escape. The discussion was one which, naturally enough, grew out of the sacramental dispute; for they who contended for the bodily and local presence of Christ in the eucharist,—whether Romanists or Lutherans,—must also maintain that his body might be in many places at the same instant; and this assertion seems to imply, as a necessary consequence, that his body has the attribute of omnipresence, [or ubiquity, from whence the controversy derived its name.] Le Bas, Life of Jewel, p. 127. See also Mosheim, Ed. Soames, Vol. III. p. 379.]

[2 In Threadneedle street, which they had either borrowed or hired, belonging to the dean and chapter of Windsor, and which they have to this day [1709]; being part of St Anthony's hospital dissolved. Strype, Annals, I. i. 175. This church is now removed to Aldersgate.]

[3 Francis Alen, September 3, 1560, writes to the Earl of Shrewsbury, "There is like to be a calling downe of the base money, I understande, very shortlye; and the quene's majestie hath sworne that the daye and tyme shall be kept secrete to herselfe, and that fewe besyds shall knowe. So as the very tyme, whensoever it chaunceth, will be so shorte and sodeyne, that men are like to have small warninge of the matter." The persons who undertook and executed the gigantic task of reforming the debased coinage of England were Daniel Ulstat and Co. of Antwerp, as appears by a letter of theirs to Sir Thomas Gresham, dated at Antwerp, July 8, 1560. See Burgon's Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham, Vol. I. p. 354, &c. and Strype, Annals, I. i. 396, who gives a full account of this proceeding.]

letter, respecting the surrender of the garrison, and the settlement of affairs according to agreement. What Crito is doing, I know not. Pamphilus has not yet returned. As to Glycerium, I wish—, but these things are in the hand of God. May[4], the dean of St Paul's, and intended for the archbishoprick of York, is dead. Dr Horn is to be the bishop of Winchester. Other matters are in the same state as when I last wrote. As for Parkhurst, Sandys, Sampson, Lever, and our other friends, we are so entirely scattered, —not for the dispersion, but, as I hope, for the gathering of nations,—that I now see almost as little of them as yourself. I hear that letters, and some other things have been brought over for me from Germany, but I know not whence, or from whom, though I suspect, from yourself; so that every thing will appear tedious to me, till I come to know what it is. As for myself, excepting that you are so far distant, I am in other respects very well.

Farewell, my father, farewell, the better half of my heart. I would write at this time to that most accomplished man, Bullinger, were I not prevented by business. He must forgive me for the present: I will hereafter write to him more at length, whatever it may be. Salute him, I pray you, most dutifully in my name, as also Gualter, Simler, Gesner, Haller, Wickius, Lavater, Zuinglius, Wolfius, Frisius. I dearly love them in the Lord, and all that belong to them. I am surprised that my friend Julius has neither written to me, nor come to you. I desire his welfare just as much as if he were my own brother. If he doubts my friendship, let him put it to the proof. To him likewise, and his wife, and first and foremost, or rather before all first and foremost, whether men or women, salute the excellent lady your wife, my little Martyr, and Herman. Again, my father, farewell. Salisbury, Nov. 6, 1560.

Your most attached, JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus*.

LVII. R. GUALTER TO LORD F. RUSSEL. [B. 23.]

ZURICH, *March* 16, 1561.

GRACE and peace from God the Father through Jesus Christ. The letter, most illustrious prince, which your clemency wrote to me on the twenty-first of January[5] last year, has been delivered

[4 May died Aug. 8. He had been a counsellor to king Edward, one of his visitors, and one of those that sat in the court of requests in his reign. Strype, Annals, I. i. 306.]

[5 See above, Letter XLI. p. 82.]

into my hands. It was on many accounts exceedingly gratifying to me, both as affording a clear evidence of your truly pious and christian mind, and also as presenting such an account of the general state of religion among you, as could not but be most delightful to all who wish well to England in particular, and generally to the church at large. But although I have always felt desirous of replying to your letter, I have deferred doing so even to this day, because I considered it unbecoming in me to interrupt your clemency, occupied as you are in far more important engagements, with a letter of so little consequence. But now the bearer of this, John Henry Fabricius, gives me an opportunity of writing. He is of honourable extraction, and a youth of good disposition and of great promise. His father is a man of the highest authority in our republic, and the chief standard-bearer, as they call it. After having first provided for the care and instruction of his son at my house for three whole years, he sent him into France to carry on his literary pursuits in that country. After a short time he was placed at court by the king of Navarre, where, among other noble youths, he was at first in the service of the queen, and afterwards in that of the king himself; and at length, after the completion of the time that young men of that rank are usually employed, he was honourably dismissed. His father however, thinking that on account of his son's age, it will be to his disadvantage to keep him at home, and knowing that the courts of the German princes are full of drunken and debauched characters, by intercourse with whom youths even of the best disposition are more likely to be corrupted than benefited, has determined, upon my advice, and especially upon that of master Bullinger, to send him to England, if he may by any possibility obtain a situation either with your clemency, or the queen's most serene majesty, or with any other godly nobleman. He has a fair knowledge of Latin, and has made greater progress both in speaking and writing French, than a native of Germany can easily expect. He has learned all the duties of a court life, and possesses such talent and activity, that we hope his services will neither be unpleasing nor unprofitable to any one who may think fit to receive him. We desire however most especially to commend him to your clemency, because we have great expectations from you, and are aware that you possess extensive influence with the queen's majesty and the other nobility of the realm. And if your exceeding kindness will allow us to do so, we entreat you again and again to consider this excellent youth as commended to your good offices. For thus you will not only do a

kindness to that most worthy man, his father, but will also bind to you, by no common obligation, the whole state of Zurich, in which, if he live, he will one day hold an important post. May God the Father of mercy guide your clemency by his Spirit, and evermore preserve and confirm you in the knowledge of his Son Jesus Christ! Amen. Dated at Zurich, March 16, in the year of the incarnation of Christ, 1561.

[Rodolph Gualter.]

LVIII. R. MASTERS TO R. GUALTER. [B. 25.]

Greenwich, *June* 16, 1561.

Immediately after the coronation[1] of our most illustrious queen I received your letter[2], most beloved Gualter, by the hands of our friend Parkhurst on his return to us from Zurich. I wrote in reply not long after, but my letter was sent to Antwerp; and, as I am given to understand after a year's interval, it was lost in the sea, and the bearer of it was drowned likewise. I was not in truth so much grieved at the loss, as apprehensive that from my not having answered your letter after so long a silence between us, you would accuse me of having slighted your friendship; as indeed you might have done with reason, had not this just ground of excuse acquitted me of the charge. Burcher increased my apprehension, and Julius confirmed it, each of them coming over to us from Zurich without bringing me a letter. But do not, I pray you, my Gualter, entertain so unfavourable an opinion of me. For it has always been my nature so much to dread the charge of neglected friendship, that I would rather choose to run into the contrary extreme. Nor do I think there is any one who has just reason to complain of me in this particular. For why should I slight that which is acquired in an honourable way? And I would rather embrace, and reverence, and all but superstitiously cultivate such a friendship as literary pursuits and moral integrity (which are the two closest bonds of friendship) produce, increase, and uninterruptedly preserve with persons like yourself, that is, with learned and worthy men. I pray you to consider that I am yours, and that you and every thing belonging to you are most delightful to me, and cherished as they ought to be. And this, should I be able to oblige you in any way, you shall find in fact to be the

[1 Queen Elizabeth was crowned Jan. 15, 1559.]

[2 See above, Letter VII. p. 13.]

case. For I am not different from what I used to be, when during my residence at Oxford I enjoyed your most delightful intimacy and agreeable conversation, what time true religion was at its lowest ebb.

With respect to your letter, I most solemnly assure you, that it was shewn to our queen, that, taught by the misfortunes of others, she might perceive again and again what advice she might derive from it for the establishment of the true religion, and the avoiding of a mixed one; and I took care that it should be shewn to those of our nobility whom I knew to be ready to promote what you piously recommended. But as I have a living epistle in Julius, there is no occasion to tell you the result. I doubt not but that our gracious God will bring to a happy maturity what has been successfully begun; and this let us entreat in our common prayers. Farewell, and be assured that there is no one who wishes you more abundant and greater blessings, and who, in short, loves and esteems you more heartily than Masters. Once more, and a thousand times, farewell. From the court at Greenwich near London, June 16, [1561.]

Yours heartily as though I were your brother,

RICHARD MASTERS.

LIX. P. MARTYR TO A NOBLEMAN[1] IN ENGLAND. [B. 26.]

ZURICH, *July* 22, 1561.

FOR very many and great causes, most noble prince, I am exceedingly bound unto your highness. For you bear such regard towards me, a humble and obscure individual, whom you scarcely once saw in England, as that you have now entertained with singular courtesy and benevolence my attendant Julius, and have shewn him no ordinary, but very great kindness in the management of his business; for which cause I am exceedingly thankful to your highness. And besides this, you have written me a letter: a letter, shall I say? yea, rather praises and commendations both of my

[1 This nobleman is supposed by Strype to have been Thomas, duke of Norfolk, at the instigation of his tutor, John Foxe. This endeavour, he adds, of getting Martyr into England proceeded, no question, from an order made by the archbishop and bishops at Lambeth, where they sat by commission: which was, to raise a contribution out of their own revenues for learned strangers to be placed readers in the universities, both for their stipends, and for the defraying of their expenses in their journey. Ann. I. i. 381.]

learning and virtues, which although I do not acknowledge that I possess, yet I could not but rejoice in your good opinion, because I understood it as a most certain testimony of your love and good-will towards me; nor can I consider myself as being loved by you for any other reason, than for the sake of godliness and religion. I forbear to mention the singular desire that you manifest for my return to England, and which you affirm to be shared by pious and learned men in common with yourself. But how great a favour is it, that you have suggested to the queen's majesty the expediency of my recall, and have interested her in my favour! In fine, you have promised to afford me every kindness and comfort in your power, and have expressed the reasons, and those very honourable to you, of this your regard, namely, the love of your country, and exceeding anxiety for the advancement of God's word. Who can help loving such a prince? Indeed I should be devoid of godliness, not to say of common courtesy, should I ever forget so much good-will and so many benefits. I will therefore endeavour, and this by every means in my power, that they may never escape my memory.

But now as touching my return to England, although I am unable to answer as I could earnestly desire, do you, most noble prince, with your usual kindness, take in good part what I write in reply. First of all, I would not have you think that I have any thing more at heart, than the solid and firm well-being of England in the Lord. Wherefore I could desire even now, no less than I did in times past, to promote the interests and edification thereof, and to do what would be both acceptable and profitable to your kingdom and church. But at this present time, such is the situation in which I am placed, that I am engaged to the state and church at Zurich, and am not therefore my own master. I have therefore inquired the opinion and inclination as well of the magistrates, as of my fellow-ministers upon this matter. And indeed I found in them a singular zeal and most ready mind to satisfy your desire. For you must not think any thing more acceptable to, or desired by them, than that the truth of the gospel may be spread abroad as far as possible. But on the other hand, they no less prudently than lovingly take into consideration my constitution, state, and age; and are somewhat apprehensive least, burdened as I am and in some measure broken with age, I should be unable to bear the fatigue of the journey, which is rather long, variable, and not every where without difficulty. They see moreover that no small danger is to be apprehended in different places on the route;

and they consider too, that I am called forth to much more severe labours than I undergo in this place. Wherefore they think it very likely that I shall be unable to serve either them or you; and are therefore of opinion that it is much better for me to remain here, where by teaching, writing, and publishing my commentaries, I may be of use both to them and you, and others, according to my ability.

But in this double kind of answer, the first part seems to me to have the nearest approach to the truth; for I am myself also afraid of being unable to endure the journey and labours. But in the other part I think that they are themselves mistaken, who judge that I can be of so much use by remaining quiet in this country; for they make much more account of my lucubrations than they deserve. Aware as I am of the little pretensions I have to learning, I agree with them to remain here solely on account of the first reason assigned. For I am easily led to believe that I shall be so liable to be weakened and broken up by the labours of the journey, as to be rendered altogether unprofitable. Wherefore I entreat your highness first of all, and next those godly and learned men, to accept of my good-will in a case where, by reason of my infirmity, they cannot obtain the object itself that they desire to be accomplished. For necessity is a hard weapon, the striving against which seems to be nothing less than tempting God. But I would have you, right honourable prince, remember in the mean time, that in whatever part of the world I may be placed, I shall ever be most beholden to your highness. And I entreat you in my turn, not only to retain your love to your country and zeal for the advancement of religion, but to endeavour daily more and more to increase the same in your christian heart; whereby the wings of the gospel of the Son of God, which were formerly cut short, may grow again, and so grow, that it may swiftly and with abundant fruit pervade all your provinces, cities, and towns. Assuredly, if you shall continue to be inflamed with this double care, according as you have begun, both almighty God will approve you, and all discreet and godly men will honour you as a worthy citizen and a profitable prince. May God long preserve you in health and happiness through Christ! Given at Zurich, July 22, 1561.

PETER MARTYR.

LX. BISHOP JEWEL TO P. MARTYR. [A. 43.]

SALISBURY, *Feb.* 7, 1562.

MUCH health in Christ. Your letter, my father, was most gratifying, not only as coming from you, from whom every thing ought to be, and is, most agreeable; but also, as most lucidly describing the revival of religion in France; and because, when I read it, and perceived you were so near[1], I fancied that I heard you yet nearer to me, and that I was enjoying your conversation. For though the affairs of France were made known to us by report, as usual, and by the couriers, yet the information seemed both more certain and far more agreeable, when communicated by yourself, and more especially, as I knew you to have much to do with them. As to what you write, that those at the head of affairs are altogether desirous of some alteration of religion, not so much from a zeal and love of godliness, as from a conviction of the ridiculous absurdities of the papists, and that the people can be kept to their duty in no other way; whatever may be the principle, and whatever the reason of the change, only let Christ be preached, *whether in pretence or in truth, and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice.* That disputation of yours, however, has of necessity much advanced the gospel, and discomfited the adversaries. But as to your statement, that a kind of *interim* and farrago of religion is aimed at by some parties, may God prevent it! I know that all changes of importance in the state are offensive and disagreeable, and that many things are often tolerated by sovereigns by reason of the times. And this at first, probably, was not attended with inconvenience; but now that the full light of the gospel has shone forth, the very vestiges of error must, as far as possible, be removed, together with the rubbish, and, as the saying is, with the

[1 In a letter from Peter Martyr to bishop Parkhurst, dated August 23, 1561, he writes, "I am called into France to deal in conference as touching religion; safe conduct is brought hither in the name of the king and of the queen mother, both subscribed and sealed. And through the letters of the king of Navarre, I am called with great entreaty, so as it hardly seems that my journey can be deferred. And seeing the matter is great and full of danger, I heartily desire your lordship that you will commend the same and myself earnestly in your prayers to God." Martyr remained in France during the conferences at Poissy, between the papists and the French protestants, and returned to Zurich on Nov. 21. See his correspondence, Lett. 49—61, and also Thuanus, II. 117—126, and Spon. I. 307—309, for a full account of the proceedings of the conference above referred to.]

very dust. And I wish we could effect this in respect to that linen surplice: for as to matters of doctrine, we have pared every thing away to the very quick, and do not differ from your doctrine by a nail's breadth; for as to the Ubiquitarian theory there is no danger in this country. Opinions of that kind can only gain admittance where the stones have sense. Must I tell you that I thank you for your *Orothetes*[1]? I doubt not but that the individual you mention, if he is wise, will think himself much indebted to you. He will perhaps, however, summon courage, and defend his *Pantachus*, and prepare himself for a reply, and make his exceptions both against yourself and your *Palæmon*. I disclaim the praise which you so bountifully bestow upon me, as I am aware that it rather belongs to yourself, and to yourself alone. Yet it is sweet, my father, as the saying is, to receive praise from one who is himself commended. Your commendation was not so much an evidence of your judgment, as of your love; and, although I cannot deserve it in other respects, I certainly shall by my affection for you.

The Marian bishops are still confined in the tower, and are going on in their old way. If the laws were but as rigorous now as in the time of Henry, they would submit themselves without difficulty. They are an obstinate and untamed set of men, but are nevertheless subdued by terror and the sword.

We have lately published an apology[2] for the change of religion among us, and our departure from the church of Rome. I send you the book, though it is hardly worth sending to such a

[1 Peter Martyr had composed a dialogue upon this [the Ubiquitarian] question; in which he introduced Jewel, under the name of *Palæmon*, as moderator between two disputants; the one, an Ubiquitarian, under the name of *Pantachus;* the other, an orthodox thinker, relative to the circumscription of Christ's humanity, under the name of *Orothetes*. Pantachus may signify an Ubiquitarian, from *παντραχοῦ, every where;* Orothetes, (*ὁροθέτης*) in like manner, implies a *settler of boundaries;* in other words, an advocate for the doctrine that the human body of Christ is circumscribed within limits. Le Bas, Life of Jewel, pp. 127, 128. See Peter Martyr's Epistles, Lett. 49.]

[2 This was the celebrated *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, a work recommended to bishop Jewel by the archbishop (Parker) and his colleagues, to vindicate the church of England before all the world, for her departure from the bishop of Rome, and for her rejection of his pretended authority, and for what was done in reforming religion. See Strype, Annals, I. i. 424, and Parker, I. 197, where is preserved a congratulatory letter from Peter Martyr to Jewel on the occasion of this work.]

distance. It is faulty in many places, as is almost every thing that is printed in this country: such is the negligence of our printers.

Our queen has fully made up her mind not to send any representative to the council, as to the existence or locality of which we are totally ignorant: certainly, if it is held any where, or has any being at all, it must be very secret and obscure. We are now thinking about publishing[3] the reasons which have induced us to decline attendance. I am fully persuaded, for my part, that no effectual progress can be made at the present time by these assemblies and discussions; and that God will not employ such means for the propagation of the gospel.

The queen, to our great sorrow, still remains unmarried, nor is it yet known what is her intention. I think however, you have long since been aware of my suspicions on the subject. The Swede, a most constant and assiduous suitor, has very lately been dismissed; and now he has received his refusal, threatens, as I hear, to look towards Scotland; that since he cannot settle among us, he may at least establish himself in our neighbourhood.

There is a certain noble lady, the lady Margaret[4], a niece of Henry the eighth, and one who is beyond measure hostile to religion, more violent indeed than even queen Mary herself. The crown, it is surmised, will descend to her son[5], a young man of about eighteen, should anything unhappily happen to Elizabeth, which God forbid! The husband of this woman, the Scottish Lennox, has within these few days been committed to the tower. The son they say is either carried away by his mother, or has taken refuge in Scotland. There are, as is usually the case, various reports respecting him. The queen[6] of Scotland is, as you know, unmarried, so that a matrimonial alliance may possibly be formed between them. However this be, it is believed that the papists are planning some scheme or other, and expecting something, I know not what, no less than the Jews do their Messiah.

[3 This design Jewel afterwards accomplished in the form of a letter to a Venetian gentleman by the name of Scipio, with whom he had become acquainted at Padua.]

[4 Margaret Douglas, daughter of Margaret, sister of Henry the eighth, by Douglas, Earl of Angus, her second husband.]

[5 Lord Darnley, her son by Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox, descended from Robert Stuart, the next successor to Robert Bruce, king of Scotland. He was afterwards the unhappy husband of Mary, queen of Scots.]

[6 Mary, queen of Scots, then the widow of Francis the second, of France, who died in 1560.]

The pope's nuncio[1] is still loitering in Flanders; for he cannot yet obtain a safe-conduct to come over to England. The bishop of Aquila[2], Philip's ambassador, a clever and crafty old fox, and formed for intrigue, is exerting himself in his behalf as much as he can; at least, that he may have an audience, that he may not have come so far to no purpose: for he hopes that something, I know not what, may be effected at a single conference.

There is a noble young lady, the lady Catharine[3], daughter of the duke of Suffolk, of the blood royal, and as such expressly mentioned in his will by Henry the eighth, as fourth in succession in case any thing should occur. The earl of Hertford, son of the duke of Somerset, has a son by her, born, as many think, out of wedlock, but as the parties themselves declare, in lawful marriage; for that they made a private contract between themselves, and were married by a Romish priest in the presence of a few witnesses. This affair has much disturbed the minds of many persons; for if this marriage is a legal one, the son now born will be brought up with the hope of succeeding to the crown. O how wretched are we, who cannot tell under what sovereign we are to live! God will, I trust, long preserve Elizabeth to us in life and safety, and that will satisfy us. Do you, my father, pray God for the preservation of our church and state.

Farewell, my father, farewell, my pride. Salute in my name your wife, masters Bullinger, Gualter, Lavater, Zuinglius, Haller, Wickius, Gesner, Frisius, and Wolfius, together with Julius, his

[1 The abbot of Martinengo. Strype, Annals, I. i. 166.]

[2 This bishop instigated the conspiracy of Arthur Pole and others against queen Elizabeth in 1562. Strype, Annals, I. i. 557.]

[3 Younger sister to the Lady Jane Grey, and grand-daughter of Mary, sister of Henry the eighth. She had been married to Lord Herbert, son of the earl of Pembroke; but having been divorced from that nobleman, she made a private marriage with the earl of Hertford, son of the Protector. Elizabeth committed them both to the tower, where he lay nine years, till the death of his wife, by freeing Elizabeth from all fears, procured him his liberty. Their imprisonment was probably lengthened by a book written by John Hales about this time, which favoured the Lady Catharine's succession to the throne. Her life was apparently shortened by her imprisonment. The marriage was not established till 1606, when, the priest being produced, and other circumstances agreeing, a jury at common law found it a good marriage. See some very interesting letters on this subject in Ellis's Original Letters illustrative of English History. Second series, Vol. II. p. 272—290.]

wife, and my little Martyr. Salisbury, Feb. 7, 1562. From England.

Your most attached, JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus.*

P. S. Queen Elizabeth has restored all our gold and silver coinage to its former value, and rendered it pure and unalloyed; a truly royal act, and which you would wonder could have been effected in so short a time.

LXI. BISHOP JEWEL TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 44.]

SALISBURY, *Feb.* 9, 1562.

MUCH health. Scarcely any thing, most illustrious and esteemed master in Christ, now remains for me to write to you about. For I have carefully detailed all matters necessary to mention, and which occurred to me as I was writing, in my letter to Peter Martyr. My regard, however, and affection for yourself will not allow me to leave you unremembered, that you may at least know that I am still alive, and that I still retain a grateful recollection of the many and great favours I have received from you. As for Parkhurst, Sandys, Lever, Aylmer, and Samson, we have not seen each other these two years. I doubt not, however, but that they all entertain the regard they ought to do, both towards yourself, your family, and friends.

We have no news from Scotland, except that religion is most favourably received, firmly maintained, and daily making progress in that country. They say, however, that the queen[1] of Scots still retains her mass. God will, I trust, some time open her eyes: for in other respects she is, it is said, not badly disposed. I wish she would entirely lay aside her high spirit and Lorrain feelings.

With us all things are quiet. Some few of the bishops, who

[1 When the queen attempted to celebrate mass in her own chapel of Holyrood-house, a violent mob assembled, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the Lord James Stuart and some other persons of high distinction could appease the tumult. Randolph wrote to Cecil, Sept. 12, 1561. "Her mass is terrible in all men's eyes. The erle of Cassilis said unto myself that he wolde never here any moe. I know not yet what mischief it may worke." Mary attempted to allay these ferments by promising to take the advice of the states in religious matters; and in the mean time, to punish with death any alteration of the religion which she found generally established on her arrival in Scotland, which took place on Aug. 19, 1561.]

were furious in the late Marian times, cannot as yet in so short a time for very shame return to their senses. They are therefore confined in the tower, lest their contagion should infect others. The pope both in public and private is plotting mischief to the utmost of his power. Fourteen months since he sent a nuncio to queen Elizabeth. But as he cannot yet be admitted into England, he is still loitering in Flanders. They still hope that something may be done; for that all their roots of folly are not yet plucked up, and there are still remaining some persons whom they doubt not to belong to their party. But why do I tell you of these things, which, as I said just now, I have more fully related to Peter? Since our friend Julius left England, I have not once seen that young townsman of yours, master John Schneider; nor is it to be wondered at, as we are so far distant from each other. I heard however, some months since, that he was very comfortably situated; but should he stand in need of any thing, and I become acquainted with his plans, I will take care that nothing shall be wanting to him on my part: for I owe this, both to your kindness, and to the state of Zurich; and I acknowledge the debt. I am rather surprised that our friend Burcher has not arrived here before this time; for he wrote me word that he was coming, and from his letter he appeared to be already on the road. I take a great interest in him, and thank you in his name.

May God preserve you all, and especially thee, my father, and your church and commonwealth; and should there be any who wish you evil, may he grant him a short life and little ability for mischief. I would write more, if more subjects occurred to me worthy of being recorded at such a distance.

Salute that excellent woman your wife, masters Gualter, Josiah Simler, Lavater, Zuinglius, Haller, Gesner, Wolfius, Wickius, Frisius, Henry Bullinger your son, that excellent youth. Though none of our friends are with me, yet I hesitate not to greet you in the name of all; for I know that they regard you with the respectful deference they ought. Farewell, my father, and most esteemed master; and if I either am any thing, or have any power, think it all your own. Salisbury, Feb. 9, 1562.

Your most devoted, JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus.*

LXII. BISHOP JEWEL TO J. SIMLER. [A. 45.]

SALISBURY, *Feb.* 10, 1562.

MUCH health in Christ. What, my Josiah, shall I now write to you? For I have already detailed all the news that has occurred, and some, possibly, that has not occurred, in the letters which I wrote to Bullinger and to Peter Martyr. But a repetition of the same dish is, you know, fatal; and it would be impertinent to write about things now become antiquated and obsolete. Shall I then (say you) hear nothing from you? Has John then nothing to write to Josiah? Jewel to Simler? A dear friend to a dear friend? I will certainly write, were it only that you should know that I am still alive, and that I bear you and all yours constantly before my eyes; and that no intervals either of time or place can ever remove from my mind those most agreeable recollections of Josiah [*Josietatis tuæ*]. As for your thanking me with respect to our friend Julius, I must thank you, in my turn, for his own sake. I indeed desire, and wish well to my Julius, and profess myself ready to afford him any assistance, as far as my slender means will allow. And I must candidly acknowledge this to be his due, both on his own account, and more especially for the sake of Peter [Martyr]. As for yourself, my very dear Josiah, and how greatly I am indebted for all your kindness to me, I shall say nothing. This only would I have you know, that from the time I first became acquainted with you, I ever have been, am, and shall be yours.

Farewell, my very dear and best friend, farewell. Salute your wife, and her sisters and mother, Bullinger, Gualter, Lavater, Wolfius, Zuinglius, Haller, Wickius, Frisius. Again, my Josiah, farewell. Salisbury, Feb. 10, 1562.

Yours in the Lord, JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus.*

LXIII. R. MASTERS TO R. GUALTER. [B. 28.]

LONDON, *Feb.* 22, 1562.

HEALTH in the Lord always. Before I received your letter, most learned Gualter, written in favour of that excellent young man Henry Fabricius, what services I offered him on his first arrival in this country, both for your sake and that of your friends, I will not now relate, but he will tell you in person on his return: nevertheless, to confess the truth, I did not then understand that you felt any greater interest on his behalf, than you

would for any other inhabitant of Zurich. But as soon as I perceived by your letter how dear he was to you, I again called upon him with all diligence, and made every inquiry which I thought might be of use to him; and encouraged him as earnestly as I could to let me know if there were any thing of which he stood in need, and in which I could oblige him: and I promised not to be wanting to him in any respect, so that he might have at his service even my own house, or whatever else I had it in my power to offer. But he declined all my services, being a youth of extreme modesty, and declared that he was not in want of any thing. I then began to inquire into the reason of his not residing with the earl of Bedford. He tells me that his lordship had placed him with master Knolles, the vice-chamberlain, a truly pious man and one of her majesty's privy council, with a view to his becoming better acquainted with the English court, and especially with that part of the country which our queen at that time determined to visit, in a progress[1] of some length, attended by a great retinue of the nobility; the earl himself, meanwhile, residing at his country house, that he might take care of his health, and not suffer it to be endangered, by reason of his corpulence, by so long a journey in the heat of summer.

Immediately after this progress was completed, I happily received your letter, from which I took occasion to wait upon the earl respecting the condition of our friend Fabricius. He gave me the same statement as Fabricius had done before; and told me moreover, that he had given him a horse which cost twenty crowns, and also twenty shillings of our money to defray the expenses of that journey. He added too, that he had good reasons for placing Fabricius with master Knolles, as he knew that he had come hither after leaving France, for the especial object of making himself acquainted with the court and the manners of our people, and our cities; and that on the approach of winter he would receive him into his own household till the beginning of spring, at which time,

[1 The queen set out on the 14th of July on a progress into Essex and Suffolk, by way of Wanstead, Havering, Pyrgo, New Hall, Colchester, St Osyth's, Harwich, Ipswich, and so back by Smalbridge, Gosfield, Standon, Hertford, and Enfield. She arrived at St James's on the 22nd September. It was in this excursion that the queen took offence at the slovenly manner in which the church service was performed, and shewed a feeling of dislike to the marriage of the clergy, which gave rise to an order against all resort of women to the lodgings of cathedrals and colleges. See Nares' Burghley, II. 240, 241; Wright's Q. Elizabeth, I. 67; Strype, Ann. I. i. 405, and Parker, I. 212.]

he said, I have determined to send him back to his friends, as there is no hope of placing him in any honourable situation in the queen's service. Abel however, as far as I can gather from Fabricius, has written to his friends at Zurich absolutely and without any limitations, that the earl would receive him into his constant service; whereas the earl, in his conversation with me, had fixed a time for his return to Zurich, at the beginning of spring, and had no intention whatever of retaining him in his family longer than until the end of the winter. Abel has made Fabricius very uneasy, lest his father should imagine from that letter, that some fault was to be found with Fabricius, because the earl would not retain him longer than till the beginning of spring. But believe me, there is no blame whatever to be attached to the young man, but rather to Abel's credulity, who interpreted to you by letter the words of the earl differently to what he really said. Fabricius, like a good and pious son, fearing nothing upon earth more than the anger of his father, who is in other respects most affectionate towards him, has entreated me to explain to you the bare and simple truth, which I solemnly declare I do.

Thus much for Fabricius. As to myself, my excellent Gualter, it will be far more easy for you to conceive than for me to express my obligations to you, both for those very learned discourses you sent me, as also for your very friendly letter. I thank you exceedingly for both, as I ought to do. Abel will give you from me in return, as some token of my love to you, a yard and half of our English cloth, well adapted for hose, and which I entreat you again and again to take in good part. Fabricius I know will give you, better than I can, all the news respecting the Scots and French. God grant that all of us, who bear the name of Christ, may embrace salvation in him by constant faith, and live a life consistent with such profession. Again salute from me master Bullinger, who first begat me again unto Christ, and by his assistance made me to relinquish popery. Farewell. London, Feb. 22, 1562.

Your most devoted, Richard Masters.

LXIV. R. ASCHAM TO J. STURMIUS. [B. 30.]

London, *April* 11, 1562.

Greeting. What does this mean, my Sturmius? That Michael Toxites our common friend, and so much wished for mes-

senger, should come hither from your parts without a letter from you to me? Is Cook, or Hales, or any other Englishman whatever, either more attached to you, or more greedy of your letters than I am? But I hear you exclaim on the other hand, Alas! my Ascham, can *you* expostulate with me for my not writing, who have not sent me a single syllable these three years? And indeed, my very dear friend, you speak the truth; and all this expostulation of mine is not to find fault with, or to rebuke you, but altogether an artifice, and got up by me on purpose. For I was afraid of your being beforehand with me, as you justly might have been, in complaining of our mutual silence. But let this pass. I will now, my Sturmius, write to you truly and openly. This long interruption of our correspondence has not arisen from inclination on my part, or forgetfulness of you, or neglect of my duty. I have not remained so long without writing to you either from want of matter to write about, or of opportunity of sending a letter; but when you hear from me the true cause of my silence, I shall not excite your anger and displeasure against me, but your grief and sorrow for me, whom I know you love. For these last four years I have been so attacked by continual fevers, that one scarcely ever left me without another immediately following in its place. And thus my whole state of health is so broken up and destroyed by these fevers linked and connected with each other, that a hectic has now seized my entire frame. The physicians promise me relief some time or other, but give me no hopes of an entire recovery. And now those who are my true friends, and among them my very assured friend John Hales, are frequently chirping to me that mournful announcement of Thetis to her son in Homer[1]: "Your life will indeed be short, and of no long continuance." And though we read that the most eminent men have died the soonest, what is that to me, who am a man not of a lofty but a humble spirit? I entirely repudiate that kind of consolation, whether from the poet or the historian. But when I betake myself to our teacher of true and complete salvation, who declares, that so much as is taken from the outward man is added to the inward man[2], I do not give myself up to lamentation, but anticipate the new joys of a new life. But more of this at another opportunity; for I desire at this time to begin a long discourse with you, though indeed I have at present very little leisure to accomplish it, as our most serene queen is at this time so much employing me and all my time in writing so many letters.

[1 See Hom. Il. i. 416.] [2 See 2 Cor. iv. 16.]

Your last letter to me was dated Jan 15, 1560; the two heads of which, one concerning the Scots' business, the other concerning the queen's marriage, induced me to give it to the queen herself to read; in both of which she discreetly noticed and graciously acknowledged and commended your singular respect towards herself. She exceedingly approved your judgment respecting the then existing state of affairs in Scotland, and even now she greatly values you for your solicitude about us and our affairs. The passage concerning her marriage, I well remember, she read over three times, with an occasional sweet smile, and a very modest and bashful silence. Respecting her marriage, my very dear John Sturmius, I have neither any thing certain to write myself, nor does any one else among us, I am sure, know what to think about it. It was not for nothing, my Sturmius, but after due consideration, that in that first long letter of mine to you I stated, that in her whole manner of life she more resembled Hippolyte than Phædra. Which observation I then referred, not to the graces of her person, but wholly to the chastity of her mind: for of her own nature, without the advice of any one, she is so entirely averse and abstinent from marriage. When I know any thing for certain, I will write you word by the first opportunity: meanwhile I can give you no hopes as far as the king of Sweden is concerned.

I wish you would sometimes write to master Cecil: for he is both most sound in religion, and most discreet in the government of the state; and indeed, next to God and the queen, the most firm support of both. He is also very fond of learning and learned men, and is himself well skilled in both Latin and Greek. You wish, I know, to hear from me respecting our affairs. But I have nothing that I consider better worth writing about than the queen herself. I will therefore briefly describe what great and important matters, since she has taken the helm of government, she has planned with wisdom, and accomplished with success. First of all, she dedicated her earliest endeavours to God, by nobly purifying the religion which she found miserably polluted; in the accomplishment of which objects she exercised such moderation, that the papists themselves have no complaint to make of having been severely dealt with. This peace established with God was followed by a peace with all the neighbouring sovereigns: and yet, on her accession to the throne she found this kingdom involved in a double war, with the Scots and the French. Next, she so firmly and prudently withstood the Guises in Scotland, who were plotting marvellous things against us, that there now exists between both kingdoms,

and both sovereigns, as secure a peace and firm an alliance, as can possibly take place between two most quiet neighbourhoods or most united sisters. After religion, in the first place, and the state next, had been restored to so desirable a tranquillity, she applied her mind to the proper settlement of other internal improvements of the realm.

All the coin that had been debased, and entirely alloyed with copper, she has restored to the pure silver standard[1]; an arduous and royal task, which neither Edward nor even Henry himself ever ventured to undertake. She has furnished her armoury with such exquisite materials, that no sovereign in Europe, I am sure, can shew its equal. Her navy too she has so embellished and provided with every necessary, both as regards the abundance of stores and the ability of the sailors, that the resources of a wealthy kingdom might seem to have been expended upon this sole object.

These things are of a public nature, and relate to the whole realm. Let us now inspect her personal character and pursuits. She is readily forgetful of private injury, but is a severe assertor of public justice. She does not excuse crime in any one; she leaves no one the hope of impunity; she cuts off from every one the liberty of offending. She, least of all princes, covets the property and wealth of her subjects, and requires her own revenues to be expended sparingly and economically upon every private pleasure, but royally and liberally either for any object of public convenience, or for the splendour of domestic magnificence. But the glory she derives from herself, and the adornments of talent and learning that she possesses, I have described to you in another letter. I will now only state in addition, that neither at court, nor in the universities, nor among our heads in church or state, are there four of our countrymen who understand Greek better than the queen herself. When she is reading Demosthenes or Æschines, I am very often astonished at seeing her so ably understand, I do not mean, the force of the words, the structure of the sentences, the propriety of the language, the ornaments of oratory, and the harmonious and elegant bearing of the whole discourse; but also, what is of more importance, the feeling and spirit of the speaker, the struggle of the whole debate, the decrees and inclinations of the people, the manners and institutions of every state, and all other matters of this kind. All her own subjects, and very many foreigners, are witnesses to her proficiency in other languages. I was one day present, when she replied at the same time to three ambassadors, the Imperial,

[1 See above, Letter LVI. p. 116. note 3.]

French, and Swedish, in three languages; Italian to the one, French to the other, Latin to the third; easily, without hesitation, clearly, and without being confused, to the various subjects thrown out, as is usual, in their discourse. That you may yourself see how elegantly she writes, I send you inclosed in this letter a slip of paper, in which you have the word "quemadmodum" written in the queen's own hand. The upper one is mine, the lower the queen's. Let me know in your next letter whether the sight is pleasant to you, and the present an acceptable one.

And thus much respecting our most noble queen, who is, besides all this, my most munificent mistress, and also very partial to John Sturmius. And should you ever happen to come to England, you will, I think, hear from her own mouth that Roger Ascham has not been a forgetful friend to John Sturmius in the presence of so great a sovereign. This account of our most excellent queen you will, I believe, read, and I assuredly write it, with the greatest satisfaction to us both. If she would only marry, she would leave no room for higher commendation; and I wish, my Sturmius, that you would call forth all that power which you have derived from the best sources both of wisdom and eloquence, whether of reasoning from Demosthenes, or of diction from Cicero, to persuade her to this step. No cause more honourable can be undertaken by you than this, nor can any greater power of persuasion be desired by me, than that which you possess. We desire her to make choice of whomsoever she pleases; we do not wish other persons to point out any individual for her acceptance, and we are all of us in favour of one of our own countrymen in preference to a stranger. I would have you know these things, in case you should ever feel disposed to consider the subject: for should she but add this single benefit to the number of those she has already conferred upon this country, and which I have just now mentioned, no nation can be more happy than ours. And thus much upon this subject. I will write to you about our other affairs at another time; I now come, my Sturmius, to yourself.

I was glad to learn from your letter, written a year ago to John Hales, that your [commentary on] Aristotle's Rhetoric[2] was

[2] The following extract from an English letter of Ascham's to two of the Fellows of St John's in Nov. 1551, will throw light upon this passage. "Sturmius goeth forward in *Rhetor. Aristot.* The first book is sent to Mr Cheke, which was purposed to me, but I had rather it should be sent to him. Mr John Hales, my singular friend, sent me a piece of this Rhetoric this week. I never saw any thing more to be compared with antiquity, and so I

finished; and I was wonderfully pleased at your adding, "All of you are mentioned in the book, as also [Sir Richard] Morison and [Sir John] Cheke." I was very sorry to hear, from the conversation of our friend Toxites, that the brothers Werter had carried away all those books with them into Thuringia. Those brothers should beware lest they become more notorious by this exploit, than they are already by birth and learning. They do an injury to you, to the study of learning itself, and to the anxious expectation of many worthy persons, and were I not writing of myself, I should say, especially to me; who, though I was not the original promoter, yet advised you to undertake those renowned works worthy of light and immortality, and most unworthy of darkness and some dirty little chest. But if these excellent fruits of your learning should decay and be lost through the meanness and avarice of these young men, I will assuredly try myself—but I must restrain myself, lest I should speak too severely of them before I have ascertained your opinion about this act of theirs. If therefore you love me, my Sturmius, while I am yet alive, (for, as I have told you, this hectic of mine threatens to shorten my days,) do not allow me to be disappointed of the most delightful enjoyment of these books. I have had both the first and second book; but the first, which I lent to Walter Haddon, the master of the Court of Requests, I have lost through the carelessness of his servants. I have often delighted myself with the perusal of these books, and was expecting all the rest at this last fair. Take care, I pray you, that this expectation of mine, connected as it is with so much honour to yourself, and so much advantage to all students, be not long disappointed.

I am very glad that, as you write word to Hales, you have written in behalf of Philip against the sycophant Staphylus[1]. I gather from his writings that he is not only a mountebank Gnatho[2], but also a sort of honorary Thraso[2]. For the folly and insolence of his ostentation is evident from the subscription of his letter to

think Mr Haddon will judge. Vahan is writing it out apace: if he finish it before the post go, ye do receive it; if not now, ye shall have it shortly. Sturmius is in hand with Analysis Ciceron. such a book as I believe was never set out in our time. *Nobilissimi Worteri fratres* do give him, to find him writers, 400 crowns a year for four years." Ascham's English Works, Lond. 1815, p. 375.]

[1 Frederic Staphylus had once been the pupil and disciple of Melancthon. He apostatized from Lutheranism to the church of Rome in 1553, and was made a canon of Saltzburg and councillor to the emperor Ferdinand I. He died in 1564. His works were collected, and printed at Ingoldstat in 1613.]

[2 Two characters in the *Eunuch* of Terence.]

the bishop of Auerstadt, where he says: "To your lordship, &c. Frederic Staphylus, councillor of his imperial majesty;" a thing which the people care to know, no doubt: nor do I think that this is the fault of the printer, but the premeditated impudence of Staphylus himself; for he writes the same thing of himself in his Apologetical treatise against Philip. The book to the bishop of Auerstadt was written by him in German last year; turned into Latin, I think, by a Carmelite friar, and printed at Cologne, all venomous and slanderous throughout. I entreat of you, not by the Sicilian muses, but by sacred learning itself, to allow your book against Staphylus to see the light as soon as possible.

I was wonderfully rejoiced at reading in your printed letter to our friend Cook, that you had written a work on the controversy respecting the [Lord's] supper, by no means, you say, violent, but you hope, full of argument. I can easily believe you, my Sturmius. For I know your disposition is entirely disposed to quietness and peace, not to quarrelsomeness and contention. I know also your learning, by which you are wont both easily to prove what you undertake, and to overcome when you contend, and where you think your powers can be exercised with propriety. I have met with no greater pleasure these many years, than when my friend Toxites told me that your studies were so entirely devoted to sacred literature. The cause of religion has lost a great deal by the death of Philip [Melancthon] and Martin Bucer[3]; but it will indeed gain yet more by the accession of John Sturmius to its defence. I pray God the Father, and our Lord and God Jesus Christ, that you may wholly give up yourself to the guidance of that Spirit at whose call you are summoned from the retreats of Parnassus and Helicon to the joyful pastures of mount Sion, the mountain of fatness. And though I would readily concede you both a lodging at Rome and an inn at Athens, so that you may occasionally betake yourself to which city you please, for the sake of diversion, and of reviving ancient intimacies and friendships; yet I could wish that your constant habitation, and the abode not only of your life, but of all your studies, should be ever fixed in Jerusalem itself, the city of the great God. And I believe that many both brighter flashes and grander thunders of speech can be shewn by you in our David, Isaiah, John and Paul, than have ever shone forth in all their Pindars, Platos, Demostheneses, or Ciceros. I pray God, if it is right to make such a request, to grant me such enjoyment of this life, as that I may some time see the stings of your pen, either put

[3 Melancthon died April 19, 1560, and Bucer in February 1551.]

forth of your own accord, or roused into action by the provocation of others, against the popish drones, who occupy the more secret cells and almost all the choicest nests in the very temple of God. I fear, my Sturmius, lest I should offend you more by my present prolixity, than by all that long-continued silence of mine, and neglect of writing: though, if you choose to divide this loquacious letter into sundry parts, it cannot be said but that I have now written you many letters. But you will, I hope, pardon my prolixity, which if it prove offensive to you, I pray you to punish by a letter yet more prolix.

I wish, my Sturmius, to know your opinion about Dionysius of Halicarnassus. I believe him to have been the same Dionysius who taught in the house of Cicero, and of whom frequent mention is made in the letters of Cicero[1]. Cicero exceedingly commends his erudition, but not his moral character. When you leave that one city, and that single age of Philip and Alexander, I do not see what Greek author, Plutarch himself not excepted, you can compare with this Dionysius of Halicarnassus. I wish to know from you whether you consider this opinion of mine to have any foundation, or to be altogether erroneous. His treatise addressed to Tubero concerning his judgment of the history of Thucydides pleases me wonderfully. My wife, knowing how you are beloved by me, loves also your wife, and sends her, as a token of her good-will, a gold ring, made in the shape of an arrow, with this inscription, *The gift of a faithful friend.* Toxites has the ring. Excuse this letter; for our friend Toxites is in such a hurry, that I have no time to copy it. Farewell in Christ Jesus. From my house in London, April 11, 1562.

Your most attached, R. ASCHAM.

LXV. BISHOP PARKHURST TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 46.]

LUDHAM, *April* 28, 1562.

HEALTH to you in Christ, most renowned Bullinger. You accuse my countrymen here of ingratitude, because they never write to you. And I am afraid that you will charge me with the same neglect, for not having written to you at the last fair. My Bullinger, lay any thing to my charge rather than ingratitude.

[1 See his Epistolæ ad Diversos, XIII. 77. and other passages: but the Dionysius meant is not the Halicarnassian.]

Believe me, I had rather not be at all, than be ungrateful. You must impute my not writing to illness, and that a very dangerous one, and not to myself. Can I indeed be forgetful of my Zurich friends? Indeed I cannot, *dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos reget artus.* And that you might not think I had forgotten you, (since I was unable to write through illness), I sent you a small present. Whenever I shall have paid my first fruits, and extricated myself from debt, you shall know who and what kind of a man is your friend Parkhurst.

As for my brother bishops, and others whom you accuse of ingratitude, and not without reason, I shall handle them severely enough, and *authoritatively* enough, when I see them, (although they have said enough in favour of *authority*). Nor shall I cease writing to them in the mean time; for I have an amanuensis, who can write English, but not Latin. Meanwhile, my good friend, speak well of my countrymen, although they deserve to be ill spoken of.

I thank you for the book which you have sent me, and which contains, as you say, your last winter's lucubrations against Brentius[2]. But I have not yet received it, though I hope to receive it shortly. May the Lord open the eyes of Brentius and all the Lutherans, lest in so great a light they should be overwhelmed with darkness!

I have not yet seen the son of your standard-bearer, Fabricius. In three days' time I shall send for him to Norwich; for he probably declines coming to me without an invitation. He will arrive most welcome, nor shall he leave me altogether without a present. If but a Zurich dog should come over to me (though I am not acquainted with any except Gualter's Wartley) I would make the most of him, and not treat him after dog-fashion.

Thus briefly [have I replied] to your two letters. Religion is in the same state among us as heretofore; a state, I say, not altogether to be thought lightly of. But I hope for an improvement at the approaching convocation. There are in England many good and zealous men; there are many too cold, and not a few

[2 Or Brentzen, the great patron of the Ubiquitarian doctrine. Calvin thus writes to Bucer concerning him: *Non tenes quid inter alia scripserit Brentius, Christum, dum in præsepi jaceret, gloriosum in cœlo fuisse, etiam secundum corpus.* Calv. Bucero, p. 49. col. 2. Epistolæ. Op. Vol. IX. It should be added, however, that on looking into the statements of Brentius, it appears hardly fair not to have given a fuller explanation of his views on this subject.]

lukewarm, whom the Lord[1] *will spue out of his mouth.* But, to be plain with you, I fear many evils are hanging over our heads. For almost all are covetous, all love gifts. There is no truth, no liberality, no knowledge of God. Men have broken forth to curse and to lie, and murder, and steal, and commit adultery. And what Empedocles[2] said of his Agrigentines, I may also say of my English: The English indulge in pleasures, as if they were to die to-morrow; while they build, as if they were to live always. But God grant that we may repent from our inmost soul!

Fare thee well, my most delightful Bullinger. Salute in my name your excellent wife, sons and daughters, all your learned sons-in-law, the magistrates, and all my friends. I pour forth prayers to God night and day in behalf of your republic. Again farewell. My wife salutes you all. In haste. Ludham, April 28, 1562.

Yours from my heart, JOHN PARKHURST, Bishop of Norwich.

LXVI. BISHOP PARKHURST TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 48.]

LUDHAM, *May* 31, 1562.

HEALTH to you, most courteous Bullinger. I received your book against Brentius on the 16th of May, but have not yet read it, as I gave it to my bookseller to be bound. But I will read it in a few days, as soon as my Norwich bookseller shall have sent it back; and I thank you very much for it. Send me always, I pray you, your very learned lucubrations: you can do nothing more agreeable to me. Story[3], that little man of law and most impudent papist, has been arrested, as I understand, in the west of England, in his barrister's robes. Fabricius came to me on the 15th of May, and I treat him as a Zuricher, that is, as my ownself. I am very sorry that he cannot make a longer stay with me, for I would rather keep him with me some months, aye, some years, than some days. I converse with him in Latin, English, and (what you will be surprised at) in German. He is astonished also that I can speak German so well.

[1 Rev. iii. 16.]

[2 This saying is attributed to Empedocles by Diogenes Laertius; but by Ælian to Plato. See Bayle.]

[3 See above, p. 103. He was afterwards condemned and executed as a traitor. Strype, Annals, I. i. 115.]

The dizziness in my head has not yet left me, but is somewhat better. You will hear the news from Gualter. I wrote towards the end of April a letter to yourself, masters Martyr, Gesner, Gualter, Lavater, Simler, Julius, and Froschover, which I hope you have received. Master Walter Haddon, a learned and pious man, dined with me three days since. He desired to be kindly remembered to you, and to master Martyr and others. Salute all your friends in my name. I wish all happiness to all my Zurich friends.

Farewell, very dear Bullinger, and love me, as you do, and pray to God for me. In haste. Ludham, May 25, 1562. My wife salutes you all.

I have sealed this letter on the last day of May 1562.

Yours, JOHN PARKHURST, Bishop of Norwich.

LXVII. BISHOP GRINDAL TO C. HUBERT. [B. 31.]

LONDON, *June* 6, 1562.

HEALTH in Christ. I greatly commend your regard, my very dear master Conrad, to the memory of our common instructor[4], Bucer. But I cannot help blaming the ingratitude of others, who are endeavouring to traduce the apostle and father of your city, who was its father[5] in Christ, as the author of unsound doctrines, or a heretic. For what else are they doing, when they prevent his writings from being published? I am surprised that your magistrates allow so much licence to these new orators, and that the memory of the departed Bucer is not of more avail with them than the clamours of these men. But I am unwilling to pry into the affairs of another state. Your Atlases are too late in their support of the Saxon heaven, which is now every where falling to

[4 Sandys, Grindal, and Bradford were intimately acquainted with Bucer, when he was King's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. Strype, Parker, I. 55.]

[5 Bucer was admitted in 1523 into the number of the reformed preachers at Strasburg, and subscribed a book with them, which they published in 1524, setting forth the reasons that induced them to renounce popery. He assisted in 1529, as deputy of the church of Strasburg, in the conferences of Marpurg, where they endeavoured to pacify the dissensions between the Lutherans and Zuinglians.]

the ground. I lately saw a letter from Bremen, giving an account of the state of that city. After the banishment of Doctor Albert[1] they enacted most severe laws against the Zuinglians, or rather the Albertines, threatening them with prisons, exiles, and proscriptions. They prevented a very eminent man, master Daniel a Buren, from entering upon the office of chief magistrate, which had come to him by rotation in January last, because he was favourable to our sentiments; and they substituted another person in his place. But he recovered the mayoralty with the entire consent of the citizens, and afterwards banished those troublesome preachers, or rather croakers. It is astonishing that they are raising such commotions about predestination. They should at least consult their own Luther on "the bondage of the will." For what else do Bucer, Calvin, and Martyr teach, that Luther has not maintained in that treatise? Unless perhaps they wish to take refuge in some recantation of Luther, whom they all but regard as a god. Luther has indeed deserved exceeding well of the church, and is worthy of being celebrated by all posterity. But he would have been more eminent in my eyes, if these Canaans were not always discovering the nakedness of their father, which all godly persons desire to be concealed. But do you, most learned Conrad, persevere in defending the fame of Bucer, and in maintaining the truth. The Lord will not suffer this cause, which is his own, to be always kept under. I doubt not but that your modesty and firmness will have much influence with all godly persons. I congratulate you too upon having as your colleague and assistant in so holy an undertaking master John Sturmius, whom I pray you earnestly to salute in my name.

I thank you for the copies, but have not yet been able to receive them. They are perhaps loitering some where on the way. You will receive from Abel or Salkyns[2] (if he bring you this letter) two golden coins of our country, stamped after a new fashion, and in a manner resembling print. Give one of these from me to Sturmius, and keep the other for yourself. I pray you also to salute from me master Doctor Sebald, to whom I have sent another coin of the same kind, which I beg you to deliver to him yourself. My [secretary] Dithelm, by his father's command, is shortly to go

[1 Albert Hardenberg, the intimate friend of Melancthon, was the first person who attempted to introduce at Bremen the doctrine of Calvin concerning the eucharist. He was in consequence expelled from that city in 1556.]

[2 Salkyns was the servant of Richard Hilles.]

into France. I wish you every blessing in the Lord. From my house in London, June 6, 1562.

Yours in Christ, EDMUND GRINDAL, Bishop of London.

These three pieces of gold, more remarkable for their workmanship than their value, I have inclosed in this letter, and with them an engraving of the second funeral of Bucer, recently published by one of our printers.

LXVIII. ARCHBP. PARKER TO MATT. FLACIUS[3], &c. [B. 36.]

CROYDON *July* 18, [sine anno.]

THIS godly courtesy of yours, reverend sirs, is very gratifying to me, that you have lately caused your commentaries to be delivered to me by a confidential messenger[4]; whereby you have rendered it more easy for me to defend you in your own name, in case any persons should hereafter falsely calumniate the doctrine that you profess. Which doctrine indeed and belief of yours, however it may in part fail of pleasing every one, yet I openly admit that you have acted ingenuously and sincerely, in having so fully, so entirely, and so clearly and unambiguously declared your mind and sentiments. Yet, upon due consideration of these your opinions, I cannot but lament that there should be some disagreement among us upon the chief controversies of religion, especially as each party is taught by the same rule of scripture, and animated by the same zeal both for the restoration of the truth and the utter extermination of all error and falsehood from the territories of the church of Christ. Oh, how great an occasion of falling is here presented to good men! how greatly on this ground is the very restoration of the gospel loaded with reproaches and revilings by our enemies! I wish indeed, that each party would listen to the other without

[3 Matthias Flacius, or Francowitz, was a native of Albona in Illyria. He was the chief author of that ecclesiastical history, known under the name of the Centuriæ Magdeburgenses, the fourth of which was dedicated to queen Elizabeth, in 1560, and was probably the book sent to archbishop Parker. His principal coadjutors were John Wigand, Matt. Judex, Basil Faber, with whom may be reckoned about fifteen others of less note. Matthias Flacius died in 1575. See Melchior Adam.]

[4 This was probably either Bernard Niger, afterwards mentioned, or Mark Wagner, who visited the libraries of England, Denmark and Scotland, in search of materials for the Magdeburgh centuriators. See Sagittarius Introd. ad Hist. Eccl. p. 254.]

prejudice, and with greater patience and attention; and that neither should be so wedded to his opinion, as to render this public cause of religion an occasion of glorying, ambition, and dissent.

With regard to the principal object for which your private messenger came over, namely, that he might bring back to you some ancient commentaries of such kind as you hoped to obtain from us[1]; you must know, that the more diligent I have been fully to satisfy your wishes in this respect, or rather, to assist in that labour which you have undertaken to the great benefit of the universal christian church, the more unfortunate, to my thinking, has hitherto been the result; and where I had rested my chief hopes of attaining what I desired, I am now left without any hope whatever. And yet, after having sent numberless messengers to many persons and places to no effect, I was at length stirred up to recover the books of master Bale[2], which, it was said, there would be some prospect of obtaining, if I chose to make the attempt. I ascertained therefore, upon inquiry, into whose hands they fell after his flight[3] from Ireland; and when a great heap of them was brought to me, I discovered clearly that none of them were, in my opinion, either valuable for their antiquity, or written on any subject useful and adapted to your purpose. When however your

[1 The archbishop had acquainted Flacius with a promise of the queen's, to send him certain *vetera monumenta*, to assist him as well in the work of his *Catalogue of the witnesses of the Truth*, as in his other works of ecclesiastical history. See his letter to the archbishop in Strype, Parker, I. 219, III. 52.]

[2 John Bale, bishop of Ossory. "His rare collection of MSS.", says Strype, "after his decease, came into our archbishop's hands by purchase. For he laid out for them immediately upon his death, fearing they might be gotten by somebody else. And perhaps divers of those books, that do now make proud the university library, and that of Bene't, and some other colleges in Cambridge, were Bale's before they were the archbishop's." Strype, Parker, II. 520. If this statement be correct, since Bale died in Nov. 1563, this letter was probably written in the July following.]

[3 Bale became greatly exposed, at the accession of queen Mary, to the outrages of the papists in Ireland. Once in particular, we are told, that five of his domestics were murdered, while they were making hay near his house; and, having received intimation that the priests were plotting his death, he retired from his see to Dublin. He afterwards made his escape in a small vessel from that port, but was taken by the captain of a Dutch man of war, who stripped him of all his money and effects, and, when he arrived in Holland, obliged him to pay thirty pounds before he could recover his liberty. See the "Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the bishoprick of Ossorie in Irelande, his Persecucions in the same, and finall Delyverance, A. D. 1563." It is reprinted in the Harl. Misc. Vol. VI.]

friend Niger[4] saw them, together with mine and some others, he said that many of them would be of much use. He has them therefore, upon the condition of returning them within a year. But if you are in possession of so rich a collection and apparatus of the writers of our nation, as is mentioned in your catalogue, I think you must have a far greater number than is left in all England, of which I have any certain knowledge and information: whether it be that some parties are unwilling to oblige you in this useful endeavour, and by reason of some private dislike refuse to consider the public benefit of the church; or whether some are unwilling to have it known that such things are in their possession: and thus, like the dog in the manger, they neither enjoy them themselves, nor allow the enjoyment of them to others. Moreover the queen's majesty's library does not possess the means of affording the assistance which you require, as I have been informed by the person who is appointed its curator and keeper. This then is the state of the case, that I am unable to satisfy your request, as I could wish; although, before I had been taught by experience, I confidently believed that I could assist you to a greater extent. Certainly the colleges and all the religious houses were plundered, before it was considered what great inconvenience would arise to the church of Christ by this clandestine dispersion and loss of books. The papists however will not produce any thing; for it is said that when they were in possession of monuments of this kind, which undermined the greatest part of their doctrine, they committed some good authors to the flames, as if they envied the world the perusal of them: and this I know to have been the case with the books of Vigilius[5], which they have abused in this way.

I should have written more upon these things, and upon this laborious yet profitable task which you are undertaking in composing this history, only that I am so prevented, partly by ill health, and partly from other causes, that I cannot give such free consideration to these thoughts as I could wish. There are some persons who desire that in your history should be set forth the very words of those authors of whom you only make a bare mention. And though this may be very troublesome in a history

[4 Bernard Niger was one of the Magdeburgh centuriators.]

[5 Vigilius was bishop of Thapsus, A.D. 484: but the allusion here is most probably to *Virgilius* (Polydore Virgil), who is reported to have burned the books which he had used in compiling his works. See Foxe, Acts and Monuments, Book VIII. Vol. II. p. 378, edit. 1684.]

of such extent, and is of no use to men of much reading; yet it will afford some light to beginners, and will also be of great weight against calumniators. But I leave the consideration of this to your future discretion.

I send you twenty angels, as a testimony of my obligation to you, which I request you to take in good part. Meanwhile I pray that the Holy Spirit of God may be with you, as the continual helper of your endeavours. Farewell in Christ. July 18. Croydon.

Your loving friend, MATTHEW PARKER[1].

LXIX. R. HILLES TO H. BULLINGER. [B. 38.]

LONDON, *July* 31, 1562.

THIS letter will inform you, my venerable and loving friend, that I have received yours written at Zurich on the 22nd of June last. And I thank you exceedingly, not only because you were disposed to write to me, but because you condescend to inform me, both what news is now stirring amongst you, and also what, as far as you hear, will be the result. But as to the council of Trent[2], I cannot but think of it rather as a sign of some plot or conspiracy formed against the protestants, than of a synod of faithful catholics simply assembling together in the truth, for the purpose of eradicating, according to their power, such abuses as have crept into the church of Christ. And I am grieved not a little, when I hear that you who profess the gospel in Switzerland, are not able, either by your sound doctrine or your examples of godly life, to draw over your confederate fellow-soldiers to the religion of the gospel; and that they are still so opposed to your endeavours for the reformation of religion, as to cause apprehension that the matter will shortly proceed to a quarrel or open hostilities. With respect, however, to the state of things in France, and especially as to what is going on at Paris and Rouen[3], it is certain, as you say, that we can get as early information as those who live at Zurich; but we

[1 This letter was published from the original by Jo. Christ. Wolf, at Hamburgh in 1736, who states that the signature alone, with the preceding words, is in the hand-writing of the archbishop.]

[2 The council of Trent was resumed Jan. 18, 1562, under Pius IV, who had succeeded Paul IV. in 1559.]

[3 Preparations were now making for the investment of Rouen, which city was garrisoned by the Huguenots, and taken by assault under the duke of Guise, on Oct. 26.]

cannot positively ascertain, till after a long interval, the truth of what is doing in the upper provinces of France, as at Orleans and Lyons. We English, however, (God be thanked!) are still living in much peace and quietness. Nevertheless the queen appears to be considering the evils that may possibly be hanging over us, and is apprehensive lest any misfortune should arise to the realm by reason of negligence and inactivity; that is, lest any foreign prince (in the event of the disorders, which still exist in France, being settled,) should be stirred up by the Roman pontiff or any other foreign papists who adhere to him, to find some occasion of quarrel against her; when the real ground of offence would be, that the authority of her majesty, in the council of parliament, and by the consent of the whole realm, has done away with his usurped power, and the continuance of the superstitions, abuses, and idolatry which heretofore crept into the catholic church. The queen however has a great number both of soldiers and ships already prepared for the defence for her kingdom, should it be necessary. My wife and children, thank God, are well. She thanks you for your remembrance of her in your letter, and heartily salutes you and your wife, whom I beg you also to salute in my name, as also master Lewis Lavater. Farewell, and take care of your health. London, July 31, 1562.

Yours, Richard Hilles.

LXX. BISHOP COX TO P. MARTYR. [A. 49.]

London, *August* 5, 1562.

Too long an interval seems to me to have elapsed, since we have mutually addressed each other by letter; though I must fain acknowledge the receipt of letters *from* you, since I have written any thing *to* you. Meanwhile, however, I derive much gratification both from yourself and others, in that you are so diligently and unweariedly labouring in the Lord's vineyard, for the advancement and edification of the church of God in this wicked age. I now and then receive most agreeable intelligence of your labours, to my great delight and advantage. I have lately been employed in your book on Judges, which you most kindly sent to me; and I am waiting for the commentaries which you promised on the books of Kings, that I may often hold intercourse with my friend Peter, as long as I am able to range at large among his writings. It is not in my power to estimate your kindness towards me: meanwhile,

however, I have sent you twenty crowns by master Springham[1]. as a small testimony of my gratitude. I know that you will take it in good part. If you wish for any information respecting our affairs,—when we consider the temper and fickleness of mankind, when we regard either the contempt of the word [of God] or the neglect of a religious life, we can hardly dare to expect a long continuance of the gospel in these parts. There is every where an immense number of papists, though for the most part concealed: they have been quiet hitherto, except that they are cherishing their errors in their secret assemblies, and willingly shut their ears against the hearing of the word. When however we reflect upon the infinite goodness of God, which has restored us to our native land, and given his word free course, and committed to us the ministry thereof, we take courage, and cherish a firm hope that we shall not again be forsaken by so kind a Father. Let us therefore continue to serve him with a courageous and strong mind, casting all our care and the success of our affairs upon him.

The heads of our popish clergy are still kept in confinement. They are treated indeed with kindness, but relax nothing of their popery. Others are living at large, scattered about in different parts of the kingdom, but without any function, unless perhaps where they may be sowing the seeds of impiety in secret. Our neighbours the Scots, thank God! are happily furthering the gospel. The papists are wonderfully raising their spirits, since the disorders in France. May God of his accustomed goodness turn all things to the good of those who love him! may he defend his own people, and shortly break in pieces the fury of his enemies! Amen. We are anxiously desirous to learn what is going on in your parts, and especially in reference to the kingdom of Christ. May the Lord Jesus preserve you to us very long in safety! Salute in my name master Henry Bullinger, a man worthy of all possible regard. I and my wife salute you and yours. London, Aug. 5, 1562.

Your brother in Christ, RICHARD COX, Bishop of Ely.

No one has as yet crushed the furious Hosius[2].

[1 Richard Springham was a merchant of London, a contributor to the afflicted gospellers, temp. queen Mary. Strype, Memorials, III. i. 224.]

[2 Cardinal Hosius was sent by Pius IV. to engage the emperor Ferdinand to continue the council of Trent; where he was employed as legate, to open and preside at the council. His chief works are, 1. *Confessio catholicæ fidei*, said to have been reprinted, in various languages, thirty-four times. 2. *De communione sub utraque specie.* 3. *De sacerdotum conjugio.* 4. *De missa vulgari lingua celebranda.* He died in 1579. In a letter from Cox to Cecil,

LXXI. H. FOLKERZHEIMER[3] TO J. SIMLER. [B. 39.]

SALISBURY, *Aug.* 13, 1562.

TELL me, my Josiah, what has come into your mind, that in your last letter you thought you had nothing worth writing about to one who is so exceedingly inquisitive about all your affairs as I am? What then? Must I remain ignorant what effect my poor letters produce, how my friends are going on, how my garden is flourishing, which, though then in idea and thought only, had however begun to be formed in rows? But yet I will nevertheless admit that you deserve some thanks, in spite of your short and inauspicious letter, because you did not, happily, omit to mention my father's health. As the bishop of Salisbury had given me a most friendly invitation to visit him, and I perceived that France was so disturbed by civil discord[4] that literary pursuits were altogether at a stand; having left Poictiers I proceeded to Rochelle, a port of France of some celebrity, and visited at my leisure, not without danger, the salt-works of Brouage[5], and other places in the neighbourhood. But having obtained tolerably fine weather, (for although the wind was by no means favourable, I did not shrink from a second trial,) I left Rochelle on the 29th of June[6]. Nothing was more irksome than the want of a companion to converse with; so that there came into my mind all at once rocks, tempests, shallows, pirates, a rascal of a captain, and in short every thing that might have befallen Arion of old. But I was in no fear that the God of hosts, who rules the sea, the winds and the tempests, and who had ever been my most faithful guide through the whole of my past life, would forsake me then, because he especially promises to protect those who go down to the sea. When therefore we were carried into the bay of Biscay, we kept such a continued

from Downham, dated Dec.28, 1563, the bishop says, "Hosius' bokes flye abrode in all corners, *unica gloriatio omnium papisturum*, who swarme in all corners, saying and doing almost what they lyste." MS. Lansd. 6, 87.]

[3 Herman Folkerzheimer was of a noble family in East Friesland; he afterwards became Hofmeister to Christopher, archbishop, duke, and count Palatine.]

[4 Namely, by the wars which had broken out some months before between the Roman catholics and protestants.]

[5 Brouage is near a bay of the sea, 17 miles south of Rochelle.]

[6 The Lat. has *tertio Cal. Sextil.* But this is evidently a mistake, as it appears by bishop Jewel's letter to Simler, that Folkerzheimer reached Salisbury on the 8th of July. And on the 20th, as appears from a subsequent part of this letter, he visited Stonehenge.]

course night and day, that although the storms were raging as usual, we only once cast anchor. When we had been tossed about in this manner for the space of eight days, the much wished for land began at last to appear in sight, and having left the isle of Wight on our right, we landed at Southampton. Here I heartily thanked God, and recruited myself, having become a good deal fatigued by my tossing about on the sea. Three days after, having fortunately procured a good horse, I arrived at Salisbury. When the bishop saw me, to the great surprise of his attendants, he hastened towards me as I was entering, and closely embracing me, Oh! my Herman, said he, you are welcome; you are come as a guest than whom I have received no one with greater pleasure of a long time. He then particularly inquired how Martyr, Julius, Bullinger, Josiah, Lavater, Zuinglius, and our other common friends were going on? whether all was well with them? I replied that I hoped so, but that I did not know for certain, as from having been resident in France in such uncertain and turbulent times, I had received no intelligence of your affairs either by letter or report. The remainder of our discourse was employed in conversation upon French matters. He assigned me two very accomplished young men, acquainted with the French language, for my companions, and they were to conduct me wherever I chose. We viewed the city, the churches, the little rivulets, one of which flows most delightfully through every street.

But although the whole of the city belongs to the bishop, his domestic arrangements delighted me more than any thing else. His palace, in the first place, is so spacious and magnificent, that even sovereigns may, and are wont to be suitably entertained there, whenever they come into these parts. Next, there is a most extensive garden, kept up with especial care, so that in the levelling, laying out, and variety, nothing seems to have been overlooked. A most limpid stream runs through the midst of it, which, though agreeable in itself, is rendered much more pleasant and delightful by the swans swimming upon it, and the abundance of fish, which (the bishop) is now causing to be inclosed in an iron lattice-work. After having most courteously saluted me on the following day, he turned to his attendants, and, "Let the horses," he said, "be saddled and bridled, and take this guest of mine a hunting." Accordingly having taken our dogs with us, when we arrived at the place where the game was wont to hide, we pursued two deer which we had discovered; both of which, before they were worn out with running, the dogs with incredible swiftness quickly came

up with, and easily caught and brought them to the ground. There was, however, but little occasion for the halloo with which Xenophon sets on his dogs in hunting, *Well, well, well done, dogs, well done;* for our dogs did their duty even without being set on. Do you ask whether we often go a hunting? The bishop indeed, I perceive, does not take much delight in this kind of amusement. What pleasure, says he, I pray you, can possibly be derived from pursuing with fierce dogs a timid animal, that attacks no one, and that is put to flight even by a noise? I should, however, tell an untruth, were I to say that I am not delighted with it. But yet, were I frequently to repeat the same thing, I think it would not afford me so much amusement. But although the bishop never goes out a hunting, and I very seldom, the dogs are by no means idle. The young men are required to provide a supply of venison, that the table may always give proof of the activity of the dogs and the labours of the huntsmen.

But as I like to deal with you after our custom, the custom I mean, of the most intimate companions, I shall allow myself this liberty of prating, and will not abstain even from the most minute details; though indeed you deserve from me nothing of the kind, who are so cautious as not to weary me either with joking or sober sense. See, my excellent Josiah, how my circumstances have changed in so short a time. When I left France in silence and in concealment, and in the greatest loneliness, I had nothing to relieve my weariness but one little book; every thing was so dirty and loathsome and disagreeable, that the ship would make one sick, even were it laid up on shore. The table was laid out, as Cicero[1] says, not with shell or other fish, but with a quantity of stinking meat. The same person was cook and steward. Piso had no baker at home, nor I from home: he got his bread and wine at a huckster's, and from a public house; but I, poor wretch, as soon as I had emptied my flask, could find no huckster from whom I could procure one, nor any public house, where they would draw one even the smallest quantity at the greatest cost; so that as soon as our wine had failed about the fifth day, we mixed vinegar and water, which to most of us, thirsty as we then were, did not seem very different from it. I reached a fortunate island when I arrived at Salisbury. Immortal powers! what a sudden change I experienced, what power of breathing freely after my long imprisonment! I am transplanted into the magnificent abode of a prosperous individual, with whom, as you know, I have long been on the most

[1 See Cic. in Pisonem, 27.]

intimate and friendly terms. He, remembering our ancient intimacy, received me in such a manner, that he could not have received even his own brother more lovingly. He directed his attendants, most elegant young men of rank, and very different from our dirty crew of sailors, to order some wine to be brought. The butler forthwith makes his appearance, bearing a large golden goblet. And also, when dinner or supper time arrived, how can I describe to you the abundance or magnificence of the silver plate? Yet great as it is, it does not seem to afford much pleasure to its possessor, and appears to have been provided rather for his guests' sake than his own. But, without entering upon any further details, you will easily guess the nature of them, and judge of the difference between a ship and a palace. For my part, I am quite ready to allow those who choose to philosophize on the subject, to be of Xenophon's opinion, that domestic economy is nowhere better understood than on board a ship, and to require all heads of families to imitate their carefulness; provided only that I am at liberty to keep my own opinion.

On the 20th of July[1] we rode into the country with a large retinue, as the bishop said he would shew me some things that would astonish me. When I saw the cavalcade in the middle of the plain, Why, said I, is not Josiah a witness of this? or Bullinger, or indeed any Zuricher? for as to Peter Martyr, he is well acquainted with all your circumstances. I wish, he replied, those worthy men were here. But what do you think they are now doing? Perhaps, he said, they have finished their dinner, and I fancy that I see Martyr seated in his elbow chair. When we had gone on a little farther, he very kindly pointed out to me the whole character and bearing of the neighbourhood. There, says he, stretching out his arm, was formerly old Sarum; there are the mounds which you can distinguish even now, and there the ramparts. And then, in another place, Here was a camp of the ancient Romans[2], of which these are the vestiges that we see. At length we arrived at the place which Jewel had particularly wished me to visit, and respecting which I should hesitate to write what I have seen, unless I could confirm it by most approved witnesses; because it has generally been my custom, when I had ascertained anything to be true, which might at first sight appear incredible, rather to prefer not to mention it, than to describe it, lest I should be regarded as unworthy of credit. I beheld, in a very extensive

[1 See above, p. 149, note 6.]

[2 The present remains are generally supposed to be Saxon.]

plain, at a great distance from the sea, in a soil which appeared to have nothing in common with the nature of stones or rocks, I beheld, I say, stones of immense size, almost every one of which, if you should weigh them, would be heavier than even your whole house. The stones are not heaped one upon another, nor even laid together, but are placed upright, in such a way that two of them support a third. Put forth now the powers of your understanding, and guess, if you are able, by what strength, or rather (for what could strength do in such a case?) by what mechanical power these stones have been brought together, set up, and raised on high? And then, for what object has this immense mass been erected? The bishop says, that he cannot see by what means even the united efforts of all the inhabitants could move a single stone out of its place. He is of opinion, however, that the Romans formerly erected them here as trophies, and that the very disposition of the stones bears some resemblance to a yoke.

But you will wish to know, with what studies I am so killing myself, as to make me seek after so many kinds of relaxation, and recreate myself so often. Believe me, hardly any of a serious nature. Since the time I left Paris, I have given a long holiday to my friends Euclid, Archimedes, and also Ptolemy, and have not once disturbed those grave philosophers. I have bestowed all my labour and industry, if I had any, upon jurisprudence. Meanwhile, however, when I now and then interposed a little history, I carefully noted such things as appertain to the geographical description of Arabia Felix; as, for instance, the localities of cities and rivers, promontories, bays, and fountains. But a description of the sea-coast might be looked for in Arrian, who took a survey of the Red sea and Persian gulph, because Arabia is included within these. At this present time, therefore, I am principally paying attention to histories, of which Jewel's excellent library affords me great abundance.

The affairs of France disturb me greatly. I implore the mercy of our good and gracious God, that putting away the remembrance of the grievous sins that we have committed, and pardoning them through his dear and only Son, he may regard his own glory and name. May he deign to be our guide and leader, and encompass our army not with wall, boundary, or ditch, but, as he has promised, with legions of angels! May the golden sceptre, which he has committed to the all-powerful hand of his Son, be at length brought forth, and break in pieces those vessels of pottery and earthen-ware, and disperse them, as they deserve, like the dust,

that they may not be able to find a resting place; but yet so that they may not obscure the praise and glory of his Christ, nor spread darkness over the splendor of his light!

Salute very much in my name your wife, my very dear and excellent father Peter Martyr, Julius, the Bullingers, Haller, Lavater, Zuinglius, Pellican, Gualter, Wolfius, Funckius, Gesner, to whom I wish you would say, that I have written to my brother about the seal-skin; and should he pay no attention to it, as he is newly married, you may promise that I will carefully attend to it myself. Farewell, my dearest Josiah. Farewell. August 13, 1562. Salisbury.

[HERMAN FOLKERZHEIMER.]

LXXII. BISHOP JEWEL TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 50.]

SALISBURY, *Aug.* 14, 1562.

YOUR letter written at Zurich on the 5th of March has but lately been delivered to me; and though a little scolding and querulous, it was nevertheless very gratifying, not only as coming from you, all of whose writings and conversation have always been so much esteemed by me, but also, as so earnestly claiming the performance of my duty, and stirring up my negligence and remissness in writing. But, my father and much esteemed master, although, perhaps, I write to you less frequently than I could wish, yet as often as any opportunity presents itself, I never decline this duty. In proof of this, I have lately written you two letters, one to Frankfort at the March fair, and the other immediately after Easter; and if these are still delayed on the road, as may possibly be the case, they will some time or other be released, and will, I hope, reach you at last. In the mean time I never cease either to think of, or speak about you as honourably as I ought to do.

To write to you at the present time about the affairs of France would probably be impertinent; for all the news is brought you without the help of either wind or vessels. The most holy [father] will leave nothing untried:

Flectere si nequeat superos, Acheronta movebit.

For he sees that the struggle is not about things of no importance, but a matter of life and death. I wish our friends may not suffer themselves to be overreached.

As the duke of Guise, by holding out I know not what hope of settling the affairs of religion, and receiving the confession of

Augsburg, has prevented the princes of Germany from intermeddling in this war; so he has endeavoured by all possible means to persuade our queen that the present contest in France is not about matters of religion, but that there is an evident conspiracy against the government; that it is the cause of the king, whom, as being herself also invested with royal authority, she ought not to oppose. Meanwhile he has caused his niece, the queen of Scotland, to court the favour and friendship of our queen, and send her presents, and make I know not what promises; so that she purposes this summer to come upon a visit of honour into England[1], and to establish a perpetual treaty of friendship, never to be dissolved. She has sent her a diamond of great value, a most beautiful gem, set in gold, and accompanied by some beautiful and elegant verses[2]. What next? They seem to suppose that by festive interviews, and hunting matches, and flatteries, our attention will easily be diverted from the noise of war, and lulled to sleep. In the mean time our queen, when she saw through the whole affair, and perceived what was doing, (and this was not a matter of much difficulty,) changed her purpose respecting her progress, gradually withdrew her alliance with the Guises, and not obscurely intimated her determination to assist the prince of Condé[3]. [The duke of] Guise was very angry

[1 "Whereas the queen of Scots was the first that desired an interview, it was not without suspicion that she did it to serve her turn, and to temporize, that she might either strengthen her title to England, or else give hope and courage to the papists in England, and to the Guises her kinsmen in France." See Camden's Elizabeth, p. 60. In a letter of Cecil, dated Oct. 11, 1562, he writes, "The quene's majestie was contented in June to accord upon an enterview in August with the quene of Scotts, coming to Nottingham, so as the matters in Fraunce looke good; and before the last of July, and because at that tyme the trobles grew to be more desperate, the enterview was disappointed, and so excuse was sent to the quene of Scotts by Sir Henry Sidney, with offer to mete at Yorke betwixt Midsomer and the end of August, which is like to succede as the planets of Fraunce shall be disposed." MS. Cotton. Vespas. c. VII. 224.]

[2 Written by Buchanan, then in her court. Burnet, III. 451.]

[3 Elizabeth made a contract with the prince of Condé, Rohan, Coligni, and others, "that she would pay them an hundred thousand angels; that she should send them over into France six thousand men, whereof three thousand should be employed for the defence of Dieppe and Rouen; and that they should deliver into her hands, for caution, Franciscopolis, a town built by king Francis the first at the mouth of the Seine, which the English call Newhaven, and the French Port de Grace, or Havre de Grace, which town three thousand English soldiers should hold and defend in the French king's name, till Calais should be restored." Camden's Elizabeth, p. 61. See also the letter of Cecil, referred to in note 1.]

at this interruption to his designs, and received our ambassador with reproaches; and declared by a public proclamation, that the queen of England was planning intrigues against the kingdom of France, and that she alone had occasioned those disorders. Our queen could not bear this charge with patience, nor indeed ought she to have done. She forthwith began to act with openness, as I hear, to recal her ambassador, to enlist troops[1], to dismast all vessels, both English and foreign, from whatever place, or wherever they might be, to prevent their getting away, and giving information of what she was doing. Oh! if she had acted in this manner some time since, or if the German princes would even now follow her example, the whole business would have been settled much more easily, and with much less waste of christian blood. And indeed the queen has now sent into Germany, to the princes: and there is now at court an ambassador from Guise, with new blandishments, as I suppose, to delay and hinder us. But it will not, I think, be so easy a matter to deceive people with their eyes open.

The affairs of Scotland, as to religion, are tolerably quiet. The queen[2] alone retains her mass, contrary to the general wish. There has been here, throughout the whole of this present year, an incredibly bad season both as to the weather and state of the atmosphere. Neither sun, nor moon, nor winter, nor spring, nor summer, nor autumn, have performed their appropriate offices. It has rained so abundantly, and almost without intermission, as if the heavens could hardly do any thing else. Out of this contagion monstrous births have taken place; infants with hideously deformed bodies, some being quite without heads, some with heads belonging to other creatures; some born without arms, legs, or shin-bones; some were mere skeletons, entirely without flesh, just as the image of death is generally represented. Similar births have been produced in abundance from swine, mares, cows, and domestic fowls. The harvest is now coming on, rather scanty indeed, but yet so as we have not much to complain of. Salisbury, Aug. 14, 1562.

Yours in Christ, JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus.*

[1 Strype relates, that November the 14th at night came a commandment to London, that prayers should be used there three days successively to God, to grant his help and good success to the English army now gone beyond sea, against the duke of Guise, sworn enemy to the protestants, whom the prince of Condé intended to meet in the field on Tuesday next. Strype, Annals, I. i. 545.]

[2 See note 4, p. 127.]

LXXIII. BISHOP JEWEL TO P. MARTYR. [A. 51.]

SALISBURY, *Aug.* 14, 1562.

MUCH health in Christ. I wrote to you, and also separately to Bullinger, immediately after Easter, and hope my letters have been received before now; for as to the former letters which I sent to Frankfort at the March fair, and took care should be delivered to the younger Froschover, I doubt not but they have reached both yourself and my other friends; yet Bullinger seems in his letter as if he were complaining somewhat of my neglect. Since then your letter dated Zurich, March 4th, has been brought to me; and you may easily imagine, from my love and affection towards you, how agreeable and delightful it was. For although the subjects you wrote about were already old and almost out of date, (for that letter of yours could scarcely reach me before the 27th of June, out of breath, and weary with its journey,) nevertheless I seemed therein to recognize and hear your voice, and hold most delightful intercourse with you. I rejoice greatly, as I ought to do, that you returned safe and sound from France[3], and that you retain your bodily strength and health.

What you wrote me word, when you were in France, that you saw no appearance of an approaching war, and yet that matters could be settled in no other way, we now too truly see to have actually occurred. May the Lord God of hosts at length arise, and overthrow and scatter his enemies; and inspire courage into our brethren, who worship him in holiness! The duke of Guise is a powerful enemy, and being wary both from age and experience, seems to aim at nothing so much as to obtain a favourable opinion of his character. Therefore, some days since, messengers and letters were passing to and fro, together with honorary presents; and favour and popularity was courted by him in every possible way.

By such pretences, forsooth, did he hope to deceive our simplicity. He did not however, gain his object with us; for we have already enlisted our troops, armed our fleet, and are quite ready to afford our assistance whenever it may be wanted. All disaffected persons of any eminence or note among us are ordered to be kept in custody to prevent their doing mischief.

I wish your rulers and commonwealth would at last rouse themselves, and consider that the case is a common one; that they also

[3 Peter Martyr returned to Zurich from France, Nov. 21, 1561, as he writes to Beza in a letter dated on the 25th of that month.]

may be involved, and that they should be cautious of gazing so long and so unconcernedly upon the proceedings of others. Matters are now in that state, that delay will neither restore them nor check their progress. But what are your *Dii selecti* of Trent about? Are they suddenly struck dumb? O holy fathers, and great lights of the world! Not a single word in so long a time, even in seventeen whole months! And yet the most holy [father] has long since expected his *apotheosis*, and thinks perhaps that they have done him an injury. Master Baldwin[1] writes me word, that he is very much pleased with our moderation in the late change of religion, and that he will use his endeavours, (for he thinks he has some influence,) that a like moderation may prevail in the kingdom of France; but that your preciseness, as well as that of Geneva, is by no means agreeable to him. In this respect he is, I think, rather unjust to Calvin, probably from bearing in mind their ancient quarrel. Peter[2] Alexander is in London, laid up with the gout; a good man, but somewhat weakened by age. Your friend Herman is now with me. He has come over to us from France, because he perceived that his studies there were interrupted by those disturbances to which he had heretofore been unaccustomed. Oh! as often as we talk together about yourself, and Bullinger, your wife, your whole family, and all Zurich, how sweetly and with what pleasure do we converse! His society is most agreeable to me; for he is, as you well know, an excellent and well-principled young man, and one who is very much devoted to literature.

Our affairs as to religion are going on well. The obstinacy of the papists is now greater than ever. They are depending, it seems, upon the result of events in France: we have heard nothing from that country these twenty days.

There are a few other matters to write about; but of them I write more fully to Bullinger, who, I see, reads my letters with avidity, and sadly complains to me of the interruption of them, occasioned however by no fault of mine. I send you ten French crowns, which I desire may be expended, at the discretion of your-

[1 Francis Baldwin was Professor of Civil Law at Paris and elsewhere. He was appointed by the king of Navarre to be his orator at the council of Trent; and was there in 1562, when his patron was killed at the siege of Rouen. His quarrel with Calvin arose from his having introduced into France a work, published at first anonymously, by George Cassander, on the duty of a christian man with respect to differences in religion; and for which he was attacked by Calvin, as the reputed author. He died in 1572. See Moreri.]

[2 See p. 102, n. 1.]

self and Bullinger, upon a public supper in your common-hall, to which may be invited, as usual, the ministers of the churches, and young students, and any others whom you may think fit. I send my Julius the twenty French crowns, which I promised him annually, when he was in England; besides eight crowns, and I know not how many batzen[3] besides, making in all fifty English shillings, which I squeezed with difficulty from Ann's father-in-law.

Farewell, my father and much esteemed master in Christ. Salute, I pray you, in my name that excellent woman your wife, Bullinger, Gualter, Lavater, Simler, Wolfius, Zuinglius, Gesner, Wickius, Haller, Frisius, Franciscus, and the dear boy Martyrillus. Salisbury, Aug. 14, 1562.

Your most devoted, JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus.*

LXXIV. BISHOP JEWEL TO J. SIMLER. [A. 52.]

SALISBURY, *Aug.* 18, 1562.

YOUR Herman, my Josiah, is at last become mine; yes, mine altogether, both by acquisition and possession. How so? you will exclaim. I will tell you. By the rising of the waters; for he reached Salisbury on the 8th of July, having escaped with difficulty from the tumults in France. Oh! how often do we converse with each other about the state of the republic of Zurich, and especially about our friend Josiah! I have now the entire benefit of those delightful conversations, which, to say the truth, I rather envied you the enjoyment of. And if you were now with us, nothing could be more pleasant, or more to be desired by me, provided only you would leave that gout of yours at home. Believe me, my Josiah, although your griefs are, and ought to be, a grief to me, yet when I sometimes think about you, and place you, as it were, before my eyes, I see a wrinkled old man, bowed down, with bent body, leaning on crutches, dragging one foot after the other, and delicately treading on the ground. But I am not a little surprised that the gout can lay hold upon you, as you have always been a brisk and active young man, while that old lady is so indolent and sedentary.

The queen of Scotland, niece of the duke of Guise, has within these few days, by way of courting the favour and friendship of our queen, sent her a most splendid and valuable diamond, inclosed and fixed in a plate of gold, and set off with some flattering and

[3 A *batz* is somewhere about the value of twopence.]

elegant verses. I send you a copy of them, that you may know the truth of that saying, attributed, if I remember right, to Louis XI. *He who knows not how to dissemble, knows not how to govern.*

Farewell, my Josiah, farewell. Salute most dutifully in my name your most excellent wife, masters Gualter, Wolfius, Zuinglius, Haller, Wickius, Frisius, Guldebeckius. Herman salutes you. Salisbury, Aug. 18, 1562.

Yours in Christ, JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus.*

LXXV. BISHOP PARKHURST TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 53.]

LUDHAM, *Aug.* 20, 1562.

I RECEIVED your letter, written June 22nd, about the beginning of August. There has been a little book published here, entitled "an apology for the church of England;" in which it is shewn, why we have gone over from the pope to Christ, and why we refuse to acknowledge the council of Trent. It may be that two books have been published, but I have only seen this one. I ordered my servant to inquire in London for one or both, if there are two, and to give them in charge to Birkman, to be sent over to Froschover at the approaching fair. Our London friends seem to forget their duty, in not sending over to you books of this kind. Unless the archbishop of Canterbury had sent me a copy, I should not have seen it even now.

There is in my diocese, in Norfolk, a venerable old man, an excellent preacher, and an ancient enemy of antichrist. The opinion of Brentius fell into his hands, which when he had read, he embraced with both hands, and even strenuously and obstinately defended it against some pious and learned men. When this came to my ears, I sent him the copy of your answer which you had presented me with; which when he had attentively perused, he returned to me with many thanks, first to you for having published such a work, and then to myself for having lent it to him for some days: for he has now bade farewell to the opinion of Brentius, and through your instrumentality, has embraced the truth. He is, I believe, nearly ninety years old; I have never seen him, for he lives a great way off, and is quite unable to ride, and indeed scarce able to walk. He preaches constantly in the church of which he is rector. If you would reduce your discourses on Jeremiah to a single volume, you would, in my opinion, do a service.

I have written to our friend Gualter about the queen's fleet and

the English troops; and also, about the letter which poor Burcher wrote to me. I received a letter from my lord of Canterbury four days ago; the substance of it is this, that I should diligently ascertain by every means in my power, though secretly, who, and how many there are in my diocese, who do not comply with the true religion. This is, I suspect, with the intention of punishing their breach of faith. I shall carefully attend to this, and shall give every intelligence, as soon as possible, concerning the enemies of Christ. This step is very gratifying to me; for I gather from it that his grace of Canterbury intends firmly to support the true religion. May the Lord grant it!

Salute in my name your excellent wife, sons, daughters, daughters-in-law, sons-in-law, and all your connections; Haller, Wolfius, Frisius, Collin, Wickius, Pellican, Meyer, the Froschovers, &c. My wife salutes you all.

After I had written this, lo! good news was brought me, namely, that the crucifix and candlesticks in the queen's chapel are broken in pieces, and, as some one has brought word, reduced to ashes. A good riddance of such a cross as that! It has continued there too long already, to the great grief of the godly, and the cherishing of I know not what expectations in the papists. Moreover, the pseudo-bishops, who are in the Tower of London, will very soon render an account of their breach of faith. So I hear. Farewell, my good Bullinger. In haste. Ludham, Aug. 20, 1562.

Yours, JOHN PARKHURST, [Bishop] of Norwich.

LXXVI. P. MARTYR TO BISHOP JEWEL[1]. [A. App. 1.]

Dated at ZURICH, *Aug.* 24, 1562.

BY the favour of the bishop of London, most worthy prelate, and my ever-honoured lord, was brought hither a copy of your Apology for the church of England, the which had not been seen before either by myself or any of our people. In your last letter indeed you rather gave an intimation of its intended appearance, than an express announcement of it. But so long was the journey hither, that it could not reach us till about the first of August;

[1 This Letter was written by Peter Martyr less than three months before his death, which took place on Nov. 12, 1562. It is in reply to Letter LX., above.]

whereby you may figure to yourself how much loss we are continually sustaining on account of the distance of places. As for the Apology, it hath not only in all points and respects satisfied me, (by whom all your writings are so wonderfully well liked and approved,) but it appeared also to Bullinger, and his sons and sons-in-law, and also to Gualter and Wolfius, so wise, admirable, and eloquent, that they can make no end of commending it, and think that nothing in these days hath been set forth more perfectly. I exceedingly congratulate your talents upon this excellent fruit, the church upon this edifying of it, and England upon this honour; and beseech you to proceed in the same way you have entered. For though we have a good cause, yet in comparison of the number of our enemies there are but few who defend it; and they now seem so awakened, that by their goodness of style and crafty sophisms they much recommend themselves to the unlearned multitude. I speak of the Staphili, Hosii, and most other writers of the same stamp, who are at this time shewing themselves strenuous patrons of the pope's lies. Wherefore, since you have excited so great expectations of yourself in your most learned and elegant Apology, know for certain, that all good and learned men are assuring themselves that, while you are alive, the truth of the gospel will not be attacked by its enemies with impunity. And I rejoice most exceedingly, that I have seen the day in which you are made the parent of so noble and elegant an offspring. May God our heavenly Father grant of his goodness, that you may often be honoured with the like fruit!

As to other things that you are doing yonder, I am as ignorant as a Parthian or Indian is of the affairs of Germany. But I persuade myself that your affairs are in a flourishing, or at least in a tolerable condition, because we know from experience, that there is no messenger more swift than he who brings tidings of the afflictions, calamities, and death of our friends; while their happiness, joy, and prosperous condition is very much and for a long time kept from us. But however it be, we ought mutually to hope the best one of another, since it is most certain that God is continually and every where present, and this too after a gracious manner, unto those that be his, of which number are we.

But as touching myself, if you desire to know more particularly how I do, understand that I am of a cheerful mind in Christ, and that I am occupied in the same labours in which I was engaged when you were here; but in body I am not so strong and lusty as I was heretofore. For the burden of old age daily becomes more

heavy. Now, for the space of a year and a half, I have been altogether toothless, neither hath my stomach performed its office of exciting me to eat with an appetite. I am troubled also with rheum; in addition to which I have no small pain in my legs, by reason of two sores wherewith I am at times greatly tormented. Wherein though the body properly and by itself be afflicted, yet by reason of that connection between them which the Greeks call *sympathy*, the mind also cannot choose but be affected.

These things, which I am sure for the good will you bear me you will be sorry to hear, I would by no means have inserted in this letter, had I not very great need of your prayers, which I have persuaded myself I shall obtain to be more earnest, because of the necessity wherewith I am urged.

Respecting the French affairs I write nothing, as I feel assured that they are no less known to you than to myself. The Tridentine synod is feigning to make progress; but it advances so slowly, that in these five sessions it hath decided nothing to the purpose. Its definitions are old and mouldy, so that they seem not to act the part of fathers, but of beetles, who are always turning over the self-same ordure of traditions.

Farewell, most accomplished prelate, and more than the half of my own soul. May God very long preserve, keep, and increase you with every good, both for the church and commonwealth! All friends and learned men salute you. Zurich, August 24, 1562.

Lavater hath published his Commentary on the book of Proverbs.

LXXVII. R. ASCHAM TO J. STURMIUS. [B. 40.]

LONDON, *Oct.* 21, 1562.

MUCH health in Christ Jesus. As we are united together in the same zeal, opinion, disposition, and feeling, with respect to learning, religion, the commonwealth, and a mutual friendship, I often wish and desire that those who belong to us should in like manner be connected by some link and motive to cherish a like affection on their part. And therefore, as my wife has made me a father for the third time, about a week since, I have bestowed upon my little son, in perpetual remembrance of my friendship, the name of Sturmius[1] Ascham. I pray God, and shall daily continue to do

[1 A letter of Sturmius in reply to this is printed in his epistles, wherein

so, that as he bears some resemblance of you in name, so he may likewise in your learning and virtue. I deliver him therefore to your fidelity as your own, and, as far as possible, commend him to your protection, although he is not connected with you by relationship or nation, but by his very name and the wishes of his parents; so that, in case of my death, you may regard him with the same tenderness, benevolence, and affection, with which you have heretofore been always accustomed to regard his father. For respecting the probable shortness of my life I wrote very copiously with tears, and in far too mournful a strain, in that long letter[1] of mine sent you last April by our friend Toxites. I am very anxious to know whether that letter has reached you. I wrote to you also by Henry Knolles[2], who is at this time envoy of our most serene queen to the German princes. From him (for he is very much attached to you) you will very readily understand the whole state of our affairs in England. Her most serene majesty is fully determined and in every respect entirely prepared to destroy the power and tyranny of the Guises, to take arms for the safety of the youthful king[3], and in defence of an inoffensive people[4], without any way intending any wrong to that king or that kingdom.

he says: Ego Sturmii Aschami propater esse volo, et ille mihi profilius non futurus est, sed est. Mittam ei imaginem meam; ut si moriar, antequam me videat, post me aliquid mei videat. Sturm. Ep. xvi.]

[1 See above, Letter LXIV.]

[2 "The last moneth (Sep. 1562) Mr Henry Knolles was sent into Almain with commission to join with Christopher Mount, and to sollicit the prince's protestants both to aid the prince of Condé, and to consider how the common cause of religion might be defended against any common confederacy of the enemy." Sir W. Cecil to —. MS. Cotton. Vesp. c. VII. 224.]

[3 Namely, Charles IX. who was at this time about 12 years old. He ascended the throne Dec. 15, 1560, on the death of his brother Francis II. In the queen's declaration of the causes that induced her to take arms, it is expressly stated that her majesty meaneth not "in any her actions to prejudice the crown of France, nor to do any other thing but that which shall stand with the honour of God, the preservation of the French king both in his person and his rights, the safeguard of the prince [of Condé] and his company, with all other the king's true subjects, against the manifest cruelty of the Duke of Guise and his complices." Forbes, II. 73.]

[4 "Nothing is meant here on our part to make any invasion, but to enter quietly into these pieces (Newhaven and Dieppe) which by law of arms we may, considering we take none of them by force; and as long as the French shall give no other cause, it is meant to use no war towards them, but to allow of mutual traffic betwixt both the nations." Cecil, as above. The letter was probably addressed to Sir N. Throgmorton.]

On this very day, I believe, our troops have entered Normandy[5], which you will sooner know by the report itself, than by this letter.

I wish, my Sturmius, that you would write a separate history of this Guisian conspiracy. Not but that I am well aware, as that friend of ours says upon a like occasion, by what a weight of important undertakings you are oppressed from day to day. But I am not less desirous of your reputation than of my own advantage. The subject is a noble one, and worthy of your learning, abilities, zeal for pure religion, love to that nation, affection for the cause itself, and indignation also against those who are the authors of such impious tyranny and atrocious cruelty. I have often read, and shall always remember, that remarkable passage in a letter of yours to Erasmus[6], your bishop of Strasburgh, in which you treat upon the proper method of writing history. When I consider the ability which that passage proves you to possess, I cannot tell you how greatly I despise all other writers, and earnestly pray Almighty God that you may sometime or other undertake such an employment. This desire of mine has been greatly modified by a report brought over here from Germany, that the German princes had assigned you the province of continuing with your pen what had been passed over by your friend John Sleidan. I have positively stated to our queen that this is the case; let me know, I pray you, whether it is so. I long to know about your Aristotle's Rhetoric, and your treatises, both that against Staphylus, and that upon the Lord's supper, as well as about your other studies and pursuits. Our friend Hales is in the country. I have written to him to-day. Cook is also in the country. Cecil nobly sustains the description

[5 Part of the English army, under Sir Adrian Poynings, arrived at Newhaven in September: the earl of Warwick, who was commander in chief, did not arrive there till towards the end of October. In a letter to Cecil, dated from Dover, Oct. 25th, he writes: "Once again upon very small occasion I went to sea on Friday at night, the wind coming then suddenly, after a little shower, to the north. Notwithstanding it continued not two hours before it came to the south again, yet we laboured all that night, and the next day so long, as we were past hope either to get Newhaven or Portsmouth, and therefore forced to return hither again, where I landed late yesternight, and so must tarry until it please Him to give leave, to whom the greatest princes in this case must obey; wherein, I trust, there shall be found no slackness on my behalf." Forbes, II. 142.]

[6 Erasmus, bishop of Strasburgh, had been a pupil of Sturmius, whom he placed at the head of the college in that city. He was one of the bishops assembled at the council of Trent, and died in 1568. Moreri.]

given at the beginning of Horace's second epistle[1], by his zeal, ability, prudence, and firmness, with great credit to himself, and advantage to our own countrymen, and, as I hope, for the welfare of other nations.

As to myself, I was never, thank God, in greater favour with our most serene queen, than I am at present. She reads something either in Greek or Latin with me every day. My wife salutes you and yours. Farewell in Christ. London, Oct. 21, 1562.

Your most attached, R. ASCHAM.

LXXVIII. BISHOP JEWEL TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 54.]

LONDON, *March* 5, 1563.

MUCH health. Though grief for Peter[2] Martyr is unavailing, yet there is something pleasant, I know not why, even in the very feeling of sorrow. Alas! he was one who, from the greatness of his talents, the variety of his attainments, his piety, his morals, his life, seemed worthy of never being taken away from us. But I had long before suspected this would be the case, when I first heard of a man of his age turning his thoughts to marriage. May our great and good God mercifully look upon his church, and raise up for her other defenders in the room of the departed! Ye are few, my father, ye are but few, upon whom the whole matter rests; and I have always reckoned yourself among the foremost. Oh that there may always be some, to whom you may[3] be able to transfer your duties with satisfaction! But to pass over these things, I do not wonder that your Hercules[4] of Tubingen, the forger, but not the subduer of monstrosities, is now triumphing at his ease: I wonder whether he is able to confine himself within the ample limits and regions of his Ubiquitarian kingdom. Should he make any attack upon our departed friend, and his writings come to my knowledge,

[1 Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus,
Res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
Legibus emendes, &c.

Hor. Ep. II. 1. 1.]

[2 Peter Martyr died Nov. 12, 1562, in the sixty-third year of his age.]

[3 *Quibus possitis hanc lampadem committere.* A metaphorical expression, borrowed from the custom of running with lighted torches at the feast of Prometheus at Athens, which they passed on from one to another till they reached the goal. See Lucret. II. 77. Pers. Sat. VI. 61.]

[4 Brentius. See note 2, p. 139.]

unless some of you should be beforehand with me, I shall think it my duty to reply to him, as far as my engagements will permit; if for no other reason, at least to let the world know, that England and Switzerland are both united against these Ubiquitarians.

The death of the Guisian[5] Pharaoh, which I have to-day heard as an ascertained and undoubted fact, has, believe me, affected my inmost heart and soul. It was so sudden, so opportune, so fortunate, and so far exceeding all our hopes and expectations. What spirits must we now suppose our brethren to possess, whom that monster had already closely besieged, and whom in hope and imagination he had already almost devoured with his cruel jaws? Blessed be the name of the Lord! Châtillon[6] is now besieging the castle of Caen, and is daily gaining strength; and there is good hope that the enemy will come into our terms, and that all will end as we wish. Our queen is collecting troops from Germany, and keeps them in her pay, regardless of expense.

We are now assembling the great council of the nation, and are going on successfully both as to the affairs of religion, and of state, and also with respect to the sinews of war, namely, money[7].

We have very favourable accounts from Scotland. The queen, almost alone, retains both her Guisian obstinacy, and her mass, against the general wish. Our queen last autumn was taken ill of the small pox, and in some danger; she had almost lost her life through her impatience of the fever, and the wearisomeness [of the disease.] But we thank God, who has delivered her from danger and us from fear. We hear nothing about what your little Tridentine fathers, and the dropsical pope, are bringing forth. Perhaps the Holy Spirit declines being present, or cannot speak. Whatever may be the reason, it is strange, that in so numerous an assembly, and so great expectation, nothing is accomplished.

I am at last beginning to recover my health, after the un-

[5 Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guise and Aumale, was killed by a pistol-shot, Feb. 24, 1563, while preparing to besiege the city of Orleans, the strong hold of the protestants in France.]

[6 The admiral de Coligny. The castle surrendered on the 2nd of March.]

[7 This parliament made sundry laws for relief of the poor, for navigation, and husbandry, against rogues, cheaters, conjurors, perjured persons; and for translating the Bible and Common Prayer into Welch; and against advancing the pope's authority, which is made treason, and refusal of the oath of supremacy. And subsidies were granted; by the ecclesiastical men one subsidy, and by the laity another, with two fifteenths and tenths. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 230, and Camden's Elizabeth, p. 63.]

seasonable weather of the last summer and this winter, and the spasms and cough which lasted for some days. I doubt not, you will take care that the writings of Peter Martyr be not lost: they cost their author much labour, and deserve, as you know, to be highly esteemed.

Farewell, most accomplished Sir, and much esteemed brother and master in Christ. Salute in my name that excellent lady your wife, your sons, daughters-in-law, masters Gualter, Simler, Lavater, Zuinglius, Wickius, Wolfius, Haller, Gesner, Frisius. May the Lord long preserve you to us safe and sound! London, March 5, 1563.

Your brother in Christ, and most attached, JOHN JEWEL.

LXXIX. H. FOLKERZHEIMER TO J. SIMLER. [B. 41.]

LONDON, *March* 15, 1563.

THOUGH your account, my very dear Josiah, of the great productiveness of the grafts that I inserted, is very gratifying of itself, and I rejoice that I am able at least to be of some use in this humble science and art; yet your friendly exhortation that I should marry on this account, is far more agreeable. Influenced indeed by the bland invitation of nature herself, and by the opinion of both my parents, I do not feel a very great aversion to your advice. But men's constant and daily complaints about their wives, in which they accuse them of being the causes of every thing that is disagreeable, troublesome, and wearisome in life, may well be a warning even to the most favourably disposed, and divert him from his purpose. Like M. Titurius therefore, who, when he had nothing to do, threw himself on the grass by way of recreation, and said, *I wish this were working;* so it comes into my mind, whenever I sail, or drive, or ride, to wish that this were managing one's household, and performing the duty of a good head of a family. Importuned as I have been by so many letters from my parents and friends, I should have returned home long since, had not the singular regard of the bishop of Salisbury towards me compelled me to ask for a longer leave of absence. And I am deriving this advantage from my being from home, that, seeing our house is frequented by men of the first rank, I am daily hearing their grave conversation, not, forsooth, about regulations respecting light[1], or laws about the

[1 *Servitutes luminum.* This means, in the Roman law, the duty of a man

eaves of houses, but about fortifications, tolls, safe conduct, the importation or exportation of merchandise, and other things of the like kind. But why, my Josiah, need I tell you any more of these things? Two most honourable and excellent men, the bishops of Salisbury and Worcester, are contending with each other in their regard and love for me. The bishop of Worcester has lately presented me with a beautiful and valuable horse, and most lovingly invites me to visit him as soon as I can.

I have resolved not to write any thing about master Peter Martyr, for this reason, that I am so affected by the loss of that man, that it seems very difficult to me to make mention of him either in conversation or even by letter without tears. Oh! that 5th of February, when, with our horses tired out as well as ourselves, we hastened up to London to the meeting of parliament! Oh! how sad, how mournful did that day prove to us, which announced the death, or rather the removal and departure, but yet too long, of so great a man[2]! But there are many things which may afford us comfort, and diminish our grief and lamentation. And among the rest, if the death of those persons is glorious, and by no means to be deplored, who, as one[3] says, have either performed actions worthy of being written, or written things worthy of being performed; we certainly do not regard with sufficient gratitude the exertions and studies of master Martyr, by which he attained unto both these excellences, if we continue to bewail his death with so much grief and anxiety, as though he had departed before his time. These and the like topics may be better imagined than described by us both, although more fully by yourself.

I am wonderfully taken, as you have before learned from my letter, with the pursuit of history and antiquity, but yet so as by no means to forsake those studies which you know I have followed for some years. During the last months, for the sake of improvement, I have translated into Latin, in as fitting and appropriate language as I could, Flavius Arrian's Periplus of the Red sea and the Euxine. And because it was somewhat obscure, I think I have thrown some light upon it by commentaries, that is, passages taken from the ancient annals and writings of geographers. I have moreover described the Red sea, the Persian gulph, that of Cambay, the

to allow his neighbour to make openings in his premises, as in a common wall, for instance, to get light. See Cic. de Orat. I. 38.]

[2 Peter Martyr died Nov. 12, 1562.]

[3 Pliny. Quibus deorum munere datum est aut facere scribenda, aut scribere legenda.]

bay of Bengal, with the inland parts of Arabia, Persia, and hither India as far as the Ganges. I followed in this, first of all, the measurement of Ptolemy, and then those which are so laid down by other geographers and by history, as to be capable of being reduced to a careful and accurate determination of longitude and latitude. Farewell, my dear friend, and commend with me to our God the affairs of France. Salute, I pray you, your wife, also the Bullingers, father and sons, Lavater, Gesner, Julius, Pellican, Zuinglius, Haller, Funckius, Gualter, Guldebeckius, the Collins's, and all who know me. Farewell. London, March 15, 1563. Pardon this haste, my Josiah, I pray you, and, if you think proper, salute M. M.

HERMAN FOLKERZHEIMER.

LXXX. BISHOP JEWEL TO J. SIMLER. [A. 56.]

LONDON, *March* 23, 1563.

I HAVE at all times, most learned Josiah, duly appreciated your kindness and courtesy and affection. For who could do otherwise than love one of such a disposition, so courteous, so learned, so mindful of an old friend, in a word, so amiable? But when my regard for you seemed incapable of increase, your deserts have nevertheless produced this effect, that I daily seem to feel that if what is now *most* great could become *more* so, I should love you yet more than I now do.

I have received from you a silver medal of that excellent old man Peter Martyr, with an account of his life and death. In the figure indeed, although there is in many respects an admirable resemblance (to the original), yet there was a something, I know not what, in which I was unable to perceive the skill of the artist. And what wonder is it, that there should be some defect in producing the likeness of one, the like of whom, whenever I look around me, I can scarce believe ever to have existed? Your little book, however, I perused with the greatest eagerness and delight. For I seemed to myself to behold the same old man with whom I had formerly lived upon such affectionate terms; and to behold him too, I know not why, more nearly and thoroughly, than when we were living together.

You have refuted that obscure and insolent reviler, Stancarus[1],

[1 He was professor of Hebrew at Cracow, and afterwards at Konigsberg; and maintained that our Lord was mediator between God and man in his

(whose very existence I was ignorant of,) both skilfully and learnedly, and, as I hope, with great advantage to the church. But, my Josiah, I am sparing in writing *to* you, especially when concerning yourself. For it is neither consistent with my friendship nor my modesty, to utter these things in your ears. I have read this work[2] with the greatest eagerness, as I do all your writings; for they are written most copiously on barren subjects, and most clearly on obscure ones. I acknowledge and confess your kindness, and own myself, moreover, in your debt.

Our church, by the blessing of God, is free from these monsters. We have only to do with some of the popish satellites, who are giving us as much disturbance as they can in their corners and hiding places; and even at this moment are preventing me from throwing together what I had meditated against the Ubiquitarians: but on this subject I have written more fully to Bullinger. Should you publish the writings of Peter Martyr, you will both confer a benefit on the church, and satisfy the expectation of many good men who desire it. As to the Commentaries on Genesis, respecting which you seem to require my opinion, indeed, my Josiah, I have never read them. I doubt not, however, that they are such, as when published, will be acknowledged to be the work of Peter Martyr.

Whatever news I had to relate, I have thrown together in my letter to master Bullinger. Were not your Rhine so much in the way, I should both write and send to you much more frequently. But the journey is long, and besides I can scarce find any one who is going thither at this next fair; added to which, I am uncertain as to the fair itself. But, whatever may become of my letter, whether I write, or am silent, I am, my Josiah, wholly yours. [London] March 23, 1563. Salute, &c.

JOHN JEWEL.

human nature alone. He was opposed by Osiander, Calvin, Bullinger and Melancthon. See Bayle, who says of him that "il versait des torrens d'injures dans les écrits qu'il composait contre ses antagonistes; et il s'excusait de cela sur le droit de représailles, et sur l'importance des hérésies qu'il croiait combattre, et même sur l'example des apôtres." He died in 1574.]

[2 The work here referred to was a confutation of a book written by Stancarus, and entitled, "De Trinitate, et Mediatore Domino nostro Jesu Christo, adversus Henricum Bullingerum, Petrum Martyrem, et Joannem Calvinum, et reliquos Tigurinæ ac Genevensis ecclesiæ ministros, ecclesiæ Dei perturbatores, etc. Basle, 1547."]

LXXXI. BISHOP PARKHURST TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 57.]

LUDHAM, *April* 26, 1563.

WHEN I was in London, I rebuked those of my countrymen who had been at Zurich, for having been so unmindful of you as never to write to you. Some were ashamed of their long silence, and some likewise expressed their sorrow. But I hope they have now written, and that they will write more diligently in future. Foxe has written a large volume on the English Martyrs[1], and that too in English; it was published four days before Easter. The papists themselves are now beginning to be disgusted with the cruelty of their leaders.

Six or seven persons were convicted of treason, and condemned to death at the beginning of Lent; but the queen's mercy still suffers them to remain in the Tower of London. Two of them bear the name of Pole[2], being relatives of Cardinal Pole. The Earl of Huntley, one of the principal noblemen in Scotland, and a notorious papist, influenced by the counsel of Guise, was purposing to pour forth the blood of the godly in Scotland, just as Guise did in France; and there was a great conspiracy of many seditious persons, and the same tumult and bloodshed would certainly have taken place in Scotland as in France, had not the design, by God's blessing, been discovered in time. Some were slain in battle[3], among whom was one of the sons of Huntley; the other son was condemned with some others. Huntley himself was being taken to prison; but in his way thither he fell backwards from his horse,

[1 Parkhurst here refers to the well-known work, Foxe's Acts and Monuments, the first edition of which was published about five weeks previous to the date of this letter. It is unnecessary here to add any particulars respecting that laborious work. Strype has given some interesting information respecting it, Annals I. i. 374.]

[2 Arthur Pole, Edmonde Pole, Anthonye Fortescue, John Prestall, Humfrey Barwycke, Edward Cosyn, and others, seven in all, were condemned on the 26th of February. Their treasons were intentions to come with a power into Wales, and to proclaim the Scottish queen. Both the ambassadors of France and Spain were concerned in the matter. Strype, Annals, I. i. 546, 555. Camden, Elizabeth, p. 58.]

[3 At Corrichie, near Aberdeen, where Huntley was defeated by the earl of Murray. His sons, John and Adam Gordon, were made prisoners; the former was executed, the latter pardoned on account of his tender age. By their confession, it appears, that he intended high treason to the queen of Scots. See a letter from Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith, dated Nov. 17, 1562. MS. Lansdown, 102, 20.]

and died of a broken neck. It is doubtful whether this was done by accident or on purpose.

I wrote you word that the cross, wax candles, and candlesticks had been removed from the queen's chapel; but they were shortly after brought back again, to the great grief of the godly. The candles heretofore were lighted every day, but now not at all. The lukewarmness of some persons very much retards the progress of the gospel. I wish well from my heart to all the people of Zurich, whom I beg you to salute in my name, and especially your excellent wife, sons, daughters, &c. My wife salutes you all. In haste. Ludham, April 26, 1563.

Yours, JOHN PARKHURST, [Bishop] of Norwich.

LXXXII. BISHOP GRINDAL TO J. CALVIN[4]. [B. 42.]

LONDON, *June* 19, 1563.

WE are much indebted, most illustrious master Calvin, to your piety, and also to your whole church, for having so long afforded us the services of the most learned master Gallasius[5]; who has not only left to his successor, master Cousins, in a state of quietness and good order, the church which he found at his coming in a most disturbed condition, but has also by his advice and prudence been of great use both to myself and our churches. I should not indeed have willingly let him go, had he not had a better reason for leaving us than we could wish. Our climate, it seems, does not agree with his constitution, and has greatly injured his health, besides depriving him of a beloved wife, (to say nothing of his children;) so that him whom we now send back as an invalid, there would be reason to fear, if he remained among us another winter, that we should not send back at all. It was therefore of the first importance for him to return to his native air for the recovery of his health: and we desire nothing more earnestly than that you may, each of you, be enabled freely to preach the gospel in your common country. Although, in the present state of things, partly through the delay or rather tardiness of some parties, and partly through the over hasty conduct of others, (to use no severer term,) there seems but little hope of this; yet I doubt not but that God

[4 The original of this letter is preserved at Geneva.]

[5 See above, Letter LII. p. 106. Gallasius became, in 1564, minister of the church at Orleans; and published, in 1570, at Geneva, an edition of Irenæus.]

himself, by means unknown to us, that we may not glory in men, will bring the whole matter to a happy issue. I grieve from my heart that at your age, and with so slender a frame, you have been attacked, as Gallasius informs me, with a fit of the gout. I have no doubt but that you have contracted this disorder by excessive study and exertion. Henceforth therefore, you must relax somewhat of your former labours and unseasonable lucubrations, lest, by not sparing yourself, you greatly increase your disease, and become of less benefit to the church. Think of Nazianzene, who, because he did not, when advanced in years, relax at all from that austerity which he practised in early life, was almost constantly obliged to keep his bed, and on that account was rendered less useful to the church. As you and Bullinger are almost the only chief pillars remaining, we desire to enjoy you both (if it please God) as long as possible. I purposely omit mention of Brentius, who, having undertaken the advocacy of the very worst of causes, seems no longer to acknowledge us as brethren.

Master Gallasius, who brings you this letter, can give you the best information of the state of our kingdom and church; so that I have at this time no occasion to write upon these subjects. Salute, I pray you, in my name, master Beza and your other colleagues; as also master Antony[1] the professor of Hebrew. May the Lord Jesus very long preserve your piety in safety to us and to his church! London, June 19, 1563.

Your most devoted in the Lord,

EDMUND GRINDAL, Bishop of London.

LXXXIII. T. SAMPSON TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 58.]

OXFORD, *July* 26, 1563.

I WISH you, reverend Bullinger, eternal life in Christ our Lord. You will perhaps wonder at my freedom in troubling you with this letter. Excuse me, I will write very briefly.

[1 Antony Rodolph Chevalier was a learned French protestant, and teacher of that language to the princess Elizabeth. On the death of Edward VI. he retired into Germany, and was made Hebrew professor at Strasburgh. He succeeded Tremellius (whose daughter-in-law he married) as Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge in 1569, upon the recommendation of archbishop Parker; and was also appointed to a prebend at Canterbury. He died in Guernsey in 1572. See Strype, Annals, I. ii. 552.]

There was *one*, not long since, at Zurich, into whose bosom I could pour out all my cares. His remains are now with you. Zurich therefore often comes into my mind. But to what purpose should I idly prate of my thoughts at such times? Martyr is yet alive: may Zurich live well and happy! and that the remembrance of the kindness I received at Zurich may not be buried with Peter Martyr, is the object of my now addressing you. I had once a little cottage at Zurich; and if God would now grant my wishes, I should most anxiously return to it. I am perhaps selfish in desiring this: I do not deny it. But since the glory of Christ our Lord should be the supreme object of our desire, I wave all my petitions as far as they regard myself. In this matter therefore, namely, in looking out for me a small lodging, I am loth to give you any farther trouble. Oh that we may sometime be permitted to arrive at those mansions prepared for us in heaven by Christ our Lord! Meanwhile, most reverend father, I commend both my country and myself to your prayers. The affairs of England are in a most unhappy state; I apprehend yet worse evils, not to say the worst: but we must meanwhile serve the Lord Christ. Happy is he whom our Christ adopts into his family! Consider, then, that England is most earnestly commended to your prayers, and remember me also. As a lasting token of my regard, I send you by your countryman, master Blaarer, some Oxford gloves. They indeed will grow old; but may your love of England and of myself never grow old! Farewell, and may you, my very dear father, live most happy in the Lord! Oxford, July 26, 1563.

Yours, THO. SAMPSON.

Salute Julius Terentianus in my name and in that of my wife.

LXXXIV. BISHOP PARKHURST TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 59.]

LUDHAM, *Aug.* 13, 1563.

HEALTH to you in Christ, most learned Bullinger. I wrote you a letter on the 26th of April, which I hope you received: yours, however, written on the 6th of March was delivered to me on the 23rd of May; but I have not received the copy of your second reply to Brentius, which you write of. What do I not imprecate against those men who have robbed me of so great a treasure! If you had tied it up with the letters of Gualter, Lavater, and Simler, it would have reached me in safety. I have not

yet seen any thing that Brentius has written, either against yourself or Peter Martyr; nor do I much regard any writings or trash of that kind.

Your letter written October 16, 1562, I did not receive till the 27th of June. Hyperius sent it to Luncher, and Luncher to me. I have not seen him of a long time, but I sent some money to him on the 4th of July, and I inclose you his letter to me, by which you will learn how harsh and inexorable are the heads of his college, who will not allow him any leave of absence.

Within these few days there has come to me a young Scotsman, a most excellent preacher, recommended to me by letter from Grindal, bishop of London, and Coverdale, late bishop of Exeter. He is now settled in my diocese, namely, in a sea-port called Lynn. He has brought me news from Scotland, that the archbishop[1] of St Andrew's has been condemned to death for hearing mass; and that two or three of the nobility have been imprisoned for the same reason. They have decreed in parliament that adultery shall be punished with death.

The Queen of Scotland demanded in the house of parliament these three things: 1, That she might be allowed to hear mass; 2, that she might declare war against the English; 3, that the German, (viz. the popish) guards might be about the court, to whom should be committed the charge of her person. But none of these requests were complied with. These things he told me.

There was a violent thunder-storm here about the beginning of July. The spire of the cathedral church in the city of Norwich was violently shaken, though not thrown down; but it was repaired shortly after. The plague is raging in London[2] and at Newhaven[3], and, as it is reported, in the French army. You will hear every thing else from my letter to Gualter. On the 20th of July I sent by one of my principal attendants a letter to the council. On the 26th of the same month he brought their answer, and died of the

[1 Murray cast the archbishop of St Andrew's into prison, because he had not abstained from celebrating mass, for which he hardly obtained pardon with many tears. Camden, Elizabeth, p. 68.]

[2 Out of the city of London alone, which consisteth of a hundred and twenty-one parishes, there were carried forth to burying about 21,530 corpses. Camden, Elizabeth, p. 67.]

[3 Now Havre de Grace, till then occupied by the English, but surrendered in July by reason of the plague here mentioned, which was brought into England, and the latter end of August raged in London, about a thousand in a week dying. Strype, Annals, I. ii. 94.]

plague four days after. The Lord have mercy upon us! About the beginning of August war was publicly declared against France[4].

Salute in my name the most honourable lady your wife, also your sons and daughters, learned friends, and most courteous citizens, whom you know me to be acquainted with. In haste. Ludham, August 13, 1563. My wife salutes you all, and thanks you for your letter. As no one is at hand who understands German, she is unable to reply to you, which she very much regrets.

Yours, JOHN PARKHURST, [Bishop] of Norwich.

I hear that peace[5] is about to be made between the French and ourselves. God grant it! I know for certain that a truce has been established for some time. My wife sends you two pair of boots, which you may wear when rude Boreas rushes down from the Aar, bringing cold, frost, and snow.

LXXXV. L. HUMPHREY TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 60.]

OXFORD, *August* 16, 1563.

HEALTH in Christ, and everlasting peace! I rejoice and congratulate you again and again that the tumult of war has subsided. I lament, however that the affairs of religion have made so little progress. Jesus will at length afford us halcyon days, when the gospel shall meet with more acceptance, and the church, I hope, will have her sons, and the gospel its course, in spite of, and with the opposition of, all the powers of hell. For the truth will prevail, and no power or cunning of man shall be able to resist the divine will and operation. But to you and yours, our fathers and brethren, do we wish a long life, lest the christian commonwealth should be deprived of her parents, and patrons, and guardians.

Respecting the subject of the habits, I wish you would again write me your opinion, either at length, or briefly, or in one word:

[4 Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, the queen's ambassador in France, was put under restraint; and the queen, to be even with the French for this injurious dealing with her ambassador, lodged the French ambassador at Eton, in Sir Thomas Smith's old lodgings, very commodiously, but under restraint. Strype, Annals, I. ii. 94.]

[5 This peace "was proclaymed in London the 22d [of April, 1564], and on the 23d a notable good sermon made at Pooles [St Paul's] with *Te Deum* and all incident solemnities." Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith, MS. Lansd. 102. 49. and see Strype, Annals, I. ii. 115. The articles are recorded by Camden, Elizabeth, p. 70.]

first, whether that appears to you as *indifferent* which has been so long established with so much superstition, and both fascinated the minds of the simple with its splendour, and imbued them with an opinion of its religion and sanctity: secondly, whether at the command of the sovereign, (the jurisdiction of the pope having been abolished,) and for the sake of order, and not of ornament, habits of this kind may be worn in church by pious men, lawfully and with a safe conscience. I am speaking of that round cap and popish surplice, which are now enjoined us, not by the unlawful tyranny of the pope, but by the just and legitimate authority of the queen. To the pure, then, can all these things be pure, and matters of indifference? I ask your reverence to let me know very exactly what is your opinion.

Sampson had sent his letter by another hand. He salutes you and master Gualter and the rest again and again. May the Lord preserve your church and his! Oxford, August 16, 1563. Yours,

LAURENCE HUMPHREY.

LXXXVI. H. ZANCHIUS[1] TO BISHOP GRINDAL. [B. 43.]

STRASBURGH, before *Aug.* 23, 1563.

EXCUSE my delay, honoured sir; for I have but lately returned from the borders of Italy, and have found an almost infinite number of letters, to which I must necessarily reply. You desire to know how our dispute is settled. I will tell you in few words. Our senators, as I hear and see, had determined from the very first so to conduct themselves in this controversy of ours, that the honour of each party should remain as far as possible inviolate; and this for the sake of the office, both of the preachers in the church, and mine in the school. Although therefore during those two years in which the cause was being pleaded before the senate, they were well aware, both from the reading of the charges, the writings of each party, and the opinions of many churches and universities respecting my theses[2], that the action brought against me by my adversaries was most unjust, and that my doctrine, which had been charged with and condemned for both novelty and heresy, was

[1 Grindal's reply to this letter is printed in his Remains, published by the Parker Society, p. 276.]

[2 These theses contained the declaration of Zanchy's faith concerning predestination, final perseverance, and the Lord's supper.]

neither novel nor heretical; they nevertheless refused to decide upon the case, or at least, to permit it to be decided by a disputation; but having sent for four divines[3] and some canonists, partly from Tubingen, partly from Deux-Ponts, partly from Basle, they resolved that the dispute should be settled by these parties. They, in the presence of four senators, read over the pleadings and writings upon each side; they clearly perceived that great injustice had been done both to myself and to the truth; they reported to the senate their opinion both of the writings and pleadings. Here master Peter Sturmius, the head schoolmaster, said before them all, "What now then becomes of the numerous and grievous heresies which were objected to Zanchius?"

They then made proposals separately to each party to come to an agreement. When the referees came to me, they first of all stated in express terms that the opposite party held the same opinion with myself concerning the predestination of the saints; for that they approved the doctrine of Augustine, Luther and Bucer; and by these three, next to the scriptures, I had most copiously confirmed the whole of what I teach in my lectures and expositions. There only now remained some difference of opinion respecting the Lord's supper. Although therefore they had read my confession respecting the supper, yet they were nevertheless anxious to hear more clearly from myself what I thought about the real presence of Christ therein: for in my confession I had offered no opinion upon the subject, but had only discussed three principal heads; first, that not only the symbols were received, but also the thing itself, the real body of Christ, and his real blood, that is, Christ himself; secondly, that each was eaten and drunk, not with the mouth of the body but of the spirit, namely, by faith; thirdly, and this only by the faithful. To this I answered, that I was unwilling to dispute upon the question, because I could not find a single positive declaration in the scriptures respecting the presence of Christ in the supper; but nevertheless, that they might not think that I shrunk from the subject, and dared not explain my opinion upon this question, I would tell them my sentiments. First, that I can in no wise admit that the body of Christ in the supper is present with our bodies: for that a thing is said to be present with any one, when in some way or other it communicates itself to that with which it is said to be present, and is perceived by it; but that a

[3 These divines were, James Andreas from Tubingen; Cuman Flinsbach from Deux-Ponts; Simon Sultzer and Ulric Coccius from Basle. See Henr. Alting, Hist. Eccles. Palatinæ, p. 298. Ed. 1644.]

thing is said to be absent, which in no wise communicates itself to, or is perceived by, that from which it is said to be absent; whether that object, in regard to local distance or nearness, be at a less or greater interval. Sultzer[1] was walking up and down the room, while James Andreas[2] was sitting down and conversing with me upon the supper. I brought forward therefore an illustration taken from themselves, in these words: "You, master arbitrators, are said to be, and really are, present with me, that is, with my body, because you communicate yourselves to me and to my senses, and are perceived by me, while I see you with my eyes, and hear you with my ears; and master Sultzer, who is walking up and down, is as much present with me as the rest of you who are sitting; although as respects local distance or nearness he is farther from me than you are, and you are nearer than he. But those who are out of doors, beyond this chamber (for there were some of the servants of these gentlemen outside) are said to be absent, because I neither hear nor see them, nor perceive them by any bodily sense. Now it is manifest, that the true and substantial body of Christ is not communicated to my body in the supper; for I do not perceive it by any of my bodily senses, as I neither see it with my eyes, nor hear it with my ears, nor smell it with my nostrils, nor touch it with my hands, nor taste it with my palate. I cannot therefore by any means admit that the body of Christ is present with our bodies in the supper. But that the same true and substantial body of Christ is present with my mind in the supper, where it is most efficacious, I cannot deny; since it is beyond dispute, that it is really communicated to the minds of the faithful, and is really perceived by them: for it is seen by the eye of the believing mind, or the inner man, and is taken by the hand, and eaten by the mouth of the same; and is in such wise eaten that we feel its virtue and salutary effects in ourselves. I cannot therefore deny in the abstract the real and substantial presence, that is, the presence of the real and substantial body of Christ in the supper, but in that sense in which I have explained it."

[1 Simon Sultzer was a native of Interlaken. He studied under Bucer, Capito, and Grynæus, and became professor of Greek at Berne in 1533.]

[2 James Andreas was professor of Divinity at Tubingen, and one of the chief of those divines employed in 1569 by the special command of the dukes of Wirtemberg and Brunswick, in composing a form of doctrine in which might be decided all the controversies that divided the church. This was called the form of Concord, and was adopted as a new confession of Lutheran faith, put forth by the Saxons, in consequence of the strict order of the elector Augustus. See Soames's Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 362.]

Here James Andreas exclaims with astonishment, "Truly then you hold the same opinion as we do." "You have heard, Sirs," I said, "my opinion. If it is also yours, I rejoice for myself, and congratulate you and the church." "Now," says he, "I see why you have brought so many arguments (namely in my confession) against our statement that 'the body of Christ is also eaten with the bodily mouth,' because you suppose that we hold the body of Christ to be eaten with the mouth of our body, as if the body of Christ were in contact with our mouth and body." "Just so," I replied: "I supposed from your writings that such was your opinion." "By no means," said he, "by no means do we entertain this view, but only express ourselves in this way by reason of the sacramental union." I then said, "If these are your sentiments, I do not find fault with that expression; for I also admit, that on account of the sacramental union there is attributed to the body of Christ what is the property of bread, and on the other hand, to bread, what belongs to the body of Christ." "But what," says he, "do you think of the eating of the unworthy?" "If by this term," I answered, "you mean men who are clearly ungodly, and destitute of true faith, I cannot admit that the body of Christ is eaten by such persons. But if you mean such persons as are endued with faith, albeit a weak one, and of a more relaxed life than is becoming to a Christian, I do not deny it; for such were those Corinthians who, because they had eaten the body of the Lord unworthily, St Paul says, were judged, that is, were 'chastened[3] of the Lord, that they should not be condemned with the world.'" We could not therefore agree about this article. "But I have no doubt," he said, "that if you will more diligently examine this article, you will come over to our sentiments." "I have already," I replied, "examined it with sufficient attention, and am unable to think otherwise than as I do." "Well," says he, "we have said enough upon the supper. We thank God that in this article respecting the supper there is no great difference among you, since you admit on both sides a real and substantial presence." And thus we ended.

They then produced some articles about predestination, and gave them to both parties for their inspection. But they gave them me to read over in such haste, that they would not allow them to remain with me even a single night. At last, when they perceived that I would not subscribe to them, unless they were

[3 See 1 Cor. xi. 32.]

carefully examined by me at home, they let me have them; but upon condition of my neither copying them nor allowing them to be copied. They added to them, that they might at least determine something respecting the Lord's supper in general, the Confession of Augsburgh, and the articles of concord[1] between Luther and Bucer. In the articles upon predestination I discovered nothing openly impious, and which could not be admitted with a good conscience; as master Calvin afterwards wrote both to me and to our pastor. I perceived only that they were so artfully framed, as to make it evident that the arbitrators were more desirous that the controverted articles should be buried in a certain darkness spread over them, than that the truth should be unfolded in open day. This was one reason among others why I for a long time, that is, almost to the last, refused to subscribe. At length when I perceived that it rested with myself alone, whether on the termination of this serious dispute (which was not confined to one or two, but extended to all the ministers on one side, and all the professors on the other) peace and harmony should be restored; and when I saw that I could subscribe with a safe conscience, especially with a protest being premised, I consented. When therefore I came to the place where our senators and the commissioners were, together with all the professors and some others, after returning my thanks to the parties to whom they were due, I said that I would subscribe, but with this protest premised: first, that I would not that any prejudice should arise through this subscription of mine to other churches, colleges, and the truth; next, that I would not allow any thing derogatory to that doctrine which I have taught here at Strasburgh these eight years, and which is contained in my lectures, disputations, and confessions; lastly, that I might be allowed to explain the Confession of Augsburgh, the apology[2], and articles of concord, as well as these present articles, according to the rule of God's word, the doctrine of Augustine, Luther, and Bucer. I then conditionally subscribed in these words: *This form of doctrine I both acknowledge as godly, and receive it as such.* H. Zanchius. The next day, all wrongs having been forgiven, were joined the right hands of fellowship and brotherly love. Thus was

[1 This was called the concord of Wittemberg, and took place in the year 1536.]

[2 John Faber, Eckius, and Cochlæus, drew up a confutation of the Augsburgh Confession; upon which Melancthon published, in 1531, the apology for it here mentioned, and which constitutes a part of the symbolical books of the Lutheran church. See Soames's Mosheim, III. 148.]

our disagreement settled, without any derogation from the truth of doctrine.

Meanwhile, however, there are not wanting those who blame the act: but such persons do not consider what that passage means, "Christ pleased not himself;" nor do they reflect upon the serious evils occasioned by dissensions. Why, for the sake of peace among so many, both ministers and professors of the same city, should I not subscribe to the Confession of Augsburgh, and its apology, especially in the way I did, both my interpretation and also my protest being allowed by the commissioners? They are offended at those words in the apology, "that the body of Christ is really and substantially present in the Lord's supper." But I explained upon what understanding they might be admitted, and how that may be said to be really and substantially present, which is really and substantially partaken of. When the sun is above our hemisphere, and communicates its real and substantial body to be seen by us, and by means of that body its heat and light to be partaken of, may we not say with propriety that the sun is really and substantially present? So likewise on the other hand, when having removed to the other hemisphere, because he no longer communicates himself to be seen and partaken of by us, we say he is absent: when yet, in regard to local distance or propinquity, he is as far from us when above ours, as when he is above the other hemisphere. What therefore is to prevent our saying, that Christ's body is really and substantially present to those to whom he really and substantially communicates himself?

But, say they, other persons do not so understand and interpret as you do. But I did not subscribe to the interpretations of others, but only to the words of the Augsburgh Confession, and that according to the sense which I acknowledge to be a godly one; and my interpretation was allowed. Calvin certainly thinks differently, and I respect his opinion far more than that of many others; for he truly has the Spirit of God, and looks more to the edification of the churches, than to a certain vainglorious pertinacity in our phrases, expressions, and syllables. He writes to our pastor, that he does not approve of persons simply refusing to subscribe; and recommends their subscribing, provided only exceptions be given in and allowed: and he advises me by letter to make an attestation before the magistrate, that I have been induced to subscribe from an earnest desire of peace, but with those exceptions, and that I now profess and confirm the same. If there had been any hope of obtaining a discussion in which the truth would have openly

triumphed, or of a definitive decision, as they call it, being pronounced respecting the whole controversy, or of settling the dispute in any other better way, I never would have subscribed. But as I can hope for none of these things, what, I ask, could I have done? I believe that with your piety and prudence you would have acted just as I did. If I am mistaken, pardon this my opinion of your piety, and pardon likewise, I entreat you, I no longer call it my brevity, but my too great prolixity; and farewell, and retain me in the number of your friends. I salute my four noble gossips[1], masters Wroth, Cook, Knolles, and Heton; and I wish you would communicate to them and to other learned men this my compromise, and candidly write me word what both you and they think of it. May the Lord Jesus evermore guide and protect you by his Spirit!

[H. ZANCHIUS.]

LXXXVII. H. FOLKERZHEIMER TO J. SIMLER. [B. 44.]

EMBDEN, *Aug.* 21, 1563.

IT has happened, Josiah, contrary to all my expectation, and, I fear, to your duty likewise, that I have received no letter from you at the last Frankfort fair. And, in truth, I was exceedingly grieved at the loss of the delightful, and indeed the only enjoyment of our great intimacy, which in the privation of personal intercourse was to be derived from our correspondence. Although those noble and excellent persons[2] earnestly desired to retain me longer with them in England, yet induced by the letters of my friends, and the desire of seeing them, I preferred returning to my country. As soon, therefore, as I had received the horse which the bishop of Worcester had presented me with, and had obtained from Robert[3], the master of the horse, a licence for its exportation, I began to think about my voyage. When the vessel was left on shore at the turn of the tide, we hoisted up the horse, fastened with three ropes round his belly, in such a way that he could be lowered and got

[1 *Compatres*, godfathers to his children. The word *gossip* is from the Anglo-Saxon, *God* and *sib* (*affinity*), and is thus defined by Becon (Acts of Christ and Antichrist), Vol. III. p. 532. "Christian gossips, that is to say, those men and women that have been godfathers and godmothers together of one child at baptism."]

[2 Namely, bishops Jewel and Sandys. See above, Letter LXXIX. p. 169.]

[3 Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester.]

aboard. We had intended to sail direct for Belgium; but when we had proceeded about five miles, we were thrown, against our will, by a west wind upon the coast of France. After having somewhat recruited my horse, half dead with hunger, as his rider was with sea-sickness, I immediately betook myself with much satisfaction to the Belgian frontier. The principal towns on our journey were Calais, Gravelines, Dunkirk, Bruges, Ghent; and then in Brabant, Brussels, Louvaine, Mechlin, and Antwerp; lastly, in Guelderland, leaving Holland on the left, Hoogstraet, Nimeguen, Arnheim and Deventer. At Groningen I met my brother Ulric with his wife and little boy, to our great delight on both sides. Having staid with him a week, I set off for Embden. Many things have happened in the course of my life which have afforded me very great pleasure; but, immortal powers! what can be compared to that greeting and those embraces of my parents, sisters, and brothers? I do not now feel so much surprised at the great longing of Ulysses, whose home, and wife, and children were so dear to him, that if he could but see the smoke[4] of his country, he would despise immortality. I can never be sufficiently and duly thankful to our good and gracious God, for having so abundantly granted those things which I am often wont to pray for.

The kings of Denmark and Sweden[5] are making preparation for a most destructive war. Duke Eric[6] of Brunswick has gone over to the king of Denmark with a large body of troops. The Dane is said to excel in infantry and cavalry, and the Sweed in his navy. There has been more than once a most severe engagement by sea. The king of Denmark, it is thought, will not be able to do any thing in Sweden, even with superior forces, by reason of the number of rivers and lakes, by which, as the bridges are everywhere broken down and cut off, all access is shut out; so that they must necessarily wait for the winter to freeze over the rivers and open a passage.

You have a person with you, by the name of Egbert Brassius, the son of a worthy and excellent preacher. If you will aid him with your advice and assistance in the prosecution of his studies, and notice the young man, who is a great lover of piety and learning, you will do nothing inconsistent with that reputation for

[4 See Hom. Od. I. 57, &c.]

[5 Namely Frederick II., and Eric XIV. The occasion of this war was the voluntary submission of Esthonia to Sweden in 1561.]

[6 Eric, son of Eric, duke of Hanover, and grandson of William, duke of Brunswick.]

kindness that Josiah already possesses. You had intended to come to us, together with Froschover, and pass over from hence to England; and my brother and other friends, as well as myself, earnestly beg and pray you to do so. And this, I hope, will take place during my stay at home; for I am thinking of going into Italy. Farewell, my Josiah, and salute warmly and respectfully in my name your wife, together with the lady your neighbour[1], the Bullingers, Gualter, Zuinglius, Lavater, John Frisius, Haller, Julius, Pellican, Guldebeckius, the Collins's, Funckius, Wolfius, Bibliander, and all our other common friends. Embden, Aug. 21, 1563. Salute too my young countryman Defholdius together with his tutor.

[H. FOLKERZHEIMER.]

LXXXVIII. BISHOP GRINDAL TO C. HUBERT. [B. 45.]

FULHAM, *Aug.* 23, 1563.

GREETING. Dithelm Blaurer, who at your advice and persuasion came over to me in England, is now returning home at the summons of his father. I could not therefore allow one who had been recommended to me by a letter from you, to return to you without a letter from me. And it is also just that I should give such testimony as he deserves, of his pious and sober conduct during his residence in my family. His assistance has been of use to me in many respects, and would have been much more so, had not the infinite engagements connected with my office distracted me in various ways. But that you may know upon what terms I have dismissed him, I have paid him, upon leaving me, the whole quarter's salary, which would have been due next Michaelmas, viz. four French crowns, together with four pounds of our money for the expenses of his journey, making thirteen French crowns and a little over. I have given him too some little presents in addition. My only motive in writing this is that you may know the plain truth of the case. I have also paid Abel, for the expenses of Dithelm when he first came over from Germany, more than fourteen crowns, because, as it was winter, they were forced by contrary winds to wait somewhat longer on the coast of Flanders.

I hear your disputes are now settled. God grant that the peace may be solid, and sincere, and without disguise! I have no doubt of it on your part. I fear lest the other party may some

[1 This may perhaps serve to explain the last sentence in Letter LXXIX.]

time or other raise a fresh disturbance. But I heartily congratulate you, my very dear master Conrad, on your pious respect for our common instructor, master Bucer of happy memory, whose reputation you have hitherto defended with so much firmness. I wish you every blessing in the Lord. From my country house at Fulham on the banks of the Thames, Aug. 23, 1563.

Yours in Christ, EDM. GRINDAL, Bishop of London.

LXXXIX. J. ABEL TO H. BULLINGER. [B. 45*.]

LONDON, *Aug.* 24, 1563.

PRAISE to God. My friendly greeting and willing service to you, dear master and friend. I sent my last letter to Strasburgh fair, in which I wrote you word that I had received your letter, together with some books, and that I had forwarded the same to master Horn, bishop of Winchester, who has sent me word in return that he intends to send you a letter together with some money, which I have not yet received; but as soon as he sends it, I will forward it to you immediately. He has written me word likewise, that he means to send two crowns for the housekeeper at Zurich who waited at the English house[2] there, and was called the English servant. Master Pilkington too, who is now bishop of Durham, has given me a crown for the said housekeeper, which I send you herewith, and pray you to give it her. I have done my best for her, and spoken with other bishops on her behalf; for John Burcher has both spoken and written to me respecting some relief for her, and says that she is a pious poor woman, and faithfully waited upon the English at Zurich. John Burcher is now become a clergyman in the country not far from London, where he preaches the word of God faithfully, and is much beloved, and does much good. His wife has been delivered of a little girl, and is also well and hearty.

I have not much news to send you. Our Lord God is very angry with us for our ingratitude; for his holy word is daily preached here among us, and we have not loved nor followed the same, nor commended it by our lives: wherefore he has this last year sent a great dearth among us, and now he has sent such a plague[3] and pestilence among us, that in the city which our English took last year in Normandy, some thousands have died so wonder-

[2 This house belonged to Froschover. See the next Letter, p. 189.]

[3 See above, Letter LXXXIV. p. 176.]

fully by reason of the plague, that our people have quitted the said town, and are returned from thence with all their goods and artillery and arms, &c., by which means the plague is so rife in London, that there are dying by the pestilence five or six hundred a week; and there is reason to fear that if our Lord should not have compassion upon us, it will become yet more prevalent, for it has only just begun. God give us his grace and holy Spirit that we may amend our lives, that his holy name may be praised and magnified thereby; and then will he take away this plague. His holy will be done from henceforth and for evermore. Amen.

I have nothing else to write to you about at this time; but I pray you to salute from me your dear wife, together with both your sons and their wives, as also master Gualter and his dear wife, with John Henry Smith[1], and all my other acquaintance. The grace of God be with you all, and preserve you from all evil. Amen.

JOHN ABEL. England.

XC. BISHOP HORN TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 61.]

WINCHESTER, *Dec.* 13, 1563.

I HAVE now received, my very dear Bullinger, your three letters; two of which, namely, the first, dated October 10, [1562], and the second, dated March 10, 1563, reached me only on the 31st of last May; the third, dated on the 29th of August, reached me in good time in October. I perceived in them the great strength of your regard, which expressed itself in such delightful terms, and could be satisfied only with my letter, or my trifling presents. They were sent by me however, to make you understand that not myself only, but my property and fortune, is ready to do you service.

As for your thanking me for the cloth, and expressing your intention of returning the obligation, I therein acknowledge your exceeding kindness in confessing yourself to be under any obligation to me, who am so deeply indebted to yourself. And when you daily refresh your remembrance of me in that silver cup, I take it thus, that as nothing can be more gratifying to me than your kindness and esteem, so it is a source of exceeding pleasure to me to be in your frequent recollection, and to be as it were constantly before

[1 Namely, John Henry Fabricius mentioned above, p. 118.]

your eyes. But since a cup of so moderate a price must be very small, I have sent you fourteen crowns more, together with my coat of arms, as you desire, that you may get a cup made that is larger and more suitable for a full party.

I am equally troubled with yourselves at the insidiousness and fury of the enemies, from which you are in danger: but I am, on the other hand, relieved by the consolation which you derive through him who has overcome the world, and whose people cannot be conquered or overcome by the world. And we are not so much distressed by the evils of popery, as the glory of God is illustrated, and the gospel magnified. We have throughout England the same ecclesiastical doctrine as yourselves: as to rites and ceremonies——[2] nor, as the people are led to believe, do we at all differ in our estimation of them. But we have never ceased, according to your advice, to teach, warn, and enforce what is right and necessary to be followed, from the holy scriptures; lest the flock committed to our charge should, through our fault, be scattered by those inveterate errors which are still circulated by the papists in secret.

Of the books you mention in your second letter, I have received three upon the same arguments, against the Ubiquitarianism of Brentius; which subject a certain Englishman has undertaken as you desire, and by the divine assistance will treat with zeal and eloquence, that it may be manifest to every one, that the people of England entertain on these points the same opinions as you do at Zurich. I had heard of the death of that illustrious man, Peter Martyr, before the arrival of your letter. I rejoice at the successor whom he appointed in his dying moments. When the Tridentine Council, framed as it is against Christ, shall have reached its utmost height, he that sitteth in the heavens, and laugheth them to scorn, will disperse it, as he has always made the vain counsels of men of no effect, and brought them to nought.

It now remains for me, my Bullinger, to salute affectionately, in my wife's name as well as my own, both yourself and the excellent ladies, your wife and Froschover's; also your sons-in-law, Simler, Lewis, Lavater, and Zuinglius; as well as my beloved brethren in Christ, masters Gualter, Bibliander, Wolfius, and Haller; my landlord too, and that poor widow who waited upon us when we lived together in Froschover's house, and to whom I have sent two crowns. I wish you health from the Lord. I will henceforth take care that you shall not be in want of a letter from me,

[2 The original MS. is here illegible.]

and I ask you again and again to do the same on your part. Farewell. May the Lord Jesus long preserve you in safety to his church! Winchester, December 13, 1563.

Yours wholly in Christ, ROBERT WINTON.

XCI. BISHOP PARKHURST TO J. SIMLER. [A. 62.]

LUDHAM, *Feb.* 17, 1564.

I SEND you, according to your request, two letters written to me by Peter Martyr: should I find any more, I will send them. I wrote to you on the 26th of April, and also on the 14th of August. For the silver [medal of Peter] Martyr I sent a golden Elizabeth. You are right in preparing an edition of the works of Martyr; for you will thus deserve well of all pious persons, and perform a most useful service to the church of Christ. May the Lord prosper your undertaking and bring it to a happy issue! The wife[1] of the duke of Norfolk died in childbed on the 10th of January, and was buried at Norwich on the 24th of the same month. I preached her funeral sermon. There were no ceremonies at the funeral, wax candles or torches. Except the sun nothing shone, which sadly annoyed the papists. Nothing of the kind has been ever seen in England, especially at the funeral of a peer or peeress. Other news you will learn from my letters to others. Farewell, my Simler. Salute in my name all my friends, especially your excellent wife. Mine salutes you and yours and all our friends. Ludham, Feb. 17, 1564.

Yours,

JOHN PARKHURST, [Bishop] of Norwich.

Give this catalogue to master Gesner[2].

[1 This was Margaret, daughter and heir of Thomas Lord Dudley, of Walden, widow of Lord Henry Dudley. She was the second wife of Thomas, fourth duke of Norfolk. The duke's council appointed the dean of Christ church, Sampson, to preach at her interment. But the bishop hearing of it, for doing the greater honour to the duke, sent his letter to the council, offering his service in that behalf. For although, as he said, the other could do much better than he, yet he thought it his bounden duty to do all things that he might to God's glory, to do honour to the duke's grace. Therefore the dean buried her, and the bishop made the sermon. He wrote to Mr Foxe, telling him, after his jocose way, "All things were done honourably, *sine crux, sine lux, at non sine* tinkling. There was neither torch, neither taper, candle, nor any light else, beside the light of the sun; singing there was enough." Strype, Annals, I. ii. 45. See MS. Harl. 416. 175.]

[2 Gesner was minded to publish the ancient ecclesiastical authors from

XCII. H. ZANCHIUS TO BISHOP GRINDAL. [B. 46.]

Near CHIAVENNA, *August*, 1564.

I SEND you, reverend prelate, my judgment respecting the controversy of the churches about the supper of the Lord, which for certain reasons I have dedicated to my friend master Knolles. I did not indeed write it with a view to its being published, as you may yourself conjecture, both from its brevity and style; but since my friends, and Sturmius among the rest, so highly approved it, as to compel me to publish it, I chose rather by my compliance to appear to my friends wanting in talent, than ungrateful to the churches by my refusal. You will therefore receive this copy as a testimony of my respect. I hope to send you better and more copious tidings very soon. As the Lord had heretofore visited you with the pestilence[3], so he has this year visited us, that is, my church at Chiavenna. I call it *my* church, that you may know that I am no longer professor at Strasburgh, but am minister at Chiavenna on the borders of Italy, and which is so called, as being the key[4] of the passage from Italy to Germany, and *vice versa*.

good copies. For which purpose he sent to the bishop of Norwich a catalogue of books of that sort, that search might diligently be made in all our best libraries for MS. copies of them. This is the catalogue here referred to. The bishop sent one copy of it to Foxe, to search the queen's library; one to Mr Sampson, or Dr Humphrey, that search might be made in Oxford; and another to Mr Beaumont, master of Trinity College, that he might do the like in Cambridge. See Strype, Annals, I. ii. 45.]

[3 Zanchius left Strasburgh in November 1563, and entered on his pastoral charge at Chiavenna in the January following; shortly after which the town was visited by a pestilence, which in seven months carried off twelve hundred of the inhabitants. "When the plague," he says, "actually began to make havock, I enforced repentance and faith, while I had a place to preach in, or any congregation to hear. Many being dead, and others having fled the town (like shipwrecked mariners, who, to avoid instant destruction make towards what coast they can), but very few remained; and of these remaining few, some were almost terrified to death, others were solely employed in taking care of the sick, and others in guarding the walls. They concurred in advising me to consult my own safety by withdrawing for a time, till the indignation should be overpast. I betook myself therefore, with all my family, to a high mountain, not a great way from the town, yet remote from human converse, and peculiarly formed for contemplation and unmolested retirement. Here we led a solitary life for three months and a half. I devoted my time chiefly to meditation and writing, to prayer, and reading the scriptures. I never was happier in my own soul, nor enjoyed a better state of health. Zanch. Op.]

[4 Zanchius considers the Latin name of *Clavenna* to be derived from *clavis*.]

You will learn from a book which I will shortly send you, the reason[1] of my at length leaving Strasburgh.

You know why that worthy Martyr[2] of pious memory could no longer remain at Strasburgh; and therefore he removed to Zurich. Besides that being under bondage to man I had also other important reasons. And the French church that was at Strasburgh was dispersed by the same cause that occasioned my departure. Those good people are no longer satisfied that their professors or ministers should subscribe to the Confession[3] of Augsburgh; but they require also that in every particular, both as to the understanding of that confession, and the interpretation of scripture, they should be of the same mind with their preachers without any disagreement whatever. You know the author of this: may the Lord have pity upon that city! I did everything to retain my professorship, and for this sole reason, that I might at least preserve in the schools the ancient doctrine of that church, and which I know is the christian one. But what can you do, when the Lord sees fit to punish any people by reason of their iniquities?

I commend to you that affair of my relative Laurence Limacius. Farewell, my excellent father, and singular good friend. In the month of August, 1564. From the mountains near Chiavenna.

H. ZANCHIUS.

XCIII. H. ZANCHIUS TO H. KNOLLES. [B. 47.]

Near CHIAVENNA, *August*, 1564.

MY judgment respecting the controversy of the churches upon the Lord's supper, which, most honoured gossip[4], I have dedicated

[1 The immediate occasion of Zanchy's leaving Strasburgh was the controversy with Heshusius, the publication of whose book, concerning the eucharist and in defence of consubstantiation, Zanchy had endeavoured to prevent.]

[2 The enemies of Peter Martyr affirmed, that in the doctrine of the Lord's supper he was gone from the opinion of the Confession of Augsburgh, and that therefore it was to be feared he would make some troubles in the church. And though the senate was satisfied with his vindication of himself, yet because he saw that this controversy of the sacrament was daily stirred up with more bitterness of mind, he rejoiced that there was an occasion offered (by his being invited by the senate of Zurich to succeed Conrad Pellican) whereby he might rid himself from these troubles. See his life by Simler, at the end of his Common-places.]

[3 See above, p. 20, note 1.]

[4 Lat. *Compater*. H. Knolles was sponsor to Zanchy's daughter. The

to yourself, to the end that it may be a public and at the same time a perpetual testimony of my gratitude towards you, I had given to that most excellent and most careful, and I may add too, most learned printer John Oporinus[5], to be printed in fair type. But since, as I perceive, he was unable to procure from the censors a licence to print this book, the reason of which I leave you to guess, he transferred it to a printer at Mulhausen. This person, either through carelessness or want of skill, sent it forth full of errors, which displeased me exceedingly; so that I have been obliged to correct with the pen whatever copies I had in my possession. I send you therefore a corrected copy, and entreat you to take in good part these few pages: I should have sent some more copies to my other friends, if I could have met with any one to be the bearer of them.

As to other matters, we are all, by the blessing of God, in good health, and your little god-daughter, who is now weaned, prattles, runs about, and plays the monkey. You have, I suppose, heard ere this from others about my having left Strasburgh; but you are not, perhaps, at all aware of the reason. It was the same, to tell you in one word, on account of which also the excellent Peter Martyr[6] of pious memory long since departed to Zurich; namely, a

dedication here alluded to is a long one, and chiefly refers to the subject of the treatise. The last sentence is as follows: Te igitur, humanissime ac generose Knolle, sicut cum hic esses apud nos initio hujus anni, post tuam ad conventum electorum nuper Francofurti pro electore regis Romanorum habitum nomine vestræ reginæ susceptam legationem, delegi mihi in filiæ meæ Læliæ Constantiæ compatrem; tuque ita lubenti animo eam e sancto fonte in tuam profiliam suscepisti, ut ei etiam honorificum δέπας ἀργυροῦν tuæ fidei testimonium donaris, ita in protectorem hujus mei quasi novi filioli eligere decrevi, persuasus te illius protectionem nullo modo recusaturum.]

[5 John Oporinus, or Herbst, was a celebrated printer at Basle. Foxe the martyrologist was employed by him as a corrector of the press. Strype, Cranmer, 514. An account of his life is given in Moreri, and by Andrew Lociscus, *Orat. de vita et obitu Oporini.*]

[6 Peter Martyr left Strasburgh in 1556, in consequence of the attacks made upon him by his adversaries for supposed heterodoxy concerning the nature of the Lord's supper. "For both by letters, and by their readings and sermons they so gall him, as there wanted nothing to the accusing of Martyr but the naming of him; yea, and one of the students made an oration openly in the school touching the eucharist, made to this end, that he might of set purpose condemn Martyr and his doctrine. Wherefore since he perceived that his adversaries did daily make more open war against him, and that they did by name reprove him in their books, as also Sleidan in his history maketh mention, he began to deliberate with himself of his departure." See his life by Simler, at the end of his Common Places.]

bondage to men quite unworthy of a Christian, and much more of a divine. When therefore I perceived that it was no longer permitted me to teach with freedom, nor to defend that doctrine which, drawn as it was from the fountain of holy scripture, those most learned men, Bucer, Capito, Martyr, and Calvin, had held forth to their audience in that very school many years before me, yea, and which I also had for nine years taught there in my lectures, and defended in public disputations; I resigned my former situation, and accepted another, namely, the ministry of the church at Chiavenna. But the Lord has wonderfully afflicted my church, yea, the whole town, with a pestilence, which has destroyed two thirds of it, one third only being left, as we read also in Zechariah[1]. But this pestilence is not only raging here, but also in many other places, both in Germany, as at Basle, and in France, as at Lyons. May the Lord have mercy upon us all! Italy is free from this evil, but is labouring under a dearth of provision. Your gossip[2] sends her best respects. I beg you to salute my friends, and especially [Sir Thomas] Wroth, [Sir Antony] Cook, and also Heton, my gossips. Farewell. [H. ZANCHIUS.]

XCIV. BISHOP JEWEL TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 63.]

SALISBURY, *March* 1, 1565.

WHAT shall I say to you, most learned sir and renowned father? I am both ashamed and grieved: ashamed, in the first place, that I have not written more frequently; and also grieved, that the letters which I have written have not been able to reach you. I beseech you, however, not to entertain the thought that either the school of Zurich, or the republic, or, lastly, your exceeding kindness can so quickly have passed away from my mind. Indeed I have all of you in my eyes and in my heart, and yourself especially, my father, who are now the only light of our age.

And now, as to my correspondence, I, for my part, the last year only excepted, when all intercourse was every where prevented by the plague and pestilence, have never omitted writing to yourself, Lavater, Simler, and Julius. Had I not done so, I should scarcely seem to have retained any sense, I will not say of duty, but even of common courtesy. But what has become of my former letters, I do not know. I hear that my last was taken by the French in a sea-fight, and carried off to Calais.

[1 See Zech. xiii. 8.] [2 Lat. *Commater*. See before, p. 184.]

But no more of this. Attend now to some affairs of ours, in which I know, from your usual kindness, you will take more interest. First then, by the blessing of our great and good God, all things are settled with us in the matters of religion. The popish exiles are disturbing us and giving us all the trouble in their power; and in their published books, I know not whether through any ill luck, (shall I say?) or desert of mine, aim at me alone; and this too, three of them have done at once, and with most outrageous clamour: as I alone have to answer them all, you must not imagine that I have nothing to do. Among other things, the Ubiquitarian[3] question is pressed upon me, which, for the sake of our old Tubingen[4] friend, I have purposely treated of very copiously, to the best of my power, and as the subject required; but in our own language, as being intended for our own people. If I have leisure, I will copy a part, and send it you. But as to that old man, I cannot make out what I ought to think about him; he appears to me to become more insane every day. For I have read the new "Phasma[5] of Menander," which he has lately published; and I have to thank you, both for that book, and for all your letters, and all your kindness.

The state is in tranquillity, both at home and abroad, by land and sea. We are at peace with France[6], and the disorders in Flanders are at last settled. Merchants go backwards and forwards from both countries, the Flemish to us and our merchants in turn to them. [Cardinal] Granvelle[7], through whose knavery alone

[3 "His controversy with Harding gave him an opportunity of incidentally considering the subject. The sixth article in his challenge relates to the question, whether Christ's body is, or might be, in a thousand places, or more, at one and the same time. Nothing can well be imagined more triumphant than the reasoning of Jewel, or more ridiculous than the arguments of his adversary." Le Bas, Life of Jewel, p. 128.]

[4 Brentius. See note 2, p. 139.] [5 See Ter. Eun. Prol. 9.]

[6 The 29th of April [1564] the two treaties of peace with France were sealed with the queen's ratification. Strype, Annals, I. ii. 116. See note 5, p. 177.]

[7 "The English merchants removed to Embden by means of Granvelle, the Cardinal of Arras, who, hating the English for their religion, had practised to blow the coals between the Low Countries and them, and to spoil their ancient commerce, by fomenting jealousies and complaints one against another. And the duchess of Parma, governess of the said Low Countries, being of the same disaffection towards the English nation, at length forbade all English cloths to be imported; whereat the English, partly resenting this dealing, and partly out of fear of the inquisition now brought in, departed with their effects to Embden. But an ambassador

all those disturbances began, so managed matters, that by the irregularity and stoppage of the markets, (neither imports nor exports being allowed,) the tradesmen all aghast, and the town's people, who literally gain their livelihood by spinning wool, reduced to idleness and destitution, some popular commotion[1] or domestic sedition might be the consequence. For he hoped by this means our religion would be shaken at the same time. But God has rather turned these counsels upon their author: for our people remained in their duty, as it was right they should; but the people of Flanders, when our merchants took their departure, and settled their trade at Embden[2], were exceedingly indignant, and did every thing but break out into open disorders.

The Irish, as I know you have heard, are now subject to us, and adopt our laws. The pope, not very long since, sent over an unprincipled and crafty agent, with orders to raise a commotion in that island. He was an Irishman, and was to stir up that wild and savage race against us for the cause of religion. But the knave was apprehended on his first attempt, and examined, and sent prisoner to England. And thus the most holy father has determined, that since he is unable to move the powers above, he will stir up hell beneath. In Scotland[3] [affairs are] as we desire. The queen alone retains her mass, against the general wish.

[Don Diego Gusman] sent from Spain to the queen, of a more grave and wise head, moderated their differences soon after, and set the trade on foot again between both people." See Strype, Life of Grindal, ch. ix. p. 125, &c. Also Burgon's Life of Sir T. Gresham, Vol. II. p. 45, &c.]

[1 "Ytt ys moche to be douttyd," Sir R. Clough, who was on the spot, writes to Sir T. Gresham, "of an insourrecyon within the towne, and that, out of hande; for here ys syche mysery, within thys towne, that the lyke hathe nott bene sene. Allmost every nyght, howsys [are] broken up and robbyd." See Burgon, as above, Vol. II. p. 54.]

[2 The English merchants, says Stowe, made trial of Embden, in East Friesland, as a mart for their commodities, by sending their cloth fleet thither, about Easter, 1564. See Strype, Life of Grindal, p. 125, &c. Sir R. Clough, in a memorial to Sir T. Gresham, on the comparative merits of Embden and Hamburgh for purposes of trade, remarks, among the inconveniences of the former, that "the people of the towne are rude both in worde and deede, not meete to interteyne merchants; and not *that* only, but also withoute order of beleefe, not fearing God nor the devell, maynteyners of Anabaptists, Libertines, and all other kynde of damnable sects, withowte any reverence to God; as it is well to be seen by their churches; for that in one place they preache, and in other place of the churche there lyeth feathers, netts, and barrells, with dyvers other unscemely things, not fitt to be set in those places." Burgon, as above, Vol. II. p. 59.]

[3 Some words are wanting in the original MS.]

Parkhurst, Horn, Sampson, Sandys, Lever, Chambers, are well, and at their respective posts. It is now two years since I have seen any of them. Farewell, my father: may the Lord Jesus very long preserve you alive and well! Salute Gualter, Lavater, Simler, Wolfius, Haller, Gesner, Frisius, Zuinglius, Wickius, to each of whom I would write if I had leisure, or rather, if I were not quite overwhelmed with business. Salisbury, in England, March 1, 1565.

Your much attached and devoted, JOHN JEWEL.

XCV. R. MASTERS TO R. GUALTER. [B. 48.]

LONDON, *March* 4, 1565.

SINCE I last wrote to you, very reverend sir, I have received from you three letters abounding in the expressions of your regard towards me; for my not having sooner replied to which I will neither plead in excuse the business in which I was then engaged, nor forgetfulness of you, nor any thing else, except the plague, which was so long raging among us, that the court[4] has been a long time, and at a great distance, absent from London; whither having, by the blessing of God, returned in safety, I have determined to send you this letter. I have received your discourses on the minor prophets by the hands of my friend and fellow-citizen, John Abel; and I understand that they are so esteemed by all learned and godly persons, that there is scarce a single individual at this time in all Europe, who in their opinion can equal or excel you in the interpretation of the sacred writings: and they are anxiously expecting the remaining discourses which you have promised on St John. I have also stated to those who are in chief authority among us, with how great affection you regard us and our government, when you write that you have, for our sake and that of true religion, so anxiously exerted yourself with those parties who were so exceedingly active in bringing about a treaty between you and the French[5].

The Guisian party in France is getting weaker and weaker every day, so much so, that the cardinal of Lorraine[6], together

[4 See above, Letter LXXXIV. p. 176. On October 2, 1563, parliament was prorogued in consequence of the plague, unto October 5, 1564. D'Ewes, Journals, p. 91.]

[5 See the next letter, p. 199.]

[6 The cardinal was on his return from the council of Trent, in January 1565, and invited all his friends to join him, and swell his escort, that he

with his nephew the duke of Guise, was very near being killed the other day from an attack at Paris in the public street by Montmorenci the governor of the city, (the marshal, as they call him) and eldest son of Ann, duke of Montmorenci, the grand master of the cavalry of France, or constable, as he is called; in which tumult there fell five of the armed escort of the cardinal of Lorraine, who, with his nephew, escaped with difficulty to the house of a certain tradesman, where they found a temporary refuge. The commissioners[1] of our queen and of the king of Spain are to meet in Flanders at the beginning of this spring, for the purpose of re-establishing the commerce at Antwerp between our merchants and theirs upon its former footing. This for two or three years past has been interrupted by disagreements between the merchants of both countries, to the great detriment of each: in other respects however, as far as government is concerned, every thing is settled

might make a sort of triumphal entry into Paris, where marshal Montmorenci was at that time governor, and was desirous of mortifying the cardinal's vanity. To put a good appearance on his conduct, he went to the parliament, and said that he had information that somebody proposed coming to Paris with armed followers, which, if it occurred, he would resist with open force. The cardinal was informed of the marshal's design, but paid no attention to it, and entered boldly into the city. Montmorenci soon arrived, and ordered him and his followers to put away their pistols. He had sent a messenger to make the same communication before the cardinal had entered; but that person was not well received, and the marshal immediately set out at the head of a body of horsemen. A skirmish ensued, the cardinal jumped from his horse, and ran into a shop, from whence he gained his own hotel in the night. See Browning, Hist. of the Huguenots, chap. 18, and the authorities there quoted.]

[1 There is among the Flanders correspondence, in the state-paper office, a MS. entitled "A memorial of the matters to be entreated at the colloquie to be holden at Bruges betwixt the commissioners of her majestie; that is, the viscount Montague, Mr doctor Wotton, one of her majesties privy council, and Mr Haddon, of Requests, on the one part, and the commissioners of the king of Spaine on the other. Made at Westminster, the xith of March, 1564 [5,] in the viith year of her majesties reign." The English commissioners arrived at Bruges on the 24th of March, and remained there till the conference was suspended by mutual consent in May. It was renewed in the following year, and again suspended, it being agreed upon in the mean time by all parties that all things should remain in their actual position; that the treaty for free intercourse between both countries should be considered as still in force; and that the merchant strangers settled in either country should be considerately and kindly treated by the governments under which they respectively lived. See Burgon's Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham, II. pp. 66, 88, seqq.]

and quiet among us. In Scotland the monasteries are razed to the ground, and monkery and idolatry are abolished; the queen alone, of the Guise family, (for she is the sister's daughter of the duke[2] that was slain), still retaining her mass. Our friend the earl of Bedford is absent from court, and has been so for the last half year, as he is appointed governor of Berwick on the borders of Scotland, and which divides us from them. I have however taken care to inform him in his absence, that you had not forgotten him, and I commended you to him in my letter. Farewell. May the Lord God preserve and direct you to the glory of his name, and that you may long live and labour in his vineyard! London, March 4, 1565.

Yours wholly from my heart, RICHARD MASTERS.

XCVI. BISHOP HORN TO R. GUALTER. [A. 64.]

FARNHAM CASTLE, *July* 17, 1565.

YOU may easily imagine, my Gualter, with what affection and delight I received your first letter, because it informed me of the prosperity of the state of Zurich, on the good faith and liberality of which I was thrown, when an exile; and also of the good health, both of yourself and my other very dear and valued friends. To this was added your lucubration on St John's gospel; which afforded you, as you say, an opportunity of writing. This I highly approve of, as judging it will greatly contribute both to a true knowledge of scripture, and also to godliness; and I think it should be read, not only by the students, whose benefit you principally have in view, but also by the professors themselves.

In the treaty between France and Switzerland, I commend the clear-sightedness of Zurich, in having detected the artifices of the French, disguised under the pretence of religion; and I hope that your neighbours, the Bernese, will, after your example, withhold their concurrence in so dishonourable a league. As to the pestilence which has lately visited your district, I am of opinion that even the godly themselves are sometimes afflicted for the sake of the ungodly. And as father Bullinger[3], though attacked with it, has escaped danger, we ought to think that he, who has endured

[2 Francis, duke of Guise, was assassinated in 1563 by John Poltrot de Mere at the siege of Orleans.]

[3 Two of his daughters died of the plague this year. He lost his wife and another daughter by the same disease in the year preceding.]

these harder times, is reserved by the Lord for happier ones. I ascribe it to the mercy of God, who willed not that your labours should be interrupted, that your house was free from that contagion.

Such is the state of our affairs, that as you are afraid of the treachery of your French neighbours, so we are in fear of intestine treachery from the papists. The heads of that party are in public custody; the rest, affecting to be exiles, are endeavouring, by some of their writings dispersed among the people, to bring themselves into power and us into odium, having obtained a handle of this kind, (small enough indeed,) through the controversy lately arisen among us about square caps and surplices. The papists cried out, that there is not among us that unanimity in religion which we profess to have; but that we are guided by various opinions, and unable to remain in any fixed purpose. This calumny has gained strength from the act of parliament for repressing the impiety of the papists, which passed before our return; by which, though the other habits were taken away, the wearing of square caps and surplices was yet continued to the clergy, though without any superstitious conceit, which was expressly guarded against by the terms of the act. This act cannot be repealed unless by the agreement and consent of all the estates of the kingdom, by whose concurrence it was enacted. It was enjoined us, (who had not then any authority either to make laws or repeal them,) either to wear the caps and surplices, or to give place to others. We complied with this injunction, lest our enemies should take possession of the places deserted by ourselves. But as this matter has occasioned a great strife among us, so that our little flock has divided itself into two parties, the one thinking that on account of this law the ministry ought to be abandoned, and the other, that it ought not; I beg of you, my Gualter, to write me at the earliest opportunity what is your opinion of this controversy, which is the only thing that troubles us. We certainly hope to repeal this clause of the act next session; but if this cannot be effected, since the papists are forming a secret and powerful opposition, I nevertheless am of opinion that we ought to continue in the ministry, lest, if we desert and reject it upon such grounds, they insinuate themselves [into our places.] For which reason, my Gualter, I await your opinion, whether we can do, what we are thus doing, with a safe conscience? I am also so anxious about your church, that, as I suspect many faithful ministers have died of the plague, I wish to know by letter from you the names of those who are yet alive. May the Lord Jesus,

the great guardian of his flock, guard you and his universal church! Farewell in him. Farnham Castle, July 17, 1565.

Yours in Christ, Rob. Winton.

XCVII. BISHOP PARKHURST TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 65.]

Lŭdham, *Aug.* 18, 1565.

I was grieved beyond measure at your illness, and I rejoice beyond measure at your recovery. You write me word that you inclosed in your letter to me one directed to [Bishop] Jewel; and you request me to cause a copy of it to be taken as far as this mark (†), and to send it to [Bishop] Horn. In truth, my Bullinger, I have not seen Jewel's letter, so that I can neither comply with your request, nor satisfy Horn's expectation; for Abel opened my letter, and gave the inclosure to Jewel in London. He promised Abel that he would send me a copy at the earliest opportunity. Any one may be rich in promises, and he promised indeed, but nothing further; and has thus defrauded both you, and myself, and Horn. But I impute this to the very numerous occupations by which he is distracted. You ask my pardon for having imposed upon me this burden. But I do not esteem it *onerous* but an *honour*, if I am able upon any occasion to be of service to Bullinger. When I read to my wife your letter in German, as soon as she heard of the death of your wife and daughter, she burst into a flood of tears. I was therefore obliged for some time to discontinue reading, as she was unable to listen.

The queen of Scotland was married, on the 1st of August, to Henry, lord Darnley[1], eldest son of the earl of Lennox. Some of the Scotch nobility[2] are by no means favourable to this new connection. We are as yet uncertain what will be the consequence. The gospel has certainly taken very deep root in that country. It was reported not long since that our queen was about to marry the duke of Austria. What will be the case, I cannot tell; but as

[1 He was Mary's cousin-german, by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII., and daughter of the earl of Angus, by Margaret, queen of Scotland.]

[2 Because the family of Lennox was believed to adhere to the Roman Catholic faith. Randolph, writing to the earl of Leicester an account of the queen of Scots' marriage, says of her husband, "I speake leaste of that which I thynk is most earnestlye intended by this quene and her housbande, when by hym it was lately sayde that he cared more for the papistes in Englande then he did for the protestants in Scotlande." MS. Cott. Calig. b. IX. 218.]

soon as I have ascertained the truth, I will let you know. I am expecting your most learned discourses on Daniel.

Farewell, my excellent Bullinger, with all your friends, to whom I desire all happiness. May the Lord preserve all the people of Zurich from evil! Amen. In haste. Ludham, Aug. 18, 1565. My wife salutes you and your friends. Yours from my heart,

JOHN PARKHURST, [Bishop] of Norwich.

XCVIII. H. BULLINGER TO BISHOP HORN. [A. App. ii.]

Dated at ZURICH, *Nov.* 3, 1565.

WHAT you write, reverend father in Christ, touching the controversy which has arisen among you concerning the vestments of the clergy, I had previously learned from the letter of our common friend, John Abel, to which I have lately replied. It grieved me exceedingly, as it still continues to do, that this occasion is afforded to our adversaries by the mutual dissensions of those among you who preach the purer doctrine of the truth. As however I am most probably unacquainted with all the circumstances, I hesitate to pronounce any opinion upon the subject. But, that I may not seem wanting in my duty, when required by yourself and other friends to declare my sentiments, I will here repeat what I have lately stated in my letter to Abel.

I approve the zeal of those persons who would have the church purged from all the dregs of popery; for I am aware of that passage of the prophet, where God warns us to put away [her] whoredoms out of [her] sight, and [her adulteries] from [between her] breasts. [Hos. ii. 2.] On the other hand, I also commend your prudence, who do not think that churches are to be forsaken because of the vestments [of the clergy]. For since the great end of the ministry is the edification and preservation of the church, we have need of great circumspection, lest we should depart from this, even while we are defending a cause, which in itself is good and holy. Nor are we only to consider what is *now* the state of that church which we think of forsaking, but also what it will be when we have left it. If it be certain that it will improve, we are at liberty to depart; but if, on the contrary, it will suffer loss, we are not to give place to wicked and treacherous workmen. But, as far as I can form an opinion, your common adversaries are only aiming at this, that on your removal they may put in your places either papists, or else Lutheran doctors and presidents, who are not very

much unlike them. Should this come to pass, not only will all ecclesiastical order be disturbed, and the number of most absurd ceremonies be increased, but even images (which we know are defended by the Lutherans) will be restored; the artolatry[1] in the Lord's supper will be reintroduced; private absolution, and after this, auricular confession will creep in by degrees; and an infinite number of other evils will arise, which will both occasion confusion in general, and also bring into danger many godly individuals. For I doubt not but that you have met with so much success in your ministry, as that you have very many throughout the whole kingdom, both nobility, citizens, husbandmen, men, in short, of every rank and class in society, who are most favourably disposed to religion, and who abhor all doctrine that may open the door to superstition and idolatry; and who would feel it intolerable that a tyranny should again be set up in the church, to burden the consciences of the unhappy people. These, if you depart from the helm of the church, will most assuredly be subjected to the rage of their adversaries, who will establish examinations and inquisitions against them, as well public as private; will accuse them of heresy and sedition, and through them will render the whole cause of religion suspected and hateful, both to her most serene majesty, and all the nobility of the realm. We must therefore carefully guard against their wicked artifices, lest we should yield to them of our own accord what they have now for many years endeavoured to obtain with much labour and diligence.

But if any one should ask me whether I approve of those who first enacted, or are now zealous maintainers of, those laws by which the dregs of popery are retained, I candidly and freely answer that I do not approve of them. For they are either acting too imprudently, if they are on our side; or else they are treacherously laying snares for the liberty of the churches. But although they have obtruded upon you these dregs, as if they were necessary for the worship of God, for a safe conscience, and the salvation of the soul, I should think that every thing ought rather to be submitted to, than that you should suffer a godly people to be led away by them from a pure profession of faith. And since it is expressly provided, as you write me word, in that proclamation, that the square caps and surplices are to be retained without any superstitious conceit, I think that sufficient consideration has, at the same time, been shewn to your consciences. For you are at liberty,

[1 Or worshipping of the bread.]

if I am not mistaken, to assign a reason for what you do, to remove any opinion of superstition from every one's mind, and to make a protest that may take away all ground of offence. In the meanwhile, let the most serene queen and the illustrious nobles of the realm be instructed, urged and pressed, no longer to stain and defile a reformation, effected with so much praise and with the admiration of the whole world, with dregs and filthiness of this kind, nor to give occasion to the neighbouring churches of Scotland and France for any suspicion of disunion.

I am aware that many questions are raised by some parties respecting the authority of kings and magistrates, whether they ought to make any laws for the church, and whether the clergy are bound to obey such laws. But I do not consider these inquiries of so much consequence in the present case, since, as I have above stated, all conceit of superstition is removed by the words of the proclamation itself. And we must take care, lest, by raising questions before the people respecting the extent of magisterial authority, we should give occasion to some disorders. These things, however, ought to be lawfully discussed in the public assembly of the realm; and those, who from their situation have it in their power to remind the queen and the nobles of their duty in private, ought by no means to be wanting in their endeavours.

I have now stated, reverend father in Christ, what I had to write at this present time, because you were desirous of hearing my sentiments on the question before us. I would by no means burden any man's conscience; but nevertheless I think that we ought to beware, lest, while we are consulting our own feelings and reputation as individuals, we should bring the church at large into some grievous peril. And I do not think this opinion of mine is at variance with the mind of Paul, who was wont to *become all things to all men, that he might gain some;* and who thought good to circumcise Timothy, lest he should alienate the Jews of that place from the christian religion, and that he might exercise his ministry with greater advantage; but who, on other occasions, thought it not fit to yield in the least to those who placed any merit in circumcision itself. But as many as have made the edification of the church the scope and end of their designs and actions, have not erred in controversies of this kind.

I have nothing to write about our own affairs. The Lord so regarded us during the pestilence of the last year, that we did not lose a single minister. One or two died in the country. The plague, indeed, now seems to be skirmishing in some degree in our

city, but is not likely to be violent. We are in the Lord's hands; let his will be done. On the 20th of November there will be a congress of the princes electors at Worms, in which a consultation will be had concerning the restoration of peace in Germany, and some points of great importance will be discussed respecting the bishops and their reformation. May the great and good God direct by his Spirit the minds and counsels of all parties to his glory and the safety of the church! My wife desires her most respectful salutations to the honourable lady, your wife. Farewell, reverend father in Christ. Zurich, Nov. 3, 1565.

XCIX. BISHOP SANDYS TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 66.]

WORCESTER, *Jan.* 3, 1566.

YOUR most courteous letter, my illustrious friend, together with your very learned commentary on the prophet Daniel, has been delivered to me within these few days by our friend Abel. By the which I both rightly perceive your regard for myself, and easily understand how much I owe you in return. That you have written to me in so affectionate and brotherly a manner, is indeed most gratifying, and I sincerely thank you for it; but by your condescension in sending me this excellent work of yours so enriched with all kinds of learning, and also, which I esteem a singular favour, in sending it forth to the public with my name, you have indeed done me a most particular kindness. This courtesy of yours, by which you are wont to attach to yourself the affections of all who know you, is remarkable towards every one, but towards myself it is peculiar and extraordinary. For you not only received me most kindly, and treated me with the greatest benevolence, when as an exile and wanderer without a home I formerly came to Zurich; but even now, when by the providence of God I am restored to my country, you not only continue your affection, but strive to shew me honour and respect by every means in your power. When I anxiously reflect with myself what return I can make to you for your exceeding kindness, I can discover nothing whatever to repay you, worthy of such great benefits. Since then your kindness to me is far greater than I can possibly repay on equal terms, inasmuch as it has been your part to bestow benefits, mine to receive them, I willingly acknowledge myself your debtor; and since I cannot repay you myself, I will intreat Him to repay you, who has fully satisfied for all our debts. In the mean time I have forwarded

to our friend Abel a token, such as it is, of my affection towards you: he has undertaken that it shall be safely transmitted to you. I earnestly entreat you kindly to accept it, and in your kindness, not to regard the smallness of the gift, but the inclination of the giver.

What is doing here, and in what condition our affairs are placed, you will learn from the letters of others. I will mention however what is of the most importance. The true religion of Christ is settled among us; the gospel is not bound, but is freely and faithfully preached. As to other matters, there is not much cause for anxiety. There is some little dispute about using or not using the popish habits; but God will put an end to these things also.

Farewell, most esteemed Sir, and love me, as you do, and remember me in your prayers to God. Salute, I pray you, in my name, masters Gualter, Simler, your son Henry, and the others, my masters and very dear brethren in Christ. Worcester, Jan. 3, 1566.

Your most loving brother, EDWIN WORCESTER.

C. BISHOP JEWEL TO H. BULLINGER AND L. LAVATER. [A. 67.]

SALISBURY, *Feb.* 8, 1566.

MUCH health in Christ Jesus. I write to you, reverend father, and you, my good Lewis, much less frequently than either I desire or you expect. How you will take this, I know not; yet I hope not unkindly; for the more I feel myself obliged by the kindness of you all, and have always valued your good opinion of me, the less would I desire to be accused by you of forgetfulness or neglect.

It may probably appear affected in me to ascribe my long silence to my own occupations; yet did you know me and my engagements, there would be no need of any other excuse. For in addition to my other incessant troubles, my own and other people's, domestic and public, civil and ecclesiastical, (from which no one in my office can in these times be exempt,) I am compelled, almost alone, to engage with external enemies, shall I call them? or domestic ones. They are indeed our own countrymen, but enemies in heart, and enemies in the land they dwell in. For our fugitives at Louvaine began during the last year to be in violent commotion, and to write with the greatest asperity against us all. Me alone they have attacked by name. And why so? you will

say. I know not, unless it be that they know me to be of all men the most averse from strife, and the most unable to resist. Yet, six years since, when I preached at court[1] before the queen's majesty, and was speaking about the antiquity of the popish religion, I remember that I said this among other things, that our enemies, when they accuse our cause of novelty, both wrong us and deceive the people; for that they approved new things as if they were old, and condemned as new things of the greatest antiquity; that their *private masses*, and their *mutilated communions*, and the *natural and real presence* and *transubstantiation*, &c., (in which things the whole of their religion is contained,) have no certain and express testimony either of holy scripture, or ancient councils, or fathers, or of any thing that could be called antiquity[2].

At all this they were in great indignation: they began to bark in their holes and corners, and to call me an impudent, bold, insolent, and frantic boaster. Four years after one Harding unexpectedly came forward; a man who, not very long since, was a hearer and admirer of Peter Martyr, and a most active preacher of the gospel, but is now a wretched apostate, and one whose character is well known to our friend Julius. This man would fain refute me out of the Amphilochiuses, Abdiases, Hippolytuses, Clements, Victors, supposititious Athanasiuses, Leontiuses, Cletuses, Anacletuses, the decretal epistles, dreams, and fables. I replied to him last year, as well as I could. But, gracious heaven, what a life is this! Oh that strife might perish from among gods and men! I had scarce finished my work, when there suddenly flies abroad a *Confutation of my Apology;* an immense and elaborate work, and filled with abuse, contumely, falsehoods and flatteries. Here I am again pelted at. What would you have? He must be answered[3]. You thus perceive, reverend father, that we are far from idle, myself more especially, whose lot it is, I know not by what fatality, to be always battling with these monsters. May the Lord give me strength and courage, and beat down Satan under our feet! I have thought it right to acquaint you at length with

[1 As bishop Jewel had preached at court this Lent, [1560,] so he had his day at the cross, which was the second Sunday before Easter. In both places he preached that famous sermon, wherein he openly challenged the papists. Strype, Annals, I. i. 300. His text was from 1 Cor. xi. 23, &c. Le Bas, p. 91.]

[2 i.e. within 600 years from the birth of Christ.]

[3 And this at length produced his [bishop Jewel's] admirably useful, learned book, entitled his Defence [of the Apology]. Strype, Annals, I. ii. 178.]

these things, that should my letters in future arrive less frequently than either you expect or I wish, you may ascribe it to any thing rather than forgetfulness or ingratitude.

Our country is now free from war, and quiet as to matters of religion. Those countrymen of ours at Louvaine disturb us as much as they can; but our people are faithful to their duty, and I hope will continue to be. The queen is in excellent health, and averse from marriage. The last winter so injured the rising corn, that there is now much distress throughout all England from a scarcity of wheat. This year, by the blessing of God, all kinds of grain were most abundant.

I have not seen Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, nor Sandys, bishop of Worcester, nor Pilkington, bishop of Durham, for the last three years[1]; so completely are we dispersed. We are all, however, safe and well, and with a grateful recollection of you. The only one that has died is Richard Chambers[2], who departed piously in the Lord.

The contest respecting the linen surplice, about which I doubt not but you have heard either from our friend Abel or Parkhurst, is not yet at rest. That matter still somewhat disturbs weak minds[3]. And I wish that all, even the slightest vestiges of popery might be removed from our churches, and above all from our minds. But the queen at this time is unable to endure the least alteration in matters of religion.

The affairs of Scotland are not yet quite settled. Some of their leading nobility are exiles among us; others have remained at home, and are preparing for resistance in case of any attempted violence; and from time to time sally forth from their castles, and

[1 i.e. since the last synod.]

[2 Richard Chambers was one of the exiles at Frankfort, and with Grindal was an agent to the Strasburgh exiles to treat with those at Frankfort about the English service book in 1554. Strype, Life of Grindal, p. 14.]

[3 The first bishops that were made, and who were but newly returned out of their exiles, as Cox, Grindal, Horn, Sandys, Jewel, Parkhurst, Bentham, upon their first returns, before they entered upon their ministry, laboured all they could against receiving into the church the papistical habits, and that all the ceremonies should be clean laid aside. But they could not obtain it from the queen and the parliament; and the habits were enacted. Then they consulted together what to do, being in some doubt whether to enter into their functions. But they concluded unanimously not to desert their ministry for some rites, that, as they considered, were but a few, and not evil in themselves, especially since the doctrine of the gospel remained pure and entire. Strype, Annals, I. i. 263.]

drive off and carry away what they can from the lands of the papists. The queen herself, though obstinately devoted to popery, hardly knows where to turn. For with regard to religion, she has a great part both of the nobility[4] and people against her; and, as far as we can learn, the number is daily increasing. Within these few days king Philip privately sent thither a certain Italian abbot, with Spanish gold; a crafty man, and trained for intrigue. His business was to aid the king and queen with his subtle advice, and to throw everything into confusion. The new king, who had hitherto abstained from going to mass, and had of his own accord attended the sermons for the sake of popularity, when he first heard of the ship being expected to arrive on the morrow, became on a sudden more confident, and having taken courage, would no longer play the hypocrite. He went to church, and ordered mass to be said before him as usual. At that very time Knox, who is a preacher in the same town, and in the next church, was declaiming with his accustomed boldness, before a crowded congregation, against the mad idolatries, and the whole pontifical dominion. In the mean time this ship of king Philip, tossed about by the winds and tempests, shattered and broken by the waves, with its mast sprung, its timbers stove in, the pilots lost, bereft of crew and cargo, is driven, a mere wreck, and filled with water, upon the coast of England. I doubt not but that this has happened by divine providence, to teach the infatuated king what a dangerous thing it is to hear mass.

There is a report of great disorders in France. That house of Guise can never rest without some great mischief. But these things are much nearer you than ourselves.

The Dane and Swede have had some bloody battles with each other, and are reported to be still in arms[5]. Each of them has sustained much loss, nor can it be yet determined which is superior.

Your books, yours, my reverend father, on Daniel, and yours, my learned Lewis, on Joshua, have reached me in safety. I both thank our gracious and almighty God for you, and you for these

[4 "The duke, the erles of Argile, Murray, and Rothoss, with sundry barons, are joynid together not to allow of the mariadg otherwise than to have the religion stablished by law, but the quene refuseth in this sort; she will not suffer it to have the force of law but of permission to every man to lyve according to his conscience; and herewith she hath reteyned a great nombre of protestants from associating oppenly with the other." Cecil to Sir T. Smith, Aug. 21, 1565. MS. Lansd. 102. 62. See Ellis's Original Letters.]

[5 See above, p. 185, note 5.]

labours and studies, and for all your kindness. I have sent herewith twenty crowns to our friend Julius for his yearly stipend, and the same sum to you two, that you may expend them, as is usual, either upon a public entertainment, or for any other purpose you may prefer. May God preserve in safety yourselves, the church, your state, and school! Salute in my name masters Gualter, Simler, Zuinglius, Gesner, Wickius, Haller, Henry and Rodolph Bullinger. Salisbury, Feb. 8, 1566.

Your attached and devoted in the Lord, JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus*.

CI. L. HUMPHREY TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 68.]

OXFORD, *Feb.* 9, 1566.

I CONGRATULATE you, reverend father in Christ, ourselves, and the church, that you are recovered from the long disease with which you were afflicted, and are now, by the blessing of God, raised up again and restored to health. And I pray again and again, that you may be strengthened more and more.

Your lucubrations on Daniel, together with the preface and honourable mention both of myself and my brother exiles, I saw and perused with great pleasure, and gratefully acknowledge your kindness. I am glad that you promise to comment upon Isaiah, and earnestly entreat you, with the help of the Lord, to persevere and finish the work you have begun. The book is altogether evangelical, full of mysteries, and in some parts, by reason of the concise structure of the sentences, and intermixture of history, and frequent figurative language, and some interruptions, rather obscure. Wherefore, though some excellent and learned men have thrown great light upon it, and have diligently laboured in the illustration of it, yet the addition of your own labour will be both pious and profitable. In the third chapter, where the prophet is discoursing about ornaments and female attire, should you think fit to insert any thing respecting this affair of the habits, it would in my opinion be worth your while. I am not ignorant of what you have already written; but you seem to have expressed your sentiments too briefly, and without sufficient perspicuity. Wherefore I again and again entreat your piety to reply in few words to those little questions of mine[1]; first, whether laws respecting habits may properly

[1 These questions are given with a little variation by Strype, Annals, I. ii. 137. Bullinger's reply is given, Annals, I. ii. 505, and below, Letter CIV. p. 214.]

be prescribed to churchmen, so as to distinguish them from the laity in shape, colour, &c.? Secondly, whether the ceremonial worship of the Levitical priesthood is to be reintroduced into the church of Christ? Thirdly, whether in respect of habits and external rites, it is allowable to have any thing in common with the papists, and whether Christians may borrow ceremonies from any counterfeit and hostile church? Fourthly, whether the distinguishing apparel of the priesthood is to be worn [upon all occasions] like a common dress? Whether this does not savour of monkery, popery, and Judaism? Fifthly, whether those persons who have till now enjoyed their liberty, can with a safe conscience, by the authority of a royal edict, involve in this bondage both themselves and the church? Sixthly, whether the clerical dress of the papists may be regarded as a matter of indifference? Seventhly, whether the habit is to be worn, rather than the office deserted? I had sent both to master Beza and yourself some other questions; I know not whether you received them. I entreat you to condescend to explain your judgment and opinion a little more fully as soon as possible; and also to touch upon and note the reasons upon which it is founded. You see that it is the Lernæan Hydra, or the tail of popery. You see too what the relics of the Amorites have produced. You see my importunity. Confer, I beseech you, on the whole matter with master Gualter and your colleagues, and write their opinion either to me or master Sampson. Oxford, Feb. 9, 1565, according to the English computation[2].

May Christ long preserve you to his church in health and happiness!

Your most attached, Laurence Humphrey.

CII. T. SAMPSON TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 69.]

London, *Feb.* 16, 1566.

Reverend father in Christ, I wrote you a letter six months since, and should have satisfied the wishes of many of my brethren, if, as I then earnestly requested, I had received an answer from your worthiness. But since either my letter was not delivered to you, or yours (if you have written any) appears to have been intercepted, I am under the necessity of repeating what I before stated.

[2 Until the introduction of the new style, A.D. 1752, the year in England commenced from the 25th of March.]

Our church remains in the same condition as was long since reported to you. For, after the expiration of seven years in the profession of the gospel, there has now been revived that contest about habits, in which Cranmer, Ridley, and Hooper, most holy martyrs of Christ, were formerly wont to skirmish. The state of the question, however, is not in all respects the same, but the determination of those in power is more inflexible. This indeed is very gratifying to our adversaries at Louvaine, for they praise these things up to the skies.

But that you may more readily understand the matter in controversy, I have thought it best to reduce it into certain questions, which are these :

I. Whether a peculiar habit, distinct from that of the laity, were ever assigned to the ministers of the gospel in better times, and whether it ought now to be assigned to them in the reformed church ?

II. Whether the prescribing habits of this kind be consistent with ecclesiastical and christian liberty ?

III. Whether the nature of things indifferent admits of coercion ; and whether any violence should be offered to the consciences of the many who are not yet persuaded ?

IV. Whether any new ceremonies may be instituted, or superadded to what is expressly commanded in the word ?

V. Whether it be lawful to revive the Jewish ceremonies respecting the habit of the priesthood, and which were abolished by Christ ?

VI. Whether it be expedient to borrow rites from idolaters or heretics, and to transfer such as are especially dedicated to *their* sect and religion to the use of the reformed church ?

VII. Whether conformity and general agreement must of necessity be required in ceremonies of this kind ?

VIII. Whether those ceremonies may be retained which occasion evident offence ?

IX. Whether any ecclesiastical constitutions may be tolerated, which, though from their nature they are free from any thing impious, do not, nevertheless, tend to edification ?

X. Whether any thing of a ceremonial nature may be prescribed to the church by the sovereign, without the assent and free concurrence of churchmen ?

XI. Whether a man ought thus to obey the decrees of the church ; or on account of non-compliance, supposing there is no alternative, to be cast out of the ministry ?

XII. Whether good pastors, of unblemished life and doctrine, may rightfully be removed from the ministry on account of their non-compliance with such ceremonies?

Here you have, most esteemed sir, our difficulties. Here many pious men are hesitating; for the sake of whom I again ask it as a favour from you, that, having well considered the matter with master Gualter and the rest of your colleagues, with your wonted piety, you will plainly state your opinion, and send a written answer to each of the above questions. You will confer an exceeding kindness upon many, and on myself especially; and you will also confer an excellent benefit upon our church.

There is also another subject about which I desire to acquaint you. On the decease of our friend Chambers[1], there were entrusted to me some writings, which were, it seems, once much valued by master Hooper. Among others I found a copious manuscript commentary of master Theodore Bibliander[2], upon Genesis and Exodus. Since this book, as far as I am aware, was never printed, I am unwilling that the church of Christ should be any longer deprived of so great a benefit. If your worship will inform the heirs of master Bibliander that this writing is in my possession, and they are willing to publish it, let me know to whom I shall transfer it, or by what means it may be sent over to you with safety, and you will find me most ready to execute your wishes. These are the subjects on which I shall be daily expecting an answer; and as to the questions especially, I humbly ask you, on behalf of many persons, to declare to us both your own opinion, and that of your brethren. May God Almighty very long preserve you to his church in life and health! London, Feb. 16, 1566.

Your worship's most devoted, THOMAS SAMPSON.

CIII. BISHOP JEWEL TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 70.]

SALISBURY, *March* 10, 1566.

MUCH health in Christ. Although I have written to you, my reverend father, at great length within these few days, yet having met with some things in which I have great need of your judgment,

[1 See p. 208.]

[2 The proper name of this divine was Theodore Buchmann, which he translated into Greek, according to the usual practice of scholars in that age. He succeeded Zuingle as professor of Theology at Zurich, where he died of the plague in 1564.]

I thought it would not be out of place for me to write again. The things are of such a nature, that I doubt not, but that from your multifarious learning you will easily be able to afford me the information I require.

I wish to know, whether those Christians who are at the present time scattered throughout Greece, Asia, Syria, Armenia, &c. use *private* masses, such as are every where customary among the papists; and what kind of masses, private or public, are now in use among the Greeks at Venice? Again, a certain Camotensis[1] is sometimes quoted, as having written with asperity against the lives and insolence of the popes. Who was this Camotensis, of what order, and in what time and country did he live?

Lastly, what is your opinion respecting that German council[2], which is said to have been formerly held under Charlemagne, against the second Nicene council concerning images? For there are some persons who confidently deny such council ever to have existed. I ask it of your kindness not to think me impertinent in making these inquiries of you, especially at so great a distance; for you are almost the only remaining oracle of the churches. If you will write me an answer by the next fair, it will be sufficient.

Again and again farewell, my revered father, and much esteemed master in Christ. Salisbury, March 10, 1566.

Yours in Christ, JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus.*

CIV. H. BULLINGER TO L. HUMPHREY AND T. SAMPSON.

[A. App. iii.]

Dated at ZURICH, *May* 1, 1566.

MAY the Lord Jesus bless you, most accomplished sirs, and very dear brethren, and preserve you from all evil!

[1 There is here a mistake in the name. "Jewel was gravely charged by Harding with naming *Johannes Camotensis* for *Johannes Carnotensis,*" whom Mr Le Bas has shewn to be the celebrated John of Salisbury, who towards the close of his life was promoted to the see of Chartres, and was therefore sometimes entitled *Johannes Carnotensis.* Le Bas, Life of Jewel, p. 159. He flourished in the last half of the twelfth century.]

[2 This council was convoked at Frankfort by Charlemagne, A.D. 794; and condemned, unanimously and strongly, the service and adoration of images. Le Bas, ut sup. p. 160. This too was in spite of a letter of pope Adrian in vindication of image-worship, and directed to Charlemagne himself. There were 300 bishops of France, Italy, and Germany. The pope's legates were present, and it is considered in France as a general council. Du Pin, Bibliothéque, Tom. VI. p. 156. Paris. 1693.]

I have received your letters[3], from which I learn, Laurence, that you complain that my reply to your question appears too concise. But, my brother, I neither perceived at that time, nor do I now perceive, the necessity of writing more copiously. For you only inquired what was my opinion with respect to the vestiarian controversy now agitated in England. To this question I thought it best to give you a short answer; for I could express my sentiments in few words. Besides, I was aware that master Peter Martyr, of blessed memory, had both here and at Oxford frequently and fully handled the same question, and I had nothing to add to his remarks. But I remember, that in my letter addressed to you, my brother Sampson, I also gave a statement of my own opinion. And to repeat my sentiments in few words, I could never approve of your officiating, if so commanded, at an altar laden, rather than adorned, with the image of him that was crucified, and in the appropriate dress of the mass, that is, in the alb and cope, on the back part of which also the same image is represented. But, as far as I can understand by a letter from England, there is now no dispute concerning habits of this kind; but the question is, whether it be lawful for the ministers of the gospel to wear a round or square cap, and a white garment which they call a surplice, by the wearing of which the minister may be distinguished from the people? And, whether it be a duty rather to relinquish the ministry, or sacred office, than to wear vestments of this kind? I replied to this question at the last fair, in a letter to the reverend master doctor Robert Horn, bishop of Winchester, and briefly repeated the words of master Martyr. My colleague and very dear relative, master Rodolph Gualter, had written to the same person a short time before; a copy of which letter I send to yourself and our other brethren, inclosed in this. If, therefore, you are disposed to listen to us, and desire our opinion respecting the vestiarian controversy, as you signified to me in your last letter, behold! you possess our opinion in this epistle: in which if you are unable to acquiesce, we are indeed most exceedingly grieved; and since we have no other advice to offer, we heartily and continually pray the Lord, who is under all circumstances and at all times to be looked up to, that by his grace and power he may provide a remedy for this afflictive state of things.

Some questions, my brother Laurence, have been proposed by yourself, but our brother Sampson has framed a greater number

[3 See above, Letters CI. and CII., to both of which Bullinger replies in this letter.]

upon the same subject. But although in my homely simplicity I could never approve of the subject being divided into so many questions, and entangled in such complicated knots, which otherwise, simple in itself, might be stated with sufficient perspicuity in few words; yet I will remark somewhat upon each question, that in this matter also I may be of service to you, my honoured masters and very dear brethren, as far as my lack of utterance, and power of perception rather blunted than sharpened, will permit me. And I entreat you to receive with kindness these remarks from me, your brother, and who love you so much; and to judge respecting them with a mind calm and free from prejudice. I altogether abominate all controversy, and I implore nothing more suppliantly from the Lord, than that he may take away from the church those contentions which from the beginning, and at all times, have been most injurious to true piety, and torn the church, however peaceful and flourishing, in pieces.

1. To the question, *whether laws respecting habits ought to be prescribed to ecclesiastics, that they may be distinguished by them from the laity,* I reply, that there is an ambiguity in the word *ought.* For if it is taken as implying what is necessary and appertaining to salvation, I do not think that even the authors of the laws themselves intend such an interpretation. But if it is asserted, that for the sake of decency, and comeliness of appearance, or dignity and order, some such regulation may be made, or some such thing be understood, as that which the apostle requires, namely, that a bishop or minister of the church should be κόσμιος, (I mean *decent* or orderly,) I do not see how he is to blame, who either adopts a habit of this sort himself, or who commands it to be worn by others.

2. *Whether the ceremonial worship of the Levitical priesthood is to be reintroduced into the church?* I reply, if a cap and habit not unbecoming a minister, and free from superstition, are commanded to be used by the clergy, no one can reasonably assert that Judaism is revived. Moreover, I will here repeat the answer that I see doctor Martyr made to this question, who, after having shewed that the sacraments of the old law had been abolished, and ought not to be reintroduced into the church of Christ, which has [those of] baptism and the Lord's supper, subjoined, "there were notwithstanding in the Levitical law some ordinances of such a character, as that they cannot properly be called sacraments; for they served unto decency and order, and a certain becomingness, which, as agreeable to the light of nature, and furthering some

utility of ours, I judge, may not only be restored but retained. Who seeth not that the apostles for quietness sake, and for the better living together of believers, commanded the gentiles to abstain from things strangled and from blood? These things were beyond dispute legal and Levitical. Also, no man is ignorant that at this day tithes are instituted in many places for the support of ministers. It is most evident too, that psalms and hymns are sung in the holy assemblies, which nevertheless the Levites also practised. And, not to omit this, we have feast days in remembrance of our Lord's resurrection, and other things. Are all these things to be abolished because they are traces of the old law? You see then, that all the Levitical rites are not to be so abrogated, as that none of them may be lawfully retained." Thus far Peter Martyr[1].

3. *Whether is it allowable to have a habit in common with papists?* I answer, it is not yet proved that the pope introduced a distinction of habits into the church; so far from it, that it is clear that such distinction is long anterior to popery. Nor do I see why it should be unlawful to use, in common with papists, a vestment not superstitious, but pertaining to civil regulation and good order. If it were not allowable to have any thing in common with them, it would be necessary to desert all the churches, to decline the receipt of stipend, to abstain from baptism, and the reciting of the apostles' and the Nicene creed, and even to reject the Lord's prayer. But after all, you do not borrow any ceremonies from them; for the use of the habits was never set aside from the beginning of the reformation; and it is still retained, not by any popish enactment, but by virtue of the royal edict, as a matter of indifference and of civil order.

4. The use[2] therefore of a distinctive cap or habit in civil matters *savours neither of Judaism nor monachism;* for they affect to appear separated from civil life, and make a merit of their peculiar dress. Thus Eustathius, bishop of Sebastia[3], was condemned, not merely on account of his peculiar dress, but because he made religion to consist in that dress. The canons of the

[1 The epistle from whence the above passage is quoted, is dated from Oxford, Nov. 4, 1550, and seems to have been written to Hooper, although there is no name put thereto. See Martyr's Divine Epistles, at the end of his Common Places.]

[2 For Humphrey's fourth question, to which this paragraph is an answer, see above, p. 211.]

[3 Du Pin states that the Eustathius, whose errors were condemned at the council of Gangra, was a different person from the bishop of Sebastia. See below, p. 235, note 2.]

councils of Gangra, Laodicea, and the sixth synod are known. And if some of the people are led to believe that this savours of popery, Judaism, and monachism, let them be admonished and rightly instructed in these matters. And should any be disquieted by the importunate clamours of some individuals, lavishly poured forth upon this subject among the people, let those who act thus have a care, lest they should impose heavier burdens upon themselves, irritate the queen's majesty, and end by bringing many faithful ministers into dangers from which they will hardly escape.

5. To the question, *whether those persons who have till now enjoyed their liberty, can with a safe conscience, by the authority of a royal edict, involve in this bondage both themselves and the church,* I reply, that in my opinion great caution is to be observed lest this dispute, and clamour, and contention respecting the habits, should be conducted with too much bitterness, and by this importunity a handle should be afforded to the queen's majesty to leave that no longer a matter of choice to those who have abused their liberty; but being irritated by these needless clamours, she may issue her orders, that either these habits must be adopted, or the ministry relinquished. It appears indeed most extraordinary to me, (if I may be allowed, most accomplished and very dear brethren, to speak my sentiments without offence,) that you can persuade yourselves that you cannot, with a safe conscience, subject yourselves and churches to vestiarian bondage; and that you do not rather consider, to what kind of bondage you will subject yourselves and churches, if you refuse to comply with a civil ordinance, which is a matter of indifference, and are perpetually contending in this troublesome way; because, by the relinquishment of your office, you will expose the churches to wolves, or at least to teachers who are far from competent, and who are not equally fitted with yourselves for the instruction of the people. And can you be said to have asserted the liberty of the churches, who minister occasion of oppressing the church with burdens even yet more grievous? Are you not aware of what is the object of many, in what manner they are affected towards the preaching of the gospel, of what character will be those who are to succeed you, and what is to be expected from them?

6. *Whether the dress of the clergy is a matter of indifference?* It certainly seems such, when it is a matter of *civil* ordinance, and has respect only to decency and order, in which things religious worship does not consist.

Thus, my most learned and dearly beloved brother, Laurence,

have I thought fit briefly to reply to your letter. I now come also to the questions of our friend master Sampson, in the discussion of which I shall probably be yet more brief.

1. *Whether a peculiar habit, distinct from that of the laity, were ever assigned to the ministers of the church; and whether it ought now to be assigned to them in the reformed church?* I reply: that there was in the primitive church a habit peculiar to the priests, is manifest from the ecclesiastical history of Theodoret, Book II. chap. 27, and of Socrates, Book VI. chap. 22[1]. And no one who has but cursorily considered the monuments of antiquity, can be ignorant that the ministers always wore the *pallium* upon sacred occasions; so that, as I have before intimated, the distinction of habit does not derive its origin from the pope. Eusebius truly bears witness from the most ancient writers, that the apostle John at Ephesus wore on his forehead a *petalum*[2], or pontificial plate [of gold]; and Pontius, the deacon, relates of the martyr Cyprian, that when he was about to present his neck to the executioner, he first gave him his *birrus*[3], and his *dalmatic*[4] to the deacon, and

[1 The following is the story to which Bullinger refers. Sisinius, the Novatian bishop, going one day to visit Arsacius, bishop of Constantinople, one of the clergy asked him why he wore a garment which did not become a bishop? and, where it was written that a priest ought to be clothed in white? To whom he replied, You first shew me where it is written, that a bishop ought to be clothed in black? See Bingham's Antiquities, Book VI. ch. 4. §. 18.]

[2 The *petalum* was the name given to the thin plate of gold which the Jewish high priest wore on his forehead. See below, p. 236.]

[3 The *birrus*, says Mr Bingham, was not peculiar to bishops, nor yet to the clergy, and was no more than the common *tunica* or coat worn generally by Christians in Africa, as may appear from a canon of the council of Gangra, made against Eustathius the heretic and his followers, who condemned the common habit, the *birrus*, and brought in the use of a strange habit in its room. The canon runs in these words: Εἴ τις ἀνδρῶν διὰ νομιζομένην ἄσκησιν περιβολαίῳ χρῆται, καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐκ τούτου τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἔχων καταψηφίσοιτο τῶν μετ' εὐλαβείας τοὺς βήρους φορούντων, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κοινῇ καὶ ἐν συνηθείᾳ οὔσῃ ἐσθῆτι κεχρημένων, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. "If any man uses the *pallium*, or cloke, upon the account of an ascetic life, and, as if there were some holiness in that, condemns those that with reverence use the *birrus* and other garments that are commonly worn, let him be anathema." Bingham, as above, §. 19.]

[4 There were two kinds of *tunica*, the dalmatica and collobium, the latter being a short coat without long sleeves; whereas the dalmatica was the *tunica manicata et talaris*, a long coat with sleeves down to the wrists. This was seldom in use among the Romans; for Lampridius notes it as a singular thing in the life of the emperor Commodus, that *dalmaticatus in*

thus stood forth wearing only his linen garment. Besides, Chrysostom makes mention of the white garment of the clergy; and it is certain, that when Christians were converted from heathenism to the gospel and the church, they exchanged the *toga* for the *pallium*, on which account when they were ridiculed by unbelievers, Tertullian[1] composed his most learned treatise *de pallio*. I could produce many other instances of the same kind, did not these suffice. I should prefer indeed, that no difficulties had been thrown in the way of the clergy, and that they might have been at liberty to follow the practice of the apostles. But since the queen's majesty only enjoins the wearing a cap and surplice, which, as I have often repeated, she does not in any way make a matter of religion; and since the same things were in use among the ancients, when the affairs of the church were yet more prosperous than at present, and this too without superstition or any thing to find fault with; I could wish that pious ministers would not make the whole advancement of religion to depend upon this matter, as if it were all in all; but that they would yield somewhat to the present time, and not dispute offensively about a matter of indifference, but modestly conclude that these things may be endured at present, but that an improvement will take place in time. For those persons come the nearest to apostolic simplicity, who are unconscious of these distinctions, or who do not urge them, while yet they do not act without a proper regard to discipline in the mean time.

2, 3. *Whether the prescribing habits be consistent with christian liberty?* I answer, that matters of indifference admit sometimes of *prescription*, and therefore of being imposed by force, as far as their use, so to speak, though not their moral effect is concerned; so that, for instance, something which is in its nature indifferent, may be obtruded upon the conscience as necessary, and thus made a matter of religion. In fact, the times and places of

publico processit, he wore a dalmatica in public. This, Mr Bingham thinks, is a good argument to prove that the clergy of this age did not wear the dalmatica in public, since it was not then the common garment of the Romans. And he approves of the conjecture of bishop Fell, who thinks that in the passage from Pontius the deacon, (given below, Letter CIX. p. 236, note 2) for the words *tunicam tulit*, some officious modern transcribers changed the word *tunicam* into *dalmaticam*, (as Bullinger appears to have read it), as being more agreeable to the language and custom of their own time, when the dalmatica was reckoned among the sacred vestments of the church, though we never find it mentioned as such in any ancient author. Bingham, as above, §. 20.]

[1 See below, Letter CIX. p. 236, note 4.]

religious assemblies are assuredly regarded among things indifferent; and yet, if there is no *prescription* in such cases, consider, I pray, what confusion and disorder would ensue?

4. *Whether any new ceremonies may be superadded to what is expressly prescribed in the word of God?* I answer, that I by no means approve the addition of new ceremonies; but yet I am not prepared to deny that some may lawfully be instituted, provided the worship of God is not made to consist in them, and that they are appointed only for the sake of order and discipline. Christ himself observed the feast or ceremony of the dedication, though we do not read that this feast was prescribed in the law. On the whole, the greater part of the propositions or questions touching the vestiarian controversy turn upon this, whether laws concerning habits may or ought to be framed in the church? And it recalls the *general* question, namely, what regulations is it lawful to make concerning ceremonies? To these propositions I reply in few words, that though I would rather no ceremonies, excepting such as are necessary, should be obtruded upon the church, yet I must confess in the mean time that regulations respecting them, though possibly not altogether necessary, and sometimes, it may be, useless, ought not forthwith to be condemned as impious, and to excite disorder and schism in the church; seeing that they are not of a superstitious character, and also that in their very nature they are matters of indifference.

5, 6. *Whether it be lawful to revive the antiquated ceremonies of the Jews, and to transfer such as were especially dedicated to the religion of idolaters, to the use of the reformed churches?* I have before replied to this question, when I remarked touching the Levitical rites. But I should be loth that any idolatrous rites should be transferred to the reformed churches, without being purified from what is amiss in them. But it might also be demanded on the other hand, whether established ceremonies, void of superstition, may not be retained in the church without any impropriety, for the sake of discipline and order.

7. *Whether conformity must of necessity be required in ceremonies?* I reply, that conformity in ceremonies is perhaps not necessary in every church. Meantime however, if a thing is commanded, which, though not necessary, is on the other hand not sinful; the church, it seems to me, ought not on this account to be relinquished. There was not conformity in rites in all the more ancient churches; those, however, which adopted rites in conformity with each other, did not censure those who wanted such con-

formity[1]. And I can easily believe that wise and politic men are urgent for a conformity of rites, because they think it will tend to concord, and that there may be one and the same church throughout all England; wherein, provided nothing sinful is intermixed, I do not see why you should oppose yourselves with hostility to harmless regulations of that kind.

8. *Whether those ceremonies may be retained which occasion evident offence?* I answer, that we ought to avoid offence; but we must take care in the mean time, lest we cloke our own feelings under the pretext of offence. You are not ignorant that one thing is given, and another thing received; and that offence is readily taken. I am not now inquiring whether you can, without grievous offence, desert, for a thing in itself indifferent, those churches for which Christ died.

9. *Whether any constitutions may be tolerated in the church, which in their nature indeed are not impious, but do not, nevertheless, tend to edification?* I answer, that if those constitutions which the queen's majesty wishes to impose upon you, are free from any impiety, they are rather to be tolerated than that the churches should be deserted. For if the edifying of the church is the chief thing to be regarded in this matter, we shall do the church a greater injury by deserting it than by wearing the habits. And where there is no impiety, and the conscience is not wounded, it is proper to submit, even if some degree of bondage be imposed. In the mean time, however, it might be demanded on the other hand, whether the imposition of the habits, as far as it tends to decency and order, may justly come under the denomination of bondage?

10. *Whether any thing of a ceremonial nature may be prescribed to the church by the sovereign, without the consent and free concurrence of the clergy?* I answer, if the consent of the clergy is always to be waited for by the sovereign, it is probable that those most wise and pious kings, Asa, Hezekiah, Jehoshaphat, and Josiah, and other godly princes, would never have brought into proper order the Levites and ministers of the churches. Though I would not altogether have the bishops excluded from the consultations of churchmen. But on the other hand, I would not have them assume to themselves that power, which they heretofore usurped over kings and magistrates in the time of popery. Nor

[1 This statement may be compared with the 34th article of the church of England, as also with the preface to the Liturgy respecting ceremonies, why some be abolished and some retained.]

again, would I have the bishops sanction by their silence the unjust ordinances of princes.

11, 12. The last two questions come more closely to the point. *Whether it is more expedient thus to obey the church, or on account of disobedience to be cast out of the ministry?* And, *whether good pastors may lawfully be removed from the ministry on account of their non-compliance with such ceremonies?* I answer, if in these ceremonies there is no superstition, no impiety, but yet they are imposed upon godly pastors, who would rather that they should not be imposed upon them; I will certainly allow, and that most fully, that a burden and bondage is imposed upon them; but I will not allow, and this for most just reasons, that their station or ministry is on that account to be deserted, and place given to wolves, as was before observed, or to ministers less qualified than themselves: especially, since there remains the liberty of preaching, and care may be taken that no greater bondage shall be imposed; with many other things of this kind, &c.

I have now stated what it seemed to me might be said upon the proposed questions, being well aware that others, in proportion to their erudition, might have discussed the subject with far greater elegance and effect; but since it was your wish that I myself should answer them, I have done what I could, leaving both a free pen and an unfettered opinion upon these matters to others. As to what remains, I wish not to force and entangle the conscience of any one by what I have written, but merely propose it for consideration; and I would have you beware, lest any one in this present controversy should conceal a contentious spirit under the name of conscience. And I also exhort you all, by Jesus Christ our Lord, the Saviour, head, and king of his church, that every one of you should duly consider with himself, whether he will not more edify the church of Christ by regarding the use of habits for the sake of order and decency, as a matter of indifference, and which hitherto has tended somewhat to the harmony and advantage of the church; than by leaving the church, on account of the vestiarian controversy, to be occupied hereafter, if not by evident wolves, at least by ill-qualified and evil ministers. May the Lord Jesus give you to see, to understand, and to follow what makes for his glory, and the peace and safety of the church!

Farewell in the Lord, together with all faithful ministers. We will earnestly pray the Lord for you, that you may both perceive and do what is holy and beneficial. Master Gualter salutes you

most affectionately, and prays for you every happiness. We too, the other ministers, do the same. Zurich, May 1, 1566.

HENRY BULLINGER, minister of the church of Zurich,
in his own name and that of GUALTER.

P.S. I would advise you, my dear Sampson, not to publish any thing of master Bibliander's; as the papers in your possession are mere collections from his hearers, and not written by Bibliander himself. For his executors are in possession of his commentaries, his manuscript notes on the Bible, or on the old Testament; and they would be very angry if any thing were to be published under his name, which he himself had not written. Meanwhile, I have to thank your kindness for acquainting me with these things. But your letter, written on the 16th of February, was only delivered to me on the 26th of April.

CV. H. BULLINGER TO BISHOPS HORN, GRINDAL, AND PARKHURST. [A. App. iv.]

ZURICH, *May* 3, 1566.

REVEREND sirs, right honourable lords, and very dear brethren. May the Lord Jesus bless you, and preserve you from all evil! We send our letter on the vestiarian controversy, written by us to the learned men, and our honoured godly brethren, N. and M. And we send it to you on this account, that ye may understand that we would not have any private communication with the brethren, without the knowledge of you, the principal ministers; and that in all things we seek the peace of your churches, according to our power. We pray also the Lord, that he may always direct your affairs, and preserve you in peace. We exhort you, reverend sirs, and very dear brethren, to have respect to faithful ministers and learned men. They have their own feelings; whence the apostle has instructed us to *bear one another's burdens.* Your authority can effect much with her most serene highness, the queen. Prevail upon her majesty to grant that these worthy brethren may be reconciled and restored.

We entreat likewise that you, master Horn, our honoured lord and very dear brother, to whom this letter will first be presented, will forthwith take care that it may be forwarded to the bishop of Norwich, and that you will communicate it to masters Jewel,

Sandys, and Pilkington; to all of whom, God willing, I will write at the next Frankfort fair. I have written this in the greatest haste, both in my own name and that of Gualter, and we send the letter to Basle to be forwarded from thence to Antwerp. We earnestly entreat you to let us know whether you have received it. Farewell, reverend sirs, and may the Lord bless both you and your labours! Zurich, May 3, 1566.

Yours, BULLINGER.

We pray you, reverend master Horn, to communicate this letter also to the illustrious personage, Edmund Grindal, bishop of London, whom, although he is not personally known to us, as you are, we love, and desire to be loved by him in return. Again and again, farewell.

CVI. J. ABEL TO H. BULLINGER. [B. 49.*]

LONDON, *June* 6, 1566.

PRAISE to God! My friendly greeting and willing service to you, my kind and dear sir. Your last letter of March 20th has come duly to hand; from which I understand that you have received my former letters. I have also received two copies of your Swiss Confession of Faith; one of which, written in Latin, I have, according to your request, given to master Richard Hilles, who expresses his best thanks. This book pleases me and many believing hearts exceedingly. But I am still more delighted with your house-book[1], containing fifty of your sermons, and bearing the Latin title *Decades Bullingeri*. In this book all the articles of our christian faith are fully declared and set forth, and it is comforting, and agreeable, and instructive to me to read it.

Your letters to master Horn, bishop of Winchester, and masters Jewel and Parkhurst, I have duly forwarded; and master Horn has written me word that he has received your said letter[2], in which you have declared your judgment respecting the cap and surplice. And he has promised me a copy of that letter, which has been of great service to many godly preachers and others, who faithfully and diligently perform their ecclesiastical functions. Some persons, however, are not satisfied with it, those namely, who have thought fit rather to give up the office of a preacher and minister than wear a surplice in the administration of the holy sacraments,

[1 Germ. *Hussbuch.*]

[2 See above, Letter XCVIII. p. 202.]

or put on a clerical cap. So rigid are they in their opinion, that they have altogether given up their ecclesiastical vocation, and are therefore deposed from their ministry: which is greatly to be regretted; especially as they need not put on a surplice when preaching, as indeed nobody is commanded to do, except in the administration of infant baptism and of the Lord's supper. Master Thomas Sampson has written you a letter[1] upon this subject, and desires to receive your answer; because he is foremost in opposition to this practice, and has given up his preferment[2]: and several other preachers have joined him, who are resolved rather to resign their functions than wear the cap and surplice. Five preachers have lately been deprived, and sent as prisoners, two of them to master Horn, bishop of Winchester, two to Dr Cox, bishop of Ely, and one to master Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich. These five preachers had been interdicted from preaching, but notwithstanding the prohibition, they again preached in their respective churches, in consequence of which our queen and privy council are much displeased. They were summoned before the queen's council, and when they made their appearance, much was said to them for having preached contrary to the queen's orders, and for having afforded a bad example to the common people, so as to render them disobedient. Whereupon the five preachers fell upon their knees, and asked for mercy: in reply to which the lords in council answered, that if the queen were not merciful and gracious, they would all have had to undergo severe punishment; but, seeing that they were preachers of God's holy word, they should have eight days allowed them wherein to visit their friends and connections, after which they were to proceed, two to the bishop of Winchester, and two to the bishop of Ely, and one to the bishop of Norwich, as prisoners, as above mentioned, so long as the queen and her council shall think fit[3]. One of these preachers has also caused to be

[1 See above, Letter CII. p. 211.]

[2 Sampson was, by a special order from the queen, deprived by the archbishop and commissioners of the deanery of Christ-church. See Strype, Parker, I. 368. The archbishop subsequently wrote in his behalf to the queen and to the chapter. Sampson afterwards obtained the mastership of the hospital of William de Wigston, at Leicester, and a prebend in St Paul's, and by leave and favour of the queen was appointed theological lecturer at Whittington College in London. See Wood, Athenæ, Vol. I. p. 234.]

[3 Archbishop Parker, in a letter to Haddon, says: "With the assistance of the queen's majesties council we have dispersed a few of the heads of them, some to the bishop of Winchester, some to Ely, and some to Norwich,

printed a book[4] against the queen's command respecting the cap and surplice: but as soon as the authorities heard of it, the book was prohibited, the printers cast into prison, and the copies destroyed. Another book[5] was afterwards published by order of the commissioners, wherein is declared the judgment of master doctor Peter Martyr and master Bucer, viz. that every preacher and minister ecclesiastical may wear a surplice, cap, and the other habits, without committing any sin, as you and master Gualter have also written. The opposite party are much dissatisfied with this, and, as far as they dare, write secretly against it; so that, unless our gracious God afford us his aid and support, it is to be feared that it will occasion much hinderance to the spread of the gospel. But our Lord God, I trust, is gracious and full of compassion, and will help us to establish unity and peace, so that the cruel fiend may not occasion a schism.

All things are going on pretty well in Scotland, and all the exiled nobles and lords have returned to their country, and are in possession of their lands and property. The gospel (praised be God!) is still preached, and I hope all will be quiet; for the exiled lords are magistrates in that country. The queen of Scotland, I hear, is in the family way, and expects to be confined within a week[6]. I have nothing else to write to you at present. Salute, I pray you, all my good masters and friends. The grace of God be with us all! Amen.

Yours ever, JOHN ABEL, England.

to school them, or at least to have them out of London till we see cause to restore them their liberty." Strype considers that "Gentleness, as appears hence, was used towards these ministers that stood out and so were deprived." After noticing their being thus sent to three of the bishops, he adds: "But it was not long that they remained so, but were restored to their liberties; and had leave, or at least connivance to preach." Life of Parker, I. 445.]

[4 This work was entitled, *A brief discourse against the outward apparel and ministering garments of the popish church:* but the running title was, *The unfolding of the popish attire.* A full account of the contents is given by Strype, Ann. I. ii. p. 163.]

[5 For an account of this book, supposed to have been published by the archbishop of Canterbury, see Strype, Annals, I. ii. 174.]

[6 The queen of Scots was delivered of a son, afterwards king James I., on June 19, 1566.]

CVII. M. COVERDALE, &c. TO W. FARELL, P. VIRET, T. BEZA, &c. [B. 50.]

LONDON, *July* 1566.

WE must not only, honoured masters and brethren, appear troublesome to your reverences by so frequently addressing you by our friends and our letters, but must seem also very regardless of our duty to the church, by disturbing you, who are occupied in matters of far greater importance, with the relation of our trifles. But yet the unhappy condition of our times, and fresh troubles, compel us to have recourse to you, not only that you may be informed more fully of the state of our affairs, and our own opinion respecting them, but that we also may more fully understand your sentiments. Our affairs are not altered for the better, but, alas! are sadly deteriorated. For it is now settled and determined, that an unleavened cake must be used in place of common bread;—that the communion must be received by the people on their bended knees;—that out of doors must be worn the square cap, bands, a long gown and tippet; while the white surplice and cope are to be retained in divine service. And those who refuse to comply with these requirements, are deprived of their estates, dignities, and every ecclesiastical office; namely, brethren by brethren and bishops, whose houses are at this time the prisons of some preachers; who are now raging against their own bowels; who are now imposing these burdens not only on their own persons, but also on the shoulders of others; and this too at a time when in the judgment of all learned men they ought to have been removed and abolished altogether. Thus you have the image and representation, such as it is, of our church.

Now, then, hear our opinion upon this state of things. We think that it must be assumed in this question, that the Jewish, Turkish, Christian, and Popish religions have each their own peculiar sacraments and signs; and that external profession ought to be the test and badge of any one's doctrine; and that we are to seek our pattern not out of the cisterns and puddles of our enemies, but from the fountain of the scriptures and of the churches of God; so as not to be connected by any similarity of rites with those from whose religion we are altogether abhorrent: which rule, we read, was diligently observed by our forefathers in respect to the sabbath and passover of the Jews, the fastings of the Manichees, and the trine immersion of heretics. Nor indeed can we regard these things as altogether indifferent, when compulsion is made use of, and when

too they are branded with the mark of superstition: nor ought any thing to be obtruded [on the church] by the authority of the sovereign, without its having been lawfully discussed in a christian synod: nor ought agreement in ceremonies everywhere to be required of necessity, especially when it is in common with the enemies of the faith: nor is there any occasion in the church of Christ either for the Aaronic priesthood, or Pharisaical ambition, that sacred garments should be worn now-a-days in the christian temple, or that a dress not common, but distinct and peculiar, should be prescribed for ordinary use. But we think with Celestine, that the clergy should be distinguished from the people by their doctrine, not their garments; their conversation, not their dress; their purity of mind, not their adornment of person; lest we begin to hanker after novelties, tread under foot the order received from our forefathers, impose upon the minds and eyes of the simple, and make room for vain and unprofitable superstitions.

Besides, as many of us as have cast out these things from the churches committed to our trust, cannot restore them without grievous offence and abominable impiety: and since a door would also be opened to other mysteries of iniquity, and the love of the godly be offended, and the pride and boldness of the wicked be encouraged, without even any pretence of edification; and since it is not lawful, according to St Paul's rule respecting things indifferent, for every one to rest in his own persuasion, but that that should be regarded as lawful, which is not displeasing to certain men; we considered it more for the good of the church to stand fast in our liberty with an accession of godly men on our side, than to depart from the opinion we have taken up and the custom we have received, to the scandal of many and the downfall of purer doctrine. This is our opinion, and also that of a most excellent personage. We now, most illustrious and very dear masters and brethren, request you by our most intimate communion in Christ, to point out the cynosure to us who are tossed about on the waves; and either to shew us a better way if we are in error, or confirm us, when doubting, in our holy purpose.

The question, we confess, is nice and difficult, whether it is better to yield to circumstances, or to depart; to admit the relics of the Amorites, or to desert our post. Either alternative is harsh, grievous, and productive of mischief both to ourselves and the church. Which is the better, do you with your wonted wisdom declare, because we are lingering in suspense as in the last extre-

mity[1]. We also request of you and your brother ministers to put forth at the earliest opportunity some treatise on the nature of things indifferent, on ceremonies, on the sacerdotal habit; by which both our church and those of Saxony may be instructed, and the zeal of our sovereigns inspirited to the demolition of all the distinctive marks of antichrist. We make it, lastly, our request, that you would admonish our bishops by letter not to persecute Joseph on account of a garment; nor to rend the church with such a schism for so slight a cause; but that even in the dissimilarity of rites they may preserve the sweetest harmony of spirit and brotherly love. For far be it from us to think of them otherwise than as becomes friends and brethren.

The sum is this. We request these three things; your reply to the questions here proposed by us, and some treatise to all the churches generally; a letter to the bishops privately, and, if you please, to such of her majesty's councillors as you may be acquainted with; so that this whole controversy may issue in a christian reconciliation, and not in a cruel separation. Communicate this letter to all your brethren, that we may hear what the Lord may speak out of the mouth of two or three witnesses. May the Lord Jesus preserve his church pure and inviolate even to the day of his just judgment! July, 1566.

Your most devoted,
MILES COVERDALE, formerly bishop of Exeter.
LAURENCE HUMPHREY.
THOMAS SAMPSON.

CVIII. W. TURNER[2] TO H. BULLINGER. [B. 51.]

July 23, 1566.

GREETING. As there was a great variety of opinion among the Jews respecting Christ the Son of God, when he came to

[1 Inter sacrum et saxum. Plaut. *Capt.* III. 4. 84.]

[2 William Turner, doctor of physic, and a zealous divine, who under king Edward VI. had been dean of Wells, but outed in the next reign, and became an exile. He was restored to his deanery by archbishop Parker in 1559. He was buried in Crutched Friars' Church, London, where he hath a monument yet remaining. Strype, Parker, I. 93. The bishop of Bath and Wells [Gilbert Berkley] thus complained of him to Cecil, in a Letter dated March 23, 1564. "I am much encombered with master Dr Turner, deane of

sojourn with us here on earth; so from the occasion of your reply[3] to our brethren, which our rulers, as we suppose, have published without your sanction, both in Latin and English, many opinions have lately risen up respecting you, his sworn and faithful disciple and minister, among those who in this country profess a purer religion; and different persons entertain different sentiments respecting you. God grant that as you have not given our countrymen any just occasion of suspecting evil of you, so all may understand your answer in the sense in which you wrote it! Whatever others may think concerning you, I am fully persuaded of this, that if, as is natural to man, you have unwittingly fallen into any error, provided only you are told of it in a friendly and courteous manner, you will be ready to acknowledge it without reluctance, and willingly confess the occasion of it. But, in reliance on your accustomed and well-known candour, I will proceed briefly to relate the opinions of our people respecting you, to the end that you may be able more fully and successfully to defend yourself from the imputations that are brought against you.

There are not wanting those who think that our Samaritans, limping on both feet, (for we have many more of this stamp than sincere professors of the gospel,) have suggested to you many things quite opposite to the truth, and have therefore influenced, or at least persuaded you, to hurl all your darts against our poor wretched preachers, conniving at the faults of our principal ministers and others, who, for the sake of an ass's appearance[4], have thrown into prison so many learned and godly pastors, stripped of all their dignities, and have exposed the flock of Christ unarmed to wolves, papists, Lutherans, Sadducees and Herodians. Some persons also boldly affirm, that there are many things in your answer, which are not only in manifest contradiction to your own books heretofore published, but also to the writings of all evangelical pastors. There are found too some among us, who think much the same respecting you, the most learned man and best expositor of christian doctrine in all Europe, as the Saxon preachers thought of their

Welles, for his undiscrete behaviour in the pulpitt; where he medleth with all matters, and unsemelie speaketh of all estates, more then is standing with discretion." MS. Lansd. 8. 3.]

[3 For this reply see above, Letter CIV. p. 214. See also Letter CXIII.]

[4 *Ob asini prospectum.* This seems to be a contemptuous allusion to the ministers' habits, to which Dr Turner was so averse, that in the year 1565, as dean of Wells, he enjoined a common adulterer to do his open penance in a priest's square cap.]

master Philip Melancthon; who, when Charles V. was attempting to obtrude the Interimistic[1] and Adiaphoristic impieties upon all the reformed churches in Germany, to the great jeopardy of christian liberty and no small injury to the truth, as they themselves testify in their published writings, passed over to the Interimists and Adiaphorists; and afterwards, laying aside all fear, returned to a better mind[2].

Those persons who think most favourably of you, defend you in this manner. They say that nothing was farther from your intention than that your answer should be publicly set forth in Latin and English; and that it was sent to our brethren, as men of learning, not with any view of defining or dogmatising, but simply as a literary exercise. But since it is beyond all doubt that many worthy persons are grievously offended by reason of its publication, I would recommend that,—both for the removal of offence, as well as for the assertion, and vindication from any suspicion of falsehood, of that truth which in so many of your printed works you have maintained with so much courage, piety and assiduity,—you should candidly and openly and fearlessly bear witness, in some published tract, whether you are of opinion that princes or ecclesiastical prelates, whom you call principal ministers, have authority to obtrude upon the pastors of churches against their will, under pain of deprivation and imprisonment, certain prescribed habits, and corresponding ceremonies, whether borrowed from the heathen, or transferred from the Levitical law, or invented or approved by the pope, and destined and employed for the further-

[1 Charles V. caused a paper to be drawn up by Julius Pflug, bishop of Naumburgh, Michael Sidonius, and John Agricola, which should serve as a rule of faith and worship to both papists and protestants till the re-assembling of the council of Trent. This paper, because it had not the force of a *permanent* law, was called the *Interim*. Melancthon, partly from fear of the emperor, and partly from condescension to Maurice, elector of Saxony, decided that the whole of the *Interim* could by no means be admitted, but that it might be received so far as it concerned things *indifferent, (in rebus adiaphoris.)* This decision gave rise to the *Adiaphoristic* controversy among the Lutherans, which is here referred to. For among things indifferent Melancthon reckoned many which Luther deemed of great importance. See Mosheim. ed. Soames, III. 160, 350, and Schmidii Historia Interimistica, p. 70, &c.]

[2 Calvin complained to Melancthon of his want of firmness; but it afterwards appeared, from the testimony of Beza, that his letter was written under misinformation. Beza's words are: *Philippo etiam officii admonito, quem nonnulli ut in eo molliorem accusabant; immerito id quidem, ut accuratius postea Calvinus cognovit.* See Scott's Contin. of Milner, III. 392.]

ance of idolatry, without offence to christian liberty and manifest injury to the church.

I have written these things to you with the greater boldness, that you may the better ascertain my feelings towards you, while I am anxious for the honour and integrity of your character, and for the freedom of your doctrine from any suspicion of error. July 23, 1566. Farewell.

Yours, WILLIAM TURNER,

A physician, delighting in the study of sacred literature.

CIX. L. HUMPHREY AND T. SAMPSON TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 71.]

July, 1566.

As your diligence, most illustrious sir, is proved to us by your writing, so also your incredible love towards us, and especial affection for our church, and most ardent desire for peace, are all evident from your very courteous letter[3].

We sent your reverence some questions, upon which the force, and as it were the hinge, of the whole controversy seemed to turn.

To these your reverence has accurately replied; but, if we may be permitted to say so, not entirely to our satisfaction. In the first place, your reverence replies, that such regulations respecting their habits may be prescribed to ministers, as that they may be distinguished both by colour and shape from those of the laity; for that it is merely a civil ordinance, and the apostle required the bishop to be κόσμιος, orderly[4]. But since this question is brought forward concerning churchmen, and relates to *ecclesiastical* polity, we do not see how the peculiar and clerical habit of ministers can be regarded as a mere *civil* matter. We admit, indeed, that a bishop must be κόσμιος, but this we refer with Ambrose to the ornaments of the mind, and not the decoration of the person. And as we require in dress both decency, and dignity, and gravity, so we deny that our propriety is to be borrowed from the enemies of our religion.

In the second place, you answer hypothetically, that if a cap, and a habit not unseemly and without superstition, be prescribed to the clergy, Judaism is not on this account brought back. But

[3 See above, Letter CIV. p. 214.]

[4 See 1 Tim. iii. 2, where the word is translated *of good behaviour*, or, in the marginal version, *modest*.]

how can that habit be thought consistent with the simple ministry of Christ, which used to set off the theatrical pomp of the popish priesthood? For not only (as our people wish to persuade your reverence) are the square cap and gown required in public, but the sacred garments are used in divine service; and the surplice, or white dress of the choir, and the cope are re-introduced. Which things not only do the papists declare in their books to be copies and imitations of Judaism, but your reverence has more than once taught the same from Innocent. We most willingly subscribe to the testimony of our most revered master, Doctor Martyr: but the instances which he produces, tend to decency and order; these deform the church, disturb order, overturn all that is decent. The former [instances] are agreeable to the light of nature; the latter are unnatural and monstrous. Those, according to Tertullian's rule, had a shew of necessity and use: these are altogether frivolous, and superfluous, and useless; and neither conducive to edification nor any good end whatever, but more truly, to use the language of the same Peter Martyr, they were splendid accompaniments of that worship which all godly persons now abominate. The papists themselves are boasting that the distinction of ecclesiastical habits now adopted was a popish invention; the constitutions of Otho speak the same thing; the Roman pontifical shews it, and the eyes and lips of all prove it to be the case. The use of churches, stipends, baptism, the creed, &c. was established by divine command long before the pope was born. And, whatever we meet with in any heresy, that is of divine and legitimate authority, we do not deny that, with Augustine, we both approve and retain it. But because this matter is peculiarly one of error and disagreement, we resolutely argue and contend with it.

As to your adding, that the use of the habits was not abolished at the beginning of the Reformation, your informants have again stated what is by no means the fact. For in the time of the most serene king Edward the Sixth, the Lord's supper was celebrated in simplicity in many places without the surplice; and the cope[1], which was then abrogated by law, is now restored by a public ordinance. This is not to extirpate popery, but to replant it; not to advance in religion, but to recede. You say that the

[1 The use of this vestment, however, observes Mr Soames, must have been merely optional after the queen's injunctions were issued. It is a pity, therefore, he adds, that the excellent writers mentioned it, as they were thus plainly denying a liberty to others which they insisted upon for themselves. Soames' Elizabethan Religious History, p. 31.]

priestly garment is a matter of civil concern, and deny that it savours of monachism, popery, or Judaism. What the papists babble about the surplice, of how great importance the clerical dress is esteemed among them, and to what religion it is dedicated, we doubt not but that your prudence is well acquainted with from their books. In the next place, this ambitious and Pharisaical prescribing of a peculiar dress savours of monkery and popery, and those of the present age ascribe no less virtue to it than the monks of old did to their cowls. Nor in truth has this opinion of holiness and merit burst forth all at once, but has crept on insensibly by little and little. We are therefore hesitating, not without reason, and are endeavouring to check at the outset, what we fear will come to pass in this country. We do not agree with Eustathius[2], who placed religion in dress; so far from it, that we are at issue with those who superstitiously require peculiar and religious habits as badges of their priesthood. The like also may be said of the canon of the council of Gangra[3] and Laodicea[4], and of the sixth synod; and to depart from that liberty in which we have hitherto stood, we consider to be giving a kind of sanction to slavery. But neither in this are we too scrupulous; we make no vexatious opposition; we always avoid any bitterness of contention; we are ready to enter into an amicable conference; we do not voluntarily leave [our churches] to the wolves; but constrained and driven from our places, we depart with unwillingness and regret. We leave our brethren and the bishops to stand or fall to their own master; and we look most submissively, but in vain, for the like forbearance towards ourselves. In the rites nothing is discretionary; not that the queen's majesty has been excited to this by us, but she has been influenced by the persuasion of others; so that at length that is established, not which is for the interest of the church, but merely what is not unlawful; and what is not altogether impious, is accounted wholesome, and salutary, and holy, and is confirmed by law.

As ceremonies and sacerdotal habits are signs of religion and marks of profession, they are not of a civil character; and being

[2 Eustathius was a Greek monk of the fourth century, whose errors were condemned at the council of Gangra. See next note.]

[3 Held about A.D. 365 or 370. The canon here referred to is the twelfth, "against those who fancy themselves to be more holy than others, because they wear a singular habit, and who condemn those that wear decent apparel." Du Pin, Bibliothéque, Tom. II. p. 340. Paris. 1693.]

[4 Held A.D. 363.]

borrowed from our adversaries, as all allow them to be, they cannot be convenient; and being marked with the divine anathema, and detested by all godly persons, and had in honour by the wicked and the weak, who think that without them we can neither be ministers, nor that the sacraments can be rightly administered, they neither can nor ought to be reckoned among things indifferent. The ancient fathers had their habits; but they were neither peculiar to bishops, nor distinguished from those of the laity. The instances of St John[1] and Cyprian[2] are peculiar. Sisinius was a heretic, and is neither to be held out for our commendation nor example. The *pallium* was a dress common to all Christians[3], as Tertullian relates in his book[4], and as your reverence has elsewhere remarked. Chrysostom makes mention of a white garment, but only incidentally; he neither commends it nor finds fault with it, and it is not yet ascertained whether it was peculiar to the priests or to the Greeks in general; linen or woollen; white or merely *clean in appearance.* In the address to the people of Antioch it is certainly opposed both by him and Jerome to a *sordid* [garment,] and in Blondus there is mention of a pallium [cloak] of woollen; so that in a matter of so much doubt nothing can be determined.

That the prescribing of habits [to the clergy] is inconsistent with christian liberty, we have the testimony of Bucer, who was of opinion that the distinction of dress should be entirely done away with, as well on account of the present abuse of it in the English churches, as for a more decided declaration of our abhorrence of antichrist, a more full assertion of our christian liberty, and the removal of dissensions amongst brethren. These words he made use of in his letter to master a Lasco, who was altogether on our side. Whence it is evident, that great offence is occasioned, and edification impeded by it. We must indeed submit *to* the time, but only *for* a time; so that we may always be making progress, and

[1 Bullinger had quoted a passage from Eusebius, Hist. v. 24, speaking of St John as τὸ πέταλον πεφορηκὼς, *wearing a plate* [of gold.] Epiphanius relates the same of James, the brother of our Lord. Hær. LXXVIII.]

[2 Pontius, the deacon, as quoted in Bullinger's letter, says of him, that at his martyrdom, *exuit se lacernam, birrum quem indutus erat, dehinc tunicam tulit, et stans in linea expectabat spiculatorem.*]

[3 This was the opinion of Scaliger; Salmasius, on the contrary, maintained that it was peculiar to the priests.]

[4 *De pallio*, written about A.D. 209. It is a kind of satirical defence of Tertullian's having laid aside the Roman toga or *gown*, and assumed the pallium or *cloak*.]

never retreating. Far be it from us either to sow schisms in the church by a vexatious contest, or by a hostile opposition to our brethren to do an injury to ourselves[5]: far be it from us, most excellent Bullinger, to charge with impiety things which are in their nature indifferent: far be it from us either to make our own feelings the pretence of abuse, or under the name of conscience to conceal a fondness for dispute. These dregs and this leaven of popery are, believe us, the source of the whole controversy: we desire it to be taken away and buried in eternal oblivion, that no traces of antichristian superstition may remain. The assumption of preeminence and pride has always displeased us in the papacy; and can tyranny please us in a free church? A free synod among Christians hath heretofore untied the knots of controversy; why should every thing be now referred to the pleasure of one or two individuals? Where the liberty of voting and speaking prevails, the truth is vigorous and flourishing.

You will understand then, reverend father, in a few words, that these things are our principal object,—the authority of the scriptures,—the simplicity of the ministry of Christ,—the purity of the earliest and best churches, which, for the sake of brevity, we refrain from mentioning. But on the other side it has not hitherto been our lot either to hear or read of any law or general decree, either of Almighty God, or of any reformed church, or general council, (which is the rule of Augustine). We have discovered moreover, that the precedents hitherto adduced are particular ones, and do not confirm the general case.

Besides, we are of opinion, not that whatever may be in *any* way lawful, should be obtruded, but what in *every* way tends to the edification of the church should be introduced; and that which may be lawful to some, is not forthwith lawful to all. We have, (praised be God!) a doctrine pure and incorrupt: why should we go halting in regard to divine worship, which is not the least important part of religion? Why should we receive Christ rather maimed, than entire, and pure, and perfect? Why should we look for precedents from our enemies, the papists, and not from you, our brethren of the reformation? We have the same confession in our churches, the same rule of doctrine and faith; why should there be so great a dissimilarity and discrepancy in rites and cere-

[5 The original is, *Camarinam moveamus*, a proverbial expression, derived, according to Suidas, from a lake of that name in Sicily, which being drained contrary to the advice of the oracle occasioned a pestilence.]

monies? The thing signified is the same; why do the signs so differ as to be unlike yours, and to resemble those of the papists? We have the same captain and leader, Christ; why are the banners of the enemy set up in our churches? which, if we were men of God, if we were endued with any zeal, we should long since have abominated and destroyed. We have always thought well of the bishops; we have put a candid interpretation upon their display of grandeur: why cannot they endure us who formerly bore the same cross with them, and who now preach the same Christ, and bear that most delightful yoke together with themselves? Why do they cast us into prison? Why do they persecute us on account of the habits? Why do they spoil us of our property and means of subsistence? Why do they publicly traduce us in their books? Why do they in their published writings commend a bad cause to posterity? For they have translated into our language some papers of Bucer and of Peter Martyr, and they have now sent forth to the public your private letters to us without our knowledge and consent. So that in pleading their own cause, and vindicating their honour, they neither consult the interests of our church, nor their brethren, nor your dignity, nor the succeeding generation.

But that your reverence may understand that the controversy is of no light or trifling character, but of great importance, and that we are not merely disputing about a cap or a surplice, we send you some straws and chips of the popish religion, from which with your wonted prudence you may imagine the rest, and with your wonted piety think upon a remedy as soon as possible. And we pray our Lord Jesus Christ to allay these tumults and disorders, to assert his glory, to send forth labourers into his vineyard, that a joyous and abundant harvest may ensue. And we implore you, that by your paternal advice, public writings, and private letters, you will exert yourself, and be active in effecting either the removal of these evils, or the toleration of those good men who are not yet convinced; lest the Roman ceremonial should disunite those whom the firm bond of doctrine hath joined together.

Give our salutations to Gualter, Simler, Lavater, Wolfius, our esteemed masters, with whom if you will confer, you will exceedingly gratify both ourselves and the church at large. May the Lord Jesus Christ bless his tabernacle and your Zurich!—July, 1566.

We have written briefly and in haste, and not so much by way of reply, as of admonishing you that there is no end to what

might be said upon this subject. Do you then not decide upon what *may* or *can* be done, but upon what *ought* to be done.

Your reverence's most devoted,

LAURENCE HUMPHREY,
THOMAS SAMPSON.

Some blemishes which still attach to the church of England:

1. In the public prayers, although there is nothing impure, there is however a kind of popish superstition, which may not only be seen in the morning and evening service, but also in the Lord's supper.

2. To say nothing of the effeminate and over-refined strains of the music itself, the use of the organ in church is growing more common.

3. In the administration of baptism the minister addresses the infant; in whose name the sponsors, in the absence of the parent, make answer concerning faith, and renouncing the world, the flesh, and the devil. The person baptized is signed with the [sign of the] cross.

4. Licence is also given to women to baptize in private houses.

5. The sacred habits, namely the cope and surplice, are used at the Lord's supper; kneeling is enjoined to those who communicate, and an unleavened cake is substituted for common bread.

6. The popish habits are ordered to be worn out of church, and by ministers in general; and the bishops wear their linen garment, which they call a *rochet;* while both parties wear the square cap, tippets, and long gowns, borrowed from the papists.

7. But what shall we say respecting discipline, the sinews of religion? There is none at all, neither has our church its rod, or any exercise of superintendence.

8. The marriage of the clergy is not allowed and sanctioned by the public laws of the kingdom, but their children are by some persons regarded as illegitimate.

9. Solemn betrothing takes place after the popish method and rites, by the [giving of a] ring.

10. Women continue to wear a veil when they come to be churched.

11. In the ecclesiastical regimen there are retained many traces of the church of antichrist. For as formerly at Rome every thing might be had for money in the court of the pope, so almost all things are saleable in the court of the metropolitan[1];

[1 For a list of dispensations and their prices, see Strype, Grindal, p. 542.]

pluralities of benefices, licences of non-residence, for not entering into orders, for eating meat on days forbidden, and in Lent, at which time also it is forbidden to celebrate marriages without a dispensation and a fee.

12. The free liberty of preaching is taken away from the ministers of Christ: those who are now willing to preach are forbidden to recommend any innovation with regard to rites; but all are obliged to give their assent to ceremonies by subscribing their hands.

13. Lastly, the article composed in the time of Edward the Sixth respecting the spiritual eating, which expressly oppugned and took away the real presence in the Eucharist[1], and contained a most clear explanation of the truth, is now set forth among us mutilated and imperfect.

CX. BISHOP PARKHURST TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 72.]

LUDHAM, *Aug.* 21, 1566.

MAY you be safe in Christ, my excellent Bullinger! I wrote to you on the 2nd of February, and sent with my letter twenty crowns, or else ten crowns and cloth for a gown; for I left it to Abel's discretion.

I received your letter on the 23rd of May. Shortly after the bishop of London sent me a copy of your reply to the letter of Laurence Humphrey and Thomas Sampson. It is printed here both in Latin and English. I received likewise, on the 12th of July, a most excellent little book, *The confession of the orthodox faith.*

In the month of March[2] an Italian, called Signor David

[1 The 28th of the thirty-nine Articles, which contained in the time of Edward VI. the following paragraph: "Forasmuch as the truth of man's nature requireth, that the body of one and the self-same man cannot be at one time in divers places, but must needs be in one certain place; therefore the body of Christ cannot be present at one time in many and divers places. And because, as holy scripture doth teach, Christ was taken up into heaven, and there shall continue unto the end of the world, a faithful man ought not either to believe or openly confess the real and bodily presence, as they term it, of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament of the Lord's supper."]

[2 Viz. on March 9, 1566. The following circumstantial account of Rizzio's murder is given in a letter from the earl of Bedford and Randolph to the Council of England, dated Berwicke, March 27, 1566. "Upon the Saturdaye, at night, nere unto eight of the clocke, the king conveyeth him-

[Rizzio], skilled in necromancy, and in great favour with the queen of Scots, was forcibly dragged out of her chamber in her presence, and died wretchedly pierced by many stabs. A certain abbot was wounded at the same place, and escaped with difficulty, but died of his wounds shortly after. A monk named Black, a Dominican friar, and a chief man among the papists, was killed in the court at the same time.

> Seized by black death, this blacker knave
> Descended to the gloomy grave[3].

The lords of the council, who were then assembled in one chamber, to consult about some matters of importance, when they heard of these massacres, (for they had no previous suspicion of any thing of the kind,) quickly betook themselves to flight, some one way, some another; some[4] threw themselves out of the win-

self, the Lord Ruthen, George Duglos, and two other, thorowe his own chamber, by the privie stairs up to the quene's chamber, joyning to which there is a cabinet about twelve footes square, in the same a little lowe reposing bedde, and a table, at the which there were sitting at the supper the quene, the ladie Argile, and David, with his cappe upon his heade. Into the cabinet ther cometh in the king and lord Ruthen, who willed David to come forthe, saying that ther was no place for him. The quene sayde that it was her wyll. Her husbande answerde that it was agaynste her honor. The lorde Ruthen saide that he sholde learne better his duetie, and offering to have taken hym by the arme, David tooke the quene by the blightes of her gowne, and put himselfe behinde the quene, who wolde gladly have saved hym, but the king having loosed his hands, and holding her in his armes, David was thruste oute of the cabinet thorowe the bed-chamber into the chamber of presence, where were the lord Morton and lord Lindesaye, who intending that night to have reserved him, and the next day to hang him; so manie being about them that bore hym evill will, one thruste hym into the bodie with a dagger, and after hym a great many other, so that he had in his bodie above sixty wounds. It is tolde for certayne that the king's owne dagger was lefte sticking in hym; whether he struck him or not, we cannot knowe for certayne. He was not slayne in the quene's presence as was saide, but going down the stayres out of the chamber of presence." Ellis's Original Letters, MS. Cott. Calig. x. 373.]

[3 Sic niger hic nebulo, nigra quoque morte peremptus,
Invitus nigrum subito descendit in orcum.]

[4 "In this mean tyme there rose a comber in the courte, to pacifie which there wente downe the lord Ruthen, who wente straighte to the erles Huntlye, Bothwell, and Athall, to quiet them, and to assure them from the king, that nothing was intended against them. Theie notwithstanding taking feare when theie heard that my lord of Murraye wolde be there the nexte daye, and Argile meete them, Huntlye and Bothwell got oute of a wyndow, and so departe." Earl of Bedford to the council, as above.]

dows at the risk of their lives, and thus escaped. The queen of Scots has brought forth a prince[1]; and whereas heretofore she had no great regard for her husband, I know not for what reason, she is now on the best of terms with him. She has lately received into favour the lord James[2], her brother by the father's side, whom she formerly detested; and not only him, but, as I hear, all the evangelical leaders. I wish it may be true. The gospel, which was lulled to sleep for a time, is again raising its head.

While I was writing the above, a certain Scottish refugee, a good and learned man, has informed me, that the queen was brought to bed ten weeks since, but that the child is not yet baptized. On my asking him the reason, he replied, that the queen will have her son baptized in the high church, and that many masses are to be celebrated. But the people of Edinburgh will not allow this: for they would rather die than suffer the detested mass to insinuate itself again into their churches. They are afraid however of her calling over auxiliary troops from France, that she may more easily overwhelm the gospellers. Let us entreat God for our pious brethren. She ordered some pious nobleman to turn Knox, who was residing with him, out of his house. May the Lord either convert or confound her! I am unable to write more, for I have been ill a long time, and am not yet entirely recovered. My hand is weakened by writing this. Farewell, my very dear Bullinger. Salute all your friends, and therefore all the godly, in my name. May the Lord with his right hand defend the state of Zurich! Ludham, Aug. 21, 1566. In haste, yours,

JOHN PARKHURST, N[orwich.]

CXI. BISHOP GRINDAL TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 73.]

LONDON, *Aug.* 27, 1566.

HEALTH in Christ, most illustrious master Bullinger, and my very dear brother in Christ. Master John Abel gave me the letter from you, addressed to the bishops of Winchester and Norwich in common with myself, together with what you had written on the controversy about the habits; copies of all which I immediately forwarded to them. As to myself, I return you my best thanks,

[1 James the First, afterwards king of Great Britain. He was born June 19, 1566, and queen Elizabeth sent Sir Henry Killigrew to congratulate the queen of Scots on her safe delivery.]

[2 The earl of Murray.]

both for manifesting so much interest for our churches, and for acquainting me, a man personally unknown to you, with what has been written to our brethren concerning the matters in dispute.

It is scarcely credible how much this controversy about things of no importance has disturbed our churches, and still, in great measure, continues to do. Many of the more learned clergy seemed to be on the point of forsaking their ministry. Many of the people also had it in contemplation to withdraw from us, and set up private meetings; but however most of them, through the mercy of the Lord, have now returned to a better mind. Your letter, replete with piety and wisdom, has greatly contributed to this result; for I have taken care that it should be printed, both in Latin and English. Some of the clergy, influenced by your judgment and authority, have relinquished their former intention of deserting their ministry. And many also of the laity have begun to entertain milder sentiments, now that they have understood that our ceremonies were by no means considered by you as unlawful, though you do not yourselves adopt them; but of this, before the publication of your letter, no one could have persuaded them. There are nevertheless some, among whom are masters Humphrey and Sampson, and others, who still continue in their former opinion. Nothing would be easier than to reconcile them to the queen, if they would but be brought to change their mind; but until they do this, we are unable to effect any thing with her majesty, irritated as she is by this controversy. We, who are now bishops, on our first return, and before we entered on our ministry, contended[3] long and earnestly for the removal of those things that have occasioned the present dispute; but as we were unable to prevail, either with the queen or the parliament, we judged it best, after a consultation on the subject, not to desert our churches for the sake of a few ceremonies, and those not unlawful in themselves, especially since the pure doctrine of the gospel remained in all its integrity and freedom; in which, even to this day, (notwithstanding the attempts of many to the contrary,) we most fully agree with your churches, and with the confession[4] you have lately set forth. And we do not regret our resolution; for in the mean time, the Lord giving the increase, our churches are enlarged and established, which under

[3 See note 3, p. 208.]

[4 The Helvetic Confession, enlarged and improved in 1566. It extorted an unwilling eulogy from Bossuet. It has lately been reprinted by the Rev. Peter Hall, in his new edition of the Harmony of Protestant Confessions of Faith.]

other circumstances would have become a prey to the Ecebolians[1], Lutherans, and semi-papists. But these unseasonable contentions about things which, as far as I am able to judge, are matters of indifference, are so far from edifying, that they disunite the churches, and sow discord among the brethren.

But enough of our affairs. Things in Scotland are not so well established as we could wish. The churches indeed still retain the pure confession of the gospel; but the queen of Scotland seems to be doing all in her power to extirpate it. She has lately given orders that six or seven popish masses should be celebrated daily in her court, where all are admitted who choose to attend; whereas she was till now content with only one mass, and that a private one, no Scotsman being allowed to be present. Moreover, when the reformation first began, it was provided, that out of the estates of the monasteries, which were made over to the exchequer, salaries should be paid to the ministers of the gospel; whereas she has not made any payment whatever these three years. She has lately banished John Knox from her royal city of Edinburgh, where he has hitherto been chief minister, nor can she be induced to allow him to return. However, no public changes have as yet been made, except at court; and the leading men of the kingdom, the nobility and citizens, have, by a great majority, made a profession of the gospel, and manifested numerous and convincing proofs of their firmness. One of the most powerful is the lord James Stuart, earl of Murray, the queen's natural brother, a pious man, and of great influence with his party. They write me word from Scotland that the king and queen are on the worst of terms. The reason is this: there was a certain Italian of the name of David [Rizzio], recommended to the queen by the cardinal of Lorraine. This man became her secretary and privy councillor, and had almost the entire administration of the government without any deference to the king, who is a young man of very trifling character. He was greatly offended at this, and having entered into a conspiracy with some of the nobility and persons about the court, he caused this Italian to be dragged out of the queen's presence, in vain imploring her protection; and, without assigning any reason, to be pierced with many daggers and murdered. The queen, although she has lately borne the king a son, cannot dismiss from her mind the memory of this atrocious act.

[1 Ecebolus was a sophist of Constantinople in the fourth century, and teacher of rhetoric to the emperor Julian, whose apostacy he followed, but after his death sought to be reconciled to the church.]

I have written these tidings from Scotland at greater length, as you probably hear but seldom from those parts. I entreat you to salute in my name master Gualter, and your other colleagues. May the Lord very long preserve you to us and to his church! London, Aug. 27, 1566.

Your most devoted in the Lord,

EDMUND GRINDAL, bishop of London.

CXII. T. BEZA TO H. BULLINGER. [B. 53.]

GENEVA, *Sept.* 3, (1566.)

THERE have been sent hither, my father, copies of the letters of each of the Landgraves, which give us hopes that the conferences at Erdfurt will not go forward: I wish this may be the case. What, however, they write in addition, and which I was sufficiently aware of, namely, that provision was made at Augsburg against condemning the foreign churches, does not give me much satisfaction, as I perceive it was craftily done by those parties who thought that our interference would be prevented by these means; for they well knew how to effect this by their counsels. For I pray you, if the doctrine of our churches is condemned, and that under the names of Zuinglianism and Calvinism, and so the truth is wounded, whether through our side or that of the most illustrious prince, does it not amount to the same thing? But come, let us wait for what the Lord may bestow, who will, I hope, so order matters, that we may perceive him to be watching over us in this matter also.

With regard to our affairs, I have no news whatever to write about. In France the peace of the churches seems to depend upon the result of affairs in Flanders, which is certainly a wretched state of things. For I can nowise approve that way of proceeding; and though the beginning may appear prosperous, yet I seem to myself to look forward to a most sad and fatal issue, unless the Lord should also give his blessing to their imprudence. The statement made to you about the murder of some of the magistrates and the taking of the city, is entirely false, if that be a true account which I received two days since in a letter written on the 12th of this month, namely, that no harm whatever has yet been done to any priest, nor any image overthrown by our party; but only that an innumerable multitude was present at the sermons which are

preached in the open air without the city, and that there is an incredible thirst for hearing the word. Let us therefore commend these things also to the Lord's providence.

I now come to the English affair, which, as it was most painful to me to hear, so I could gladly wish it had been possible that you might have no concern in a matter of so much trouble: but what can you do? Our distressed brethren seek the consolation, advice, and prayers of those churches, by whose love they were formerly refreshed, and hope also to be refreshed at the present time. Some of them, I admit, are rather hard to please, but in so much affliction it is difficult to keep within bounds; and as their object is most excellent, I think this their importunity may be excused. From the statement that you will receive in detail from this our brother[1], of which also he has left a copy here with me, you will learn that the papacy was never abolished in that country, but rather transferred to the sovereign; and that nothing else is now aimed at, than the gradual restoration of what had been in any measure altered. I once thought that the matter was only about caps and certain other externals, but I afterwards understood that the controversy was of a far different character; and I now plainly perceive it to be so, not without the utmost distress of mind, which I wish were peculiar and confined to myself alone. First, since an outward call (after due examination as to doctrine and moral character,) not by any single individual, but at least by a congregation of the brethren, is as it were the basis and foundation of an ecclesiastical ministry, what can be more abominable, what more extravagant, than that assumed power of the bishops, by which they admit at their pleasure parties not so called, but who enter the ministry of their own accord; and immediately, without assigning them any cure, approve them as qualified either to serve, as they call it, or to teach; and at length, on the vacancy of any preferment, after the delivery of a written form for a certain sum of money, and the administration of an oath respecting two things, (the one that they will acknowledge the royal majesty as, next to Christ, the supreme head of the church of England; and the other, that they will so comply with the laws of the realm, and especially that famous book of reformation and all the ceremonies, as not in any way to impugn any,) they appoint this or that individual to whatever churches they please? If we inquire into church discipline, what can it be in a country, where, just the same as under the papacy, they have in the place of a lawfully appointed presby-

[1 This was most probably Percival Wiburn. See below, Letter CXXV.]

tery their deans, chancellors, and archdeacons, who at their pleasure, and as is the practice in the civil court, but according to canon law, pronounce excommunication even on account of suits relative to money and the like; which sentence afterwards the lord bishop or his official sends to the minister, like a judge to his apparitor, to be read in church, namely, to be in force so long only as until the matter is made up with the judge? For there is for the most part the same mode of absolution as of excommunication. And how little are they removed from the law of celibacy, who are forbidden to marry wives without the express permission of the queen, and the assent of the lord bishop and some two justices of the peace; and when married, are forbidden to keep their wives either in colleges, or within the precincts of the cathedrals[2], to wit, as counting them impure, or for the avoidance of scandal? What must we say, when not only the papists are left in possession of the revenues of their benefices, but even of their ecclesiastical offices, upon merely taking an oath to maintain the reformation; so that godly brethren are for the most part placed under the authority, and compelled to submit to the jurisdiction, of those who are in general both unlearned and in their hearts the most bitter enemies of true religion? What must we say when there are openly sold in the court of the metropolitan dispensations for non-residence, for plurality of benefices, choice of meats, celebration of marriage out of the appointed seasons, and even for obtaining a benefice during childhood, and other things of this kind, than which Rome herself has nothing more disgraceful or abominable? What must we say when in a case of necessity, as they call it, women are allowed to baptize? And as if these things, with some others not a whit better, were not sufficient, behold! of those very few teachers of the pure gospel, some are turned out of their offices, and others even thrust into prison, unless they will swear that they will so inviolably approve all these things, as not to impugn them by word or writing; and will resemble also the priests of Baal in their square caps, bands, surplices, hoods, and other things of the like kind. Nor is this the end of their miseries; but it is also expressly provided, that whatever it may please the queen's majesty, with the sole concurrence of the archbishop of Canterbury, to establish, alter, or take away, with respect to the rites of the church, it shall forthwith be considered as having the force of law.

Such, then, is the state of the Anglican churches, which, as it

[2 Queen Elizabeth's injunction to this effect is given in Strype, Parker, I. 217.]

appears to me, is very wretched, and altogether beyond endurance. But those few persons, [of whom I spake] ask my advice upon two points: one of which is, by what means the queen and bishops may be admonished of their duty? the other, how they themselves must with a good conscience act in the mean time? As to the first question, this evil seems now to be remediable by God alone: but yet I think that some effort should be made, rather than that so noble an edifice should be suffered to fall to the ground in silence. And here two methods occur to me, one of which indeed will be more troublesome to us, but in my judgment much more advantageous to them; the other is attended with less difficulty, but not so direct. Yours, my father, is the only church by whose authority both the queen and the bishops seem likely to be influenced; she, to consider with herself how far and in what sense queens may be called the nursing mothers of the church; and they, to restore at length the church oppressed by their predecessors, as Augustus[1] of old entertained thoughts of restoring the commonwealth. For as to our own church, I would have you know that it is so hateful to that queen, that on this account she has never said a single word in acknowledgement of the gift of my Annotations [on the New Testament.] The reason of her dislike is two-fold: one, because we are accounted too severe and precise, which is very displeasing to those who fear reproof; the other is, because formerly, though without our knowledge, during the life-time of queen Mary[2] two books were published here in the English language, one by master Knox against the government of women, the other by master Goodman on the rights of the magistrate. As soon as we learned the contents of each, we were much displeased, and their sale was forbidden in consequence: but she notwithstanding cherishes the opinion she has taken into her head. If therefore you think the present cause worthy of being undertaken by us, it would seem the most suitable plan, and most useful to the brethren, that some one should be chosen from your congregation, if not by the express authority, at least with the permission or connivance of your magistrates, to proceed to England on this especial business, and openly solicit from the queen and bishops a remedy for all these evils. This would indeed be an heroic action, worthy of your city, and, as I think, very acceptable to God, even though it should not altogether succeed according to our wish. The road through France is direct and short; for one may with the greatest ease pass over

[1 See Sueton. Octav. sect. 28.]

[2 See above, Letter XXXVIII., p. 76.]

in eleven days from hence to Dieppe, a sea-port in Normandy, whence with a favourable wind they cross over to England in ten hours. Many of the French churches might be visited and confirmed on the way. The admiral[3] and his brother Andelot[4] might be visited, as they each of them lie in the very route. Nor would it be difficult to obtain one or two of the brethren from among the most learned and zealous, to accompany you, if necessary, on your deputation, and afford their assistance to your representative. And if you think that we can be of any use in this matter, (I mean, by a letter from our church,) there will be no demur on our part. You are aware that this was the practice in the ancient church, that even parties uninvited nevertheless offered their services in extinguishing the flames; and that by this means many rising disturbances were allayed in many provinces. Nor have I any doubt that this godly and charitable legation will be very agreeable to the queen and the godly bishops, whom I understand to be anxiously looking out for a suitable opportunity, together with the keeper[5] of the great seal, a sincere and religious man. Many also of the nobility are in our favour: many of the other classes desire our success. It is probable that all of them, when they perceive that their welfare is an object of so much anxiety even to foreign churches, will take courage, and urge the queen's majesty with greater firmness, until they prevail with her. The time is also very favourable, as the parliament[6] in that country is about to assemble, when it is certain that all these things will be brought forward for consideration. With your permission, my father, I will also add, that if this counsel shall prove agreeable to you, master Gualter alone appears so well qualified in every way to undertake the charge and management and completion of this business, that, should you make choice of him, he would seem to have been sent as it were by the voice of God himself for the refreshment of those distressed brethren, and even for the preservation of that realm.

This is the one most ready way, as far as I can judge, and not attended with much trouble or expense. But if you do not approve of it, I think that at least a grave and copious statement should be made by letter, both to her majesty and the bishops, to remind

[3 Gaspard de Coligny, admiral of France. He was murdered in the massacre of St Bartholomew, in 1572.]

[4 François de Coligny, Sieur d'Andelot. He died of a fever in 1569.]

[5 Sir Nicolas Bacon.]

[6 This parliament met on Monday, Sept. 30, and was dissolved on Tuesday, Jan. 2, 1567. D'Ewes' Journal, p. 93.]

them of their office and responsibility; and especially as you perceive they have abused your letter, contrary to your wishes, to the increase of this mischief. I have myself written to the bishop of London[1] on this subject, and this our brother will supply you, if needful, with a copy of my letter. For I had even at that time heard something of these affairs, and therefore preferred rather to address the bishops by whom this mischief is fostered, than to give any advice to the brethren, especially as I doubted not but that this would be done by yourselves. And I am so far from entertaining any doubt but that you will write what is just and proper, that, if you think fit, I will either countersign your letter, or second it with another upon the same subject.

I now come to the other topic of consideration, namely whether the brethren can with a good conscience remain in the ministry under these conditions? I am not prevented either by all these corruptions, or the regulations about caps and habits, from recommending them to continue in it; since on the contrary it behoves them for this very reason to be diligent in plucking out from the minds of men all things of this kind, and cutting them off by the sword of the divine word. Many considerations, however, incline me to an opposite opinion, although it is most distressing, in so great a desolation as there now exists in that country, to leave the wretched flock to the wolves who will immediately enter into the fold. For it is one thing to endure what you cannot alter, and another thing to resume, to the certain offence of many persons, what has been already laid down. And you know that Peter[2] was openly rebuked by Paul for no other reason than that he so considered those alone that were weak, as in the mean time to subvert [the faith of] others: nor does the case that we are now treating of seem to me very different. Nay, I rather think that these legislators have much less reason to allege by way of excuse, than Peter had; not only because it is unjust to compare human traditions with institutions divinely appointed, but much more because there was no one who would be offended by the received rites, such for instance as, that common bread should be made use of in the Lord's supper, that the bread should be broken, and not a wafer placed in the mouth; that there should be no genuflexion, or signing with the sign of the cross; that there should be no standing up at the name of Jesus, and lastly that the ministers should wear a

[1 A full account of this letter is given in Strype, Life of Grindal, p. 166. See Beza, Epist. 8.]

[2 See Gal. ii. 11, &c.]

decent cap and habit, though one in ordinary use. The offence therefore, for which a remedy is sought, is only a pretended one; while on the other hand the consciences of numberless individuals are offended by this change, to whom however so little regard is paid, that they are even deprived of their excellent pastors on this very account. What then should the pastors do in this case? Again, since of those things which are so strenuously insisted upon, to the neglect of others of more importance, there are many which are rather to be abhorred by reason of some feeling of devotion connected with them, and which yet lingers in the minds of many, than to be counted as among things indifferent, and which will therefore indubitably bring the people back to their old superstitions, can the ministers themselves with a good conscience restore their use?

But there is another point of far greater importance than all the rest. Seeing that the ministers are bound both to excommunicate and give absolution to whomsoever the bishop or his official may choose; seeing that they are obliged to administer all things in their churches at the beck of others; and, which is the most grievous thing of all, that persons are admitted to the office of teaching solely upon condition of their taking an oath that they will neither by writing nor word of mouth oppose any part of that reformation, that is, those intolerable corruptions, and therefore that they will firmly maintain as law whatever it may please the queen and the archbishop of Canterbury to change, take away, or add; who can submit to this condition with a good conscience? What then? They certainly do not desert their churches, who are either rejected, or who, when commanded to ruin themselves and their flocks, refuse to comply.

I could however much wish, my father, that these and all the other points should be first considered by you, and your opinion made known to us, before we write any thing to them upon this subject, since there are dangerous abysses on either side. If however any middle course can be discovered in this case, it is probably of this kind, that the parties already ejected should demand a hearing at the next parliament; on obtaining which, they should shew very respectfully that they are not factious, but that for conscience' sake they have preferred rather to go out for a time than to excite any disturbance; after which they may reverently and calmly shew the mischief that will hence ensue. Should this plan succeed, they will praise the Lord; if not, let them shake off the dust of their feet. For, as I have already stated, we do not see how they can

bind themselves by that oath with a safe conscience. As to those who still remain in the ministry, I would recommend them, after a respectful protest before the bishop, and diligent admonition of the people not to pervert these things to superstition, to continue in the ministry until the matter is decided in parliament. Should the decision be such as they can comply with, let them remain in their office as long as they may be permitted to do so: but if the bishops persist in doing mischief or giving their sanction to those who do, I would in that case advise them manfully to reprove those who deserve reproof, and rather prepare themselves for the cross, than either act contrary to their duty, or desert the ministry.

Thus much have I written upon this most distressing subject. I wish indeed I could so discharge my private duty, as that any other person should take charge of these matters. For I am well aware of the suspicion I have long laboured under from parties who are but little acquainted with me. But I will defend myself with the testimony of my own conscience, and will continue, by God's help, to aid my brethren, if not by my counsel, which I wish that none of them may ever require, at least by my prayers. I am anxiously awaiting your reply. Farewell, my father. May the Lord Jesus preserve you, who, if at any time, are now especially necessary to many churches, and may he bless you more and more! I wish you would salute all our brethren and fellow-ministers both in my name and in that of our whole congregation. Again farewell. Geneva, Sept. 3, 1566.

Yours, BEZA.

I have this moment received a letter from Leyden, which states that by letters received by carriers from Antwerp, dated on the 23rd and 27th of August, it appears that a tumult raised by some children against a mass-priest had grown to such an excess, that all the images there were overthrown, and the mass demolished; but that no one was slain except that single priest[1]. The city therefore is now occupied by our friends, if indeed they are ours. If I am not a false prophet, these are the beginnings of greater evils than we have yet witnessed. May the Lord have mercy upon his people!

[1 See in Brandt's History of the Reformation in the Low Countries, Vol. I. B. vii. a full account of this tumult at Antwerp, which began by destroying an image of the virgin. He does not mention that any priest was slain. The tumults became general: images, &c., were destroyed in many places.]

CXIII. H. BULLINGER AND R. GUALTER TO BISHOPS GRINDAL AND HORN. [A. App. v.]

Dated at ZURICH, *Sept.* 6, 1566.

REVEREND fathers in Christ, honoured masters, and very dear brethren. It has been made known to us by a report, confirmed too by the letters of some of our brethren which have been brought to us from other quarters, that the letter of ours, which we wrote privately to our honoured brethren masters Humphrey and Sampson, and which, for certain reasons explained in our letter written to you, we communicated to you, our masters and very dear brethren, has been printed and published; and that by means of it encouragement has been given to those parties who have already deprived many pious and learned ministers of the churches, not indeed on account of the vestiarian question, about which that letter was written, but on account of many other points controverted among you.

Respecting these points we entered into no discussion at all in that our letter, and yet we are reported to have defended and approved every one of them against those who have been dismissed. It was indeed our endeavour not to increase the flame that had sprung up among you, but to extinguish it; and neither to declare our approval or disapproval of articles respecting which we had no information. It would therefore be doing us a manifest injustice, if our letter should be so misconstrued as to make us seem to approve of those articles, about which, when we wrote upon the vestiarian controversy, we were altogether ignorant. The sum of our judgment was this, that churches redeemed by the blood of Christ ought on no account to be deserted for the sake of caps and gowns, which are to be regarded as mere matters of indifference, since they are enjoined to be used, not with a view to any religious observance, but merely as a matter of civil concern, for the maintenance of proper decency. But we have now heard, though we hope the report is false, that it is required of ministers either to subscribe to some new articles, or to relinquish their office. And the articles are said to be of this kind; that the measured chanting[2] in churches is to be retained, and in a foreign language, together with the sound of organs; and that in cases of necessity women may and ought to baptize infants in private houses: that the minister also ought to ask the infant presented for baptism the questions that were formerly proposed to the cate-

[2] See above, p. 239.]

chumens: that the ministers too, who perform the office of baptism, must use breathings, exorcisms, the sign of the cross, oil, spittle, clay, lighted tapers, and other things of this kind: that ministers are to teach, that in the receiving of the Lord's supper kneeling is necessary, (which has an appearance of adoration,) and that the bread is not to be broken in common, but that a small morsel is to be placed by the minister in the mouth of every communicant; and that the mode of spiritual feeding, and of the presence of the body of Christ in the holy supper, is not to be explained, but to be left undetermined. It is stated moreover, that as formerly all things were to be had at Rome for money, so now there are the same things for sale in the court of the metropolitan; namely, pluralities of livings, licences for non-residence, for eating meat on days forbidden and during Lent, and the like, for which no permission is granted without being paid for: that the wives too of the clergy are removed apart from their husbands, (as if the living together of man and wife were a thing impure,) just as was formerly the practice among the priests of antichrist. They say moreover, that no one is allowed to speak against any of these things either in public or private; and what is more, that ministers, if they wish to continue the exercise of their ministry in the churches, are under the necessity of remaining silent under these grievances: so that all the power of church government or authority rests solely with the bishops, and no pastor is allowed to deliver his opinion in ecclesiastical affairs of this kind.

If these things are true, they will indeed occasion exceeding grief not only to us, but to all godly persons. And we pray the Lord to efface these blemishes from the holy church of Christ which is in England, and to prevent any of the bishops from dismissing from his office any pastor who shall refuse either his assent to, or approval of, articles of this kind. And although we entertain the most entire persuasion concerning your piety and sincerity, that, if any of these things are now in use, (for we can scarcely believe that things so gross exist among you,) you are only tolerating and conniving at them until the opportune assembling of the great council of the realm, when fit and prudent measures may be taken for the abolishing of superstition; and if there be any who pervert that letter of ours for the purpose of confirming any abuses, yet you yourselves are not of the number of such persons; nevertheless we exhort your reverences by the Lord Jesus, that, if the case be as it is reported, you will consult with your episcopal brethren and other holy and prudent men touching the amendment

and purification of these and similar superstitions, and faithfully vindicate us from the injustice inflicted upon us by others. For we have never approved those articles, as they have been reported to us. We moreover entreat you of your courtesy to receive in a spirit of kindness these remarks of ours, who are not only most anxious for your concord and for the purity of religion in the realm of England, but also most affectionately attached to you in Christ.

May the Lord Jesus bless, and preserve you from all evil! Salute, we pray you, in our name, the other right reverend fathers in Christ, our honoured masters and very dear brethren, the bishops of England. Commend us, too, always to her most serene majesty, to whom we desire long life, a happy reign, a firm and quiet and secure kingdom, and all other things which godly persons can wish for her.

Dated at Zurich, September 6, 1566.

Your reverences' most attached
H. BULLINGER, } pastors and ministers of
R. GUALTER, } the church at Zurich.

CXIV. H. BULLINGER TO M. COVERDALE. [B. 54.]

ZURICH, *Sept.* 10, 1566.

GREETING. You may be assured, my reverend master and very dear brother in Christ, that that letter of mine was not written by me with a view to its being published, nor to increase by its means the flame which has been kindled among you respecting the affair of the habits; but, if it were possible, to extinguish it. And this I think is evident to every one from the letter itself, provided it be read with candour and without prejudice. I treated solely of the vestiarian controversy, and did not enter upon any discussion with regard to other matters, which, I understand, are now subjects of inquiry and dispute among you. And my chief object was this, to convince those who think it better to desert the churches of Christ than to adopt those habits, that it would be more advisable for them to adopt the habits, and at the same time remain with the churches committed to their charge. But I had no wish to obtrude even this advice upon the brethren inconsiderately, but only to state to them what appeared to me most advisable in this matter, leaving it in the mean time free to themselves to follow what might seem best. But as I now understand

that my letter has been so perverted by some parties, as though I had discussed all the subjects controverted among you, (though when I wrote that letter, I did not even know what they were,) I am going to write[1] to some godly and prudent persons, whose authority will, I hope, prevail in this matter, to request they will take especial care that no one make an improper use of my published letter, nor that the impurities (as you call them) be established in convocation under the pretext of that letter; but rather that they will faithfully exert themselves that the liberty of the churches remain unimpaired, and that faithful ministers be not persecuted, and that the church of England be again purified from those things which are foreign to the purity of true religion. I will pray the Lord in the mean time to take these things into his own hand, and happily allay these disturbances; and by the removal of these contentions, to restore tranquillity to the churches. May the grace of the Lord Jesus be with you! Master Gualter salutes you. Entreat the Lord for us. Dated at Zurich, Sept. 10, 1566.

Yours wholly from my heart, H. BULLINGER, Senior.

CXV. H. BULLINGER AND R. GUALTER TO L. HUMPHREY AND T. SAMPSON. [A. App. vi.]

Dated at ZURICH, *Sept.* 10, 1566.

THAT letter[2] of yours, our honoured masters, and very dear brethren, in which you reply to that of mine which was written concerning the vestiarian controversy, we have received and read. The sum of it is this, that you are not yet satisfied by our letter. We foresaw, brethren, that this would be the case; and therefore, if you remember, soon after the beginning of my letter, I premised these words[3]: "If, therefore, you are disposed to listen to us, and desire our opinion respecting the vestiarian controversy, as you signified to me in your last letter, behold! you possess our opinion in this epistle. In which if you are unable to acquiesce, we are indeed most exceedingly grieved; and since we have no other advice to offer, we heartily and continually pray the Lord, who is under all circumstances and at all times to be looked up to, that by his grace and power he may provide a remedy for this afflictive state of things." To these remarks we are neither able nor inclined to

[1 See Letter CXVI.] [2 See above, p. 233.]
[3 See above, p. 215.]

make any addition. We might indeed answer your objections, but we are unwilling to give occasion to contention by a renewed and interminable discussion. When Martyr, of blessed memory, was still residing in England, he often wrote upon the subject; but so many other questions have been suggested, and repeated from time to time, that I perceive it impossible, by any thing that I can say or write, to satisfy your minds. When we were applied to by you, we recommended you, with all brotherly love, to adopt such a conduct as appeared to us, in the presence of the Lord, to be for the advantage of the church. We stated that it seemed to us of far greater importance that you should comply with these habits for a time, and remain with the sheep committed to your charge, than that you should leave them, and at the same time desert the churches. We went no farther than this; nor did we approve of any popish filthiness or superstition, respecting which indeed we did not enter into any discussion, as we were entirely unacquainted with the matters controverted among you, and touching which you now write word, that the dispute has assumed a character of great importance, and that the question is no longer merely about a cap or a surplice, but that you have most grievous cause of complaint.

Though indeed that letter of ours, written privately to you respecting the vestiarian controversy, has been published by some parties without our knowledge; yet we hope that godly and prudent men will neither in convocation, nor out of convocation, so distort our letter, as if we seemed now to approve and desire the restoration of things that every pious person, who is acquainted with our writings, has long known us to disapprove of. We recommend you, as did also master Martyr both before us and in conjunction with us, to act as seemed to us both honourably and usefully in the present emergency. Since we have hitherto failed to convince you, we commit the whole matter to God, and entreat you not to regard us with unkindness, but as friends, as heretofore; continuing to love us who love you in the Lord; whom we heartily pray, that he, who is the faithful guardian of his church, may compose this unhappy dissension that has arisen among you, and restore tranquillity to his church. Remember, brethren, we pray you by the Lord Jesus, that it is not only required of the ministers of the churches that they hold fast the faithful word, but that they be at the same time wise stewards of the house of God, having respect to his family, and to the times, and that they must with charity and patience endure many things, cherish true concord in the Lord, and lastly, by every possible means preserve peace in

the church; and not by their too great vehemence, unreasonableness, and caprice, desiring indeed what is good, but not with prudence, throw an obstacle in the way of religion, and those who profess it.

May the Lord Jesus bestow upon you his holy Spirit, and direct you in his ways! Brethren, farewell. Dated at Zurich, Sept. 10, 1566.

H. BULLINGER,
in his own name, and in that of his friend GUALTER.

CXVI. H. BULLINGER AND R. GUALTER TO THE EARL OF BEDFORD. [B. 55.]

ZURICH, *Sept.* 11, 1566.

WHEN we heard, illustrious prince, in the course of last year, that a contention had arisen among you respecting the habits of the clergy, we were greatly afraid that it might extend yet farther, and occasion some greater mischief to the church. At the request therefore of certain pious and zealous individuals we gave such counsel as then appeared to us safe and godly. For we advised the ministers of the churches not to desert them for matters of so little importance, and leave them to be harassed by wolves and superstitious deceivers. But the fear of greater danger, which we then anticipated, was too well grounded. For we hear that you are at this time not only contending about the habits, but that many other things besides are obtruded upon godly ministers, which savour of mere popery; yea rather, which were first fabricated in the school of antichrist, and cannot therefore be admitted or connived at with a due regard to godliness. It has also occasioned us no small grief, that the letter which we wrote privately to a few friends upon that subject, is reported to have been printed[1]; and that many persons extend our judgment respecting the matter of the habits to other things which we did not at that time know

[1 "He [archbishop Grindal] set forth now [1566] in print an excellent and right christian letter of Henry Bullinger, the chief minister in Helvetia, sent to him and two other of the bishops, viz. Horn, bishop of Winton, and Parkhurst of Norwich, concerning the lawfulness of wearing the habits; but drawn up for the satisfaction of Sampson and Humfrey, &c." Strype, Life of Grindal, p. 155. It was printed by Seres, 1566, entitled "The iudgement of the godly and learned father, M. Henry Bullinger, &c., declaring it to be lawful for the ministers of the church of Englande to weare the apparel prescribed by the lawes and orders of the same realme."]

to be controverted, and which can never be approved by us. And indeed it is a cause of most just grief, that godly brethren, to whom we desired rather to afford counsel and consolation than to occasion any trouble, are weighed down by the authority of our names: but we are still more distressed at the consideration of the scandal which we doubt not has arisen from this source. Our distress is yet farther increased by the unhappy condition of the church of England, which as we have always loved, we cannot but be grieved with all our hearts, to find that, though scarcely delivered from the sanguinary enemies of a purer faith, and having begun in some measure to revive, she is now weakened by these intestine broils. And whereas, most illustrious prince, we are sufficiently persuaded of your virtue, and there exist not a few evidences of your piety, we have thought good to send a letter to your excellency, of whom so many godly persons have conceived no common expectation. And we pray you to persevere in defending the church, according to your wont, both before her most serene majesty, and in parliament (which we hear will shortly meet) before the nobility of the realm; and not to refuse your patronage to those godly brethren, who, notwithstanding they may have erred in some respects, are yet deserving of pardon, as it is plain that they have been actuated by a fervent zeal for godliness, and that their sole object is to have the church purified from all the dregs of popery. And not only do they seem to us deserving of the protection of godly princes, but this whole cause is of such a nature, that those who employ their labour and industry in promoting it, give evidence by the act itself, that they are most deserving of the name of princes. The Lord has vouchsafed to illustrious persons the honour of being called the nursing fathers of his church, which dignity indeed far exceeds all the glory and honour of this world. And they will be faithful to such a character, when they not only rescue the church out of the hands of her enemies, restore the preaching of the word, and re-establish the legitimate use of the sacraments; but also take care that she, who ought to be brought an undefiled spouse to Christ, be not stained with any false colouring of superstition, nor render her fidelity suspected by any rites inconsistent with christian simplicity. And the text in Hosea[2] is well known, who warned the Jewish church to put away their adulteries not only from between their breasts, but from before their face. Wherefore we entreat your excellency again and again, that you will now especially continue to exert yourself as you have hitherto done, and endeavour

[2 Hosea ii. 2.]

to effect, by your influence with the most serene queen and the nobility of the realm, that the reformation of the church of England, begun with the great admiration of the whole world, be not disfigured by new filth and the restored relics of wretched popery. For should that be the case, not only will the mark of inconsistency be branded upon many in your most flourishing kingdom, but the weak will also be offended; and to the neighbouring churches of Scotland, France, and Flanders, who are yet suffering under the cross, will a scandal be afforded, the punishment of which will doubtless redound to the authors of it. And what is more, the neighbouring enemies of evangelical truth will take an example from you, by which they may also in their respective localities circumscribe the more free worship of the true God by new enactments of tyrannical superstition.

We have spoken thus freely, illustrious prince, not because we have any doubt of your piety; but we do so, partly in reliance upon your very great kindness, and partly moved by the necessity of the case. We desire to afford to your excellency, and to many others, more ample materials and opportunity for the consideration of this subject. And we pray Almighty God, in pity to his church, to restore true peace to her, and to guide your excellency and those like you by his Spirit, protect you with his favour, and uphold you by his powerful arm, to the glory of his name and the preservation of his church. Amen. Zurich, Sept. 11, 1566.

Your excellency's most devoted,

Henry Bullinger, Senior.
and Rodolph Gualter.

CXVII. R. GUALTER[1] TO BISHOP PARKHURST. [B. 56.]

Zurich, *Sept.* 11, 1566.

When we first heard, reverend father in Christ, that a controversy had arisen among you respecting the apparel of ministers, that circumstance alarmed us exceedingly, as we were afraid that if it proceeded farther, it would occasion greater mischief: and on this account we endeavoured, as far as lay in our power, to pacify

[1 Of this letter several copies were taken, Parkhurst making it more common than the writer intended he should, so that falling into the hands of the puritans, they printed it with one of Beza's in the book called the Admonition to the Parliament, in justification of themselves. Strype, Parker, II. 111. For bishop Cox's reply to this letter, see below, Letter CXLIX.]

certain parties, lest they should raise any disturbance about a matter of no very great importance. And certainly we are not deceived in our anticipation, if indeed it be true that we hear, namely, that many other things are obtruded on the churches besides those habits; and that ministers are cast out of the churches for refusing to subscribe to the decrees of certain persons, who either abuse the queen's name, or by their acquiescence make her more determined in matters of this kind, so that she orders everything at her pleasure. It also increases our uneasiness, to perceive that that letter of ours, in which we endeavoured to soothe several persons, has been printed, and that godly brethren are distressed by the authority of our names, and that we are suspected by many of having given our sanction to the abominations of popery. We advised, it is true, the ministers not to forsake their churches on account of the cap and surplice, but to feed the Lord's flock, as far as they could without a compromise of their religious principles. At the same time we never approved the superstition or folly of those parties who obtrude such things upon godly ministers, and sweep together from the pope's school, or rather kitchen, such filthiness as both occasions trouble to good pastors, and is a stumbling-block to the weak. But it appears to us particularly hard, that the bishops should allow themselves to be the instruments of this persecution, and that those who refuse compliance should be ejected by them. I wish they would consider what the Lord meant, when he was speaking of the faithless steward, who, when he ought to have been feeding his household, riots and sports with the drunken, and smites his fellow-servants. For I do not see much difference between his conduct and theirs, who so readily give their sanction to the crotchets of superstitious courtiers, and treat godly ministers with so much cruelty. Nor could I ever have imagined that any one could have been found among the bishops, who would allow himself either to participate in this wickedness by his instrumentality, or at least to encourage it by his cowardly connivance. For we thought that all this had proceeded from some individuals, who abuse the authority of the most serene queen; but we hoped that the bishops would defend the cause of the ministers, and devise some means by which a remedy might be applied to the mischief. Some of those brethren are, I grant, somewhat hard to please, but yet their cause is not a bad one, much less a wicked one; nay, it were rather to be desired that their views might prevail. But as this now seemed to us to be impossible, we recommended them to accommodate themselves to

existing circumstances, and put their trust in the Lord, who would some time or other afford them an opportunity of restoring every thing to a better state.

But since, my father, I hear your piety especially commended among others, as also that of my friend master Pilkington, for having hitherto refused to eject any one; I have thought myself justified by the privilege of our ancient friendship, in exhorting you to persevere with firmness in your godly conduct, and to bear in mind that we have every one of us too much sin in ourselves, to make it needful for us to partake in the sins of others. Christ is the bridegroom and most determined avenger of his church, and will not allow any injury done to his most faithful servants to go unpunished. And it is to him that we must some time render an account of our stewardship, not to the queen, or pope, or those who assume to themselves the pope's tyranny in the church. Do you, with your accustomed amiability, take in good part what I have written, without consideration indeed, but not without the anxiety of a brother's love. I have written more respecting our own affairs in the letter you will receive after the fair. Zurich, Sept. 11, 1566.

N.B. I have written this letter from the statement of the Englishman, Perceval Wiburn.

[Rod. Gualter[1].]

CXVIII. R. GUALTER TO T. BEZA. [B. 57.]

Zurich, *Sept.* 11, 1566.

We have long feared, honoured brother in Christ, that the disputes which have arisen in England about the affair of the habits, would proceed to a farther extent. For we perceived that some parties were more obstinate in a matter of so little consequence than the then existing state of things in that country could bear: and therefore, at the request of some excellent and godly men, who were apprehensive of the desolation of the churches, we gave such advice as then appeared necessary and useful, and not inconsistent with godliness, and what we knew them already to have received from master Peter Martyr of pious memory. For as the dispute solely related to the habit of ministers, whom the queen would have to be distinguished from the laity; and as it was expressly provided for weak consciences in the royal edict, that no

[1 Gualter's name is not affixed to this letter, but the postscript is in his handwriting.]

one was to suppose that the worthiness either of the ministry or of the sacraments consisted in the habit; and there was at the same time no obscure expectation, that those things would be changed and corrected with the change of time; we could not assent to their opinion, who thought it their duty to desert their churches for the sake of a cap and gown. For we well knew that either avowed papists, or Lutherans, would succeed into their places, and introduce greater follies, and corruption of doctrine at the same time. We therefore recommended them to accommodate themselves with holy and godly moderation to existing circumstances, but diligently in their preaching to admonish the people not thereby to entertain any suspicion either of superstitious worship or abandonment of the truth; and lastly, that they should discreetly seek occasions of offering suitable remonstrance to the queen and nobles of the realm, respecting their duty on this behalf. And we have no doubt but that by such means those disorders might have been checked on their first outbreak, when the council was inclined to act with much greater lenity, than now, when the minds of many persons are so exasperated by this lengthened dispute, that, no longer satisfied with those few and unimportant requirements, they are endeavouring to impose such things as cannot be allowed with safety to religion. But you see, my brother, to what a pass matters have come; and we too see it not without sorrow. Nevertheless, as we know that our brethren have been actuated by godly zeal in what they have done, we do not blame them, but think them worthy of commiseration, and wish it were in our power to succour them by our counsel and assistance.

As to what seems to you the most effectual remedy in the present juncture, namely, that either I or some one of our friends should go over into England, and openly plead their cause, I should, for my own part, by no means think it troublesome or unpleasant: it would indeed rather be pleasant and agreeable to visit at the same time the French churches, whom I love and cherish in the Lord, and to see old friends in England, and lend a helping hand to the very afflicted state of the church. Nor should I ever repent encountering any labour or danger in a cause so good, so holy, and so necessary. But I am well assured that we can never obtain permission from our own authorities to go thither uninvited. Nor do I see what advantage can be expected from such a journey, or rather embassy. For the queen, who has in many respects too much abused her power up to the present time by her arbitrary conduct, and has refused to be warned by the advice and remon-

strances of her councillors, will be much less inclined to receive counsel from a foreigner: and there is danger, lest our godly brethren should be burdened with the suspicion of having invited me, without having consulted her; so that either new disturbances might be raised by my means, or existing ones be increased. We see, moreover, that the minds of some parties are so excited, that unless I agreed with them in every respect, I must necessarily quarrel with those for whose sake especially I should encounter so much trouble and peril. There are many additional reasons which persuade us that we ought to attempt nothing of the kind. And we hope to receive a letter by the next Frankfort fair, which will give us fuller information respecting this whole business, and which may perhaps also afford materials for better advice.

In the mean time, that we might not be wanting to the occasion, we have thought it as well to write to both parties, that is, to those of each party with whom we are acquainted, and who have hitherto made use of our counsel. We recommend the bishops not to do any thing, for the sake of any man, that is inconsistent with the truth, and may be productive of offence; and especially, not to act harshly towards their colleagues and fellow-ministers of the word of God; and to turn their attention rather to the removal than the restoration of the defilements of popery. We protest also that we are grieved not a little, nay, that no slight injustice is done us, if they abuse our letter to the defence of those things which we neither have approved at any time, nor ever shall approve, unless God take from us our sound mind; and we hope better things from his goodness than that. And there are yet good hopes of some of them. For it appears, that neither my friend Parkhurst, who holds the see of Norwich, nor Pilkington, who is bishop of Durham, have as yet ejected any minister, nor indeed ever intend to do so. The matter therefore will come under a fuller consideration, and I hope that some of them will return into the right way, as they have probably found out by this time the extent of mischief occasioned by their compliance. Next, as the famous earl of Bedford, who is now in commmand at Berwick, has very great influence in that country, we have written also to him, to undertake this cause, and resolutely to support it in parliament, which we have no doubt that he will do. For he has afforded many proofs of distinguished piety, and is well acquainted with, and a great admirer of our churches. And this we think will suffice for the present, because we have no acquaintance with any others of the nobility; and it would be useless to write to the

queen herself, without knowing how she stands affected towards us. Nor indeed can we promise ourselves much from her, as she has never answered any of our letters. We should also be loth to have those suspected by her, of whose favourable disposition we have good hopes, and whom we know to be much attached to us.

With respect to the other subject of your letter, we agree entirely with you, that we ought not so to regard the weak, as to overthrow the faith of many others. Nor do we approve of those who place divine and human laws upon the same level, or who rashly confound them together. We consider, also, those constitutions worthy of our detestation, which have evidently been framed in the school of antichrist; and we feel that we would rather die a hundred times, than sanction them either by our subscription, or by an idle and shameful connivance. But if the question referred solely to the habit of ministers, and all took their stand upon the words of the royal edict published on this behalf, in which it is expressly denied either that these laws possess equal authority with the word of God, or that they ought to be binding on the conscience of any individual; we do not see why the churches should be forsaken, and left to be torn by wolves, solely on account of the habits. But it is not easy for us to decide upon a case not fully understood, and which is carried on by parties who are evidently contending with each other under the greatest possible excitement. We particularly approve, however, of what you write lastly respecting those ministers who still retain their cures, that they should perform their duty under a godly and modest protest, and await the determination of parliament: and should any thing be enacted contrary to the truth and purity of religion, they should suffer any thing rather than subscribe or assent to the ungodly decrees of others.

Thus, my honoured brother, have I replied to your letter, not so much in my own name as in that of my esteemed father, master Bullinger. And though the danger be indeed evident, yet we trust in the Lord, who will preserve his remnant even in that realm, out of which he will some time or other restore a purer and and godlier church.

What you write respecting Antwerp makes us also very anxious. God grant that all things may turn out to the glory of his name and the edifying of his church! All our colleagues desire respectfully to salute you, and especially master Bullinger, who is occupied in writing letters to England, and has

imposed upon me the duty of replying to yours. Salute in our name the brethren who minister in your church, and may God bless their labours! Farewell. Zurich, Sept. 11, 1566.

[R. GUALTER.]

CXIX. R. HILLES TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 74.]

ANTWERP, *Dec.* 20, 1566.

MAY the Lord Jesus comfort you in every thing, and support you in your declining years, and above all never fail you in your old age!

I have so long abstained from writing to you, most learned sir, chiefly on account of my harsh and barbarous and unsuitable Latinity, that I am almost ashamed and grieved to reply to your most gratifying letter to me, written from Zurich on the 28th of last August. Together with it I received from my very dear brother, master Abel, the united confession[1] of the Helvetian churches, written in German. You desire by your book to renew our ancient friendship, as indeed you will do, and I thank you very much for it. The Latin edition I already had in my possession at London, by means of the same master Abel; and this, if I remember right, on its being received from you at the last Lent fair at Frankfort. The book itself pleases me greatly, as it ought to do; for it every where prescribes godly and sincere doctrine.

Master Abel also informed me that your three married daughters had died of the plague[2]. I doubt not but that they died in the Lord, and are therefore blessed, not only because they rest from their labours, but also because they without doubt enjoy everlasting life with Christ our Saviour; as does also their excellent mother, your pious wife[3]. Since you are now, by divine providence, left a widower, and no longer a young man[4], I doubt not but that you will follow the counsel of the apostle St Paul, where he says, "*For I would that all men were even as I myself. But every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner,*

[1 See note 4, p. 243.]

[2 Three of Bullinger's daughters were married to clergymen of Zurich; namely, to Hulric Zuinglius, (son of the reformer of that name,) Lewis Lavater, and Josiah Simler. They all died of the plague, the second in 1564, the two others in 1565.]

[3 Bullinger's wife also died of the plague in 1564.]

[4 Bullinger was at this time sixty years old.]

and another after that. I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, it is good for them if they abide even as I." And again, "*Art thou bound unto a wife? seek not to be loosed. Art thou loosed from a wife? seek not a wife.*"

God be praised that you have finished the hundred and ninety homilies on the prophet Isaiah! When they are printed, I will, God willing, if I live, procure a copy; for I doubt not but that their publication will be attended with much advantage. I am sorry that you feel your strength is gradually failing; yet I hope for certain that our good and gracious God will not desert you in your old age, and I will pray to him on your behalf, as you desire me to do. God grant that he may hear my prayer, who hath said, "*Whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father in my name, he shall give it you.*"

I will salute my wife in your name. I know she will rejoice greatly, as soon as she hears of your good wishes; for she has a great regard for you. It will give her much pleasure when she hears from me that you are still, as you say, by the blessing of God, in tolerable health. She is every now and then greatly afflicted with the stone; sometimes indeed almost to death. Entreat, I pray you, the Lord in her behalf. I fear this disease will at length prove fatal. Since master Abel has had a large stone extracted, he has not been so well as before, and I am greatly afraid that he will not long remain with us. He is a pious man, a faithful friend, and an Israelite indeed. He has, as you have doubtless heard, or know to be the case, a pious and excellent wife. She is in good health, but has been lame in her feet ever since she left Strasburgh; as indeed she was for two years at that place before she left it. "*Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.*" And, "*Many are the afflictions of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth him out of them all.*"

I am anxious to explain to my wife some portion of the confession of the Helvetic churches. She occasionally reads in the book, and sometimes makes it the subject of her meditation, as she is tolerably conversant with your language.

I have at home the other two letters which you sent me soon after the death of queen Mary, but I have quite forgotten the day and year when they were dated from Zurich. I thank you very much for them, as they abound in pious exhortation and most excellent comfort. May our Lord Jesus Christ repay you in turn abundant consolation in that day when your body shall be separated from your soul, and also when it shall again be united and restored!

My strength has been so declining for nearly the last three years, and my mind so weak, that I often wonder that I have lived so long. May the will of the Lord evermore be done! But I desire to be dissolved and be with Christ. In the mean time, while I remain here, I am often so tormented by innumerable cares and vain anxieties, (those namely arising from my calling as a merchant,) that I would far rather, if the Lord had so willed, be destitute of the trifling pleasures and empty joys of this world, so mingled, or rather altogether imbued, as they are with anxieties and disturbances of mind, than be in the enjoyment of such things. But the will of the Lord be done!

I have been here at Antwerp for nearly fourteen weeks, during which interval I have made our common friend, Christopher Mont[1], from time to time acquainted by letter with the state of affairs in Brabant, and especially at Antwerp, as far as relates to the change of religion and the toleration of evangelical preaching. And I doubt not but that you have received abundant intelligence respecting these matters, either from the Strasburgh ministers or the letters of other of our brethren; wherefore I do not think it necessary to repeat them.

Those who are in the habit of receiving letters from Spain, Italy, France and England, are now every where affirming that king Philip will come over in the course of the next spring on a visit to Brabant and the whole of lower Germany, either for the purpose of holding the general assembly of the nation, (by the authority of which all matters in dispute respecting religion may be reformed or altered,) or else to restore and establish the popish superstition, idolatry, and cruelty. But may God, in whose hand are the hearts of all princes, take away from this king and the rulers of this country their hearts of stone, and give them hearts of flesh, that being truly from the heart converted to Christ, they may be greatly grieved for their past sins and wickedness, and repent them of them; that they may obtain forgiveness and mercy from the Lord, and henceforth with all their might promote his glory!

It is to be lamented, that certain Lutherans, as you write, though they offer peace, yet do not desist from their annoyance of you. But here the Martinists (as the Lutherans in general choose

[1 Dr Christopher Mont was an agent of queen Elizabeth, and resided chiefly at Frankfort or Augsburg. Many of his letters are still extant among the state-papers. He had been employed also in a diplomatic capacity both by Henry VIII. and Edward VI.]

to be called, rather than Lutherans) cease not openly to censure and reprove their orthodox fellow-ministers (whom also they denominate Calvinists) in their public discourses, and with the utmost boldness. The Martinists, however, have fewer churches than the orthodox; for they have only two, (one of which they assemble in a large barn,) while those whom they call Calvinists have three or four. Hitherto however both parties, except the minister who preaches in the barn above-mentioned, have preached in the open air, and not under cover: but now within these two months they have begun to erect churches, and proceed with great expedition in building them. As yet however the walls only (which are of brick and stone) shew themselves, and the buildings still remain uncovered.

Farewell in Christ Jesus, most reverend Sir, and may he evermore preserve you! Amen. Antwerp, Dec. 20, 1566.

Yours, Richard Hilles.

CXX. THE STATE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AS DESCRIBED BY PERCEVAL WIBURN. [B. App. 4.]

1. The English clergy consist, partly of the popish priests, who still retain their former office, and partly of ministers lately ordered and admitted by some bishop there, at his pleasure; but a certain form of ordering ministers by the bishop is drawn up by public authority.

2. The different orders of the clergy are still retained, as formerly in the papacy; namely, two archbishops, one of whom is primate; after them are the bishops; then deans and archdeacons; and last of all, rectors, vicars, curates, &c.

3. Whoever desires to serve a church there must previously obtain licence in writing from the lord bishop or his deputy.

4. No pastor is at liberty to expound the scriptures to his people without express appointment to that office by the bishop.

5. Few persons there are called to the ministry of the word by reason of any talents bestowed upon them; great numbers offer themselves; whence it comes to pass that not very many are found qualified for this function.

6. No one is admitted to any ecclesiastical function, unless he acknowledge the queen to be the supreme head of the Church of England upon earth. There is no great difficulty raised about any other points of doctrine, provided the party is willing to obey the laws and statutes of the realm.

7. Ministers now protest and promise that they will observe and maintain the laws of their country, as being good (as they are called) and wholesome, as well in matters external and political, as in the rites and ceremonies of the church, and all things which are there customary and in use; and this too they must attest by their manual subscription.

8. It is provided by the laws that no one shall impugn the English liturgy either by word or writing; and that no minister, by whatever name he may be called, may use in public any other mode or form either in the prayers or administration of the sacraments than what is there prescribed.

9. This book of prayers is filled with many absurdities (to say no worse of them) and silly superfluities, and seems entirely to be composed after the model and in the manner of the papists; the grosser superstitions, however, being taken away.

10. The greater part of the Canon law is still in force there, and all ecclesiastical censures are principally taken from it.

11. Excommunication there depends upon the decision of a single individual, to wit, the bishop, his chancellor, the archdeacon, commissary, official, or any judge of the ecclesiastical court; and is for the most part inflicted for mere trifles, such as pecuniary matters and other suits of that nature.

12. The sentence of excommunication pronounced by the judge is forwarded to some pastor, who is required to read and pronounce it publicly in his church, before a full congregation.

13. The party excommunicated, when the judge is so inclined, and often too against his will, is absolved in private, and without any trouble, for a sum of money.

14. The marriage of priests was counted unlawful in the times of queen Mary, and was also forbidden by a public statute of the realm, which is also in force at this day; although by permission of queen Elizabeth clergymen may have their wives, provided only they marry by the advice and assent of the bishop and two justices of peace, as they call them.

15. The lord bishops are forbidden to have their wives with them in their palaces; as also are the deans, canons, presbyters, and other ministers of the church, within colleges, or the precincts of cathedral churches.

16. Many difficulties have to be encountered in respect to marriage and divorce, because the popish laws are retained there as heretofore.

17. In case of adultery even clergymen are not very severely

punished; and it is compounded for by other parties with a sum of money, with the assent of the ecclesiastical judges by whom the penalty is imposed. Some parties, clothed in a linen garment, acknowledge and deprecate their crime in the public congregation; and indeed the whole matter is altogether determined at the pleasure of the ecclesiastical judge.

18. The archbishop of Canterbury, the primate of all England, besides his episcopal court, has also his principal courts of arches and audience, as they call them, where ecclesiastical causes are determined. He has also the court of faculties, where, on the payment beforehand of a pretty large sum of money, licences are obtained for non-residence, plurality of benefices, dispensations for forbidden meats on the third, fifth, and sixth holiday, the vigils of the saints, Lent, and the ember days at the four seasons; for almost all these are seasons of abstinence from flesh: from hence, too, are obtained dispensations for solemnizing marriage at prohibited seasons; and that even boys, and others not in holy orders, may be capable of holding ecclesiastical preferment; with many other things of this kind.

19. Every bishop has his court for matters ecclesiastical, as has also every archdeacon, in which, as things are at present, there preside for the most part papists or despisers of all religion; and the other officers employed in these courts are of the same character: the consequence of which is, that religion itself is exposed to ridicule, the ministers of Christ are everywhere despised with impunity, loaded with abuse, and even sometimes beaten.

20. Besides the impropriations of benefices, there are also advowsons, by which, while the place is yet occupied, the next vacancies of the livings are gratuitously presented to others by the patrons, or else sold by them at a price agreed upon; for this too is permitted by the laws of the country. And the power of patronage still remains there, and institution, as it is called, and induction, as in the time of popery.

21. Many festivals are retained there, consecrated in the name of saints, with their vigils, as formerly; perambulations on rogation-days; singing in parts in the churches, and with organs; the tolling of bells at funerals and on the vigils of saints; and especially on that of the feast of All Saints, when it continues during the whole night.

22. By the queen's command, all persons, both men and women, must reverently bow themselves in the churches at the name of Jesus.

23. That space which we call the chancel, by which in churches the laity are separated by the presbyter from the clergy, still remains in England; and prayers are said in the place accustomed in time of popery, unless the bishop should order it otherwise.

24. Baptism is administered, in time of necessity, as they call it, as is also the Lord's supper to the sick, in private houses; and the administration of private baptism is allowed even to women.

25. In the administration of baptism the infants are addressed respecting the renouncing the devil, the world, and the flesh; as also respecting their confession of faith; answer to all which things is made by the sponsors in their name.

26. The party baptized is signed with the sign of the cross, in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed of the cross of Christ.

27. The confirmation too of boys and girls is there in use, and the purification of women after childbirth, which they call the thanksgiving.

28. In the administration of the [Lord's] supper, for the greater reverence of the sacrament, little round unleavened cakes are re-introduced by the queen, which had heretofore been removed by the public laws of the realm for the taking away superstition. Every one too is obliged to communicate at the Lord's supper on his bended knees.

29. In every church throughout England, during prayers, the minister must wear a linen garment, which we call a surplice. And in the larger churches, at the administration of the Lord's supper, the chief minister must wear a silk garment which they call a cope. And two other ministers, formerly called the deacon and subdeacon, must assist him to read the epistle and gospel.

30. The queen's majesty, with the advice of the archbishop of Canterbury, may order, change, remove anything in that church at her pleasure.

31. In their external dress the ministers of the word are at this time obliged to conform themselves to that of the popish priests: the square cap is imposed upon all, together with a gown as long and loose as conveniently may be; and to some also is added a silk hood.

CXXI. BISHOPS GRINDAL AND HORN TO H. BULLINGER AND R. GUALTER. [A. 75.]

LONDON, *Feb.* 6, 1567.

YOUR erudite letter to Humphrey and Sampson, so well adapted for allaying both our diversities of opinion respecting the habits, and our verbal altercations and disputes, we have received with the greatest satisfaction. We have also undertaken, not however without due consideration, and with the omission of the names of our brethren, to have it printed and published, from which step we have derived the good effect we expected. For it has been of much use to sound and sensible men, who look to the general design and object of the gospel; and has certainly persuaded some of the clergy, who were thinking of withdrawing from the ministry on account of the affair of the habits, (which was the only occasion of controversy and cause of contention among us,) not to suffer the churches to be deprived of their services on so slight a ground; and it has established and brought them over to your opinion. The laity too, who were excited by the importunate clamour of certain persons, and divided into various parties, and loud in their abuse of godly ministers, your letter has quieted, as it were, by a semblance of agreement with them, and soothed by its moderation. As to the morose, and those who cannot endure any thing but what they have themselves determined upon, although your letter has not satisfied them, it has been so far of use, that they are either less disposed or less able to load the godly with their invectives; and they do not deform with so much effrontery the wholesome peace of the church by their foolish discourses. We confess and lament that some of these have been dismissed from their office, although it is occasioned by their own fault, not to use a harsher term. But we think that we can bear this more easily, inasmuch as they are not many, but few in number; and though pious, yet certainly not very learned. For among those who have been deprived, Sampson alone can be regarded as a man whose learning is equal to his piety. Humphrey however, and all the more learned, still remain in their places. If your letter had been printed and published with a view to vindicate those who deprived them; or if those who have been deprived had been removed on account of any other points of controversy among us, and not solely on account of the habits; or if, lastly, that letter which handles the vestiarian controversy alone in such exquisite and perspicuous language, that it cannot be perverted to any thing else, had been

dragged forwards in support of your approbation of other points upon which we are ignorant, and which, by the blessing of God, are not yet agitated among us, (for no differences of opinion except in this affair of the habits have hitherto arisen among our brethren,) it would in truth have been a manifest injustice to you whom we love, and reverence, and honour in the Lord; just as a manifest calumny is brought against us by those who are the authors of a most groundless report, whereby it has been stated that it is required of the ministers of the church either to subscribe to some new articles, or to be deprived of their office.

The sum of our controversy is this. We hold that the ministers of the church of England may adopt without impiety the distinction of habits now prescribed by public authority, both in the administration of divine worship, and for common use; especially when it is proposed to them as a matter of indifference, and when the use of the habits is enjoined only for the sake of order and due obedience to the laws. And all feeling of superstitious worship, and of the necessity [of these habits] as far as making it a matter of conscience, may be removed, rejected and utterly condemned, both by the terms of the laws themselves, and the diligent preaching of purer doctrine. They contend on the other hand, that these habits are not on any account now to be reckoned among things indifferent, but that they are impious, papistical, and idolatrous; and therefore that all pious persons ought rather with one consent to retire from the ministry, than to serve the church with these rags of popery, as they call them; even though we have the most entire liberty of preaching the most pure doctrine, and likewise of exposing, laying open, and condemning, by means of sound instruction, errors and abuses of every kind, whether as to ceremonies, or doctrine, or the sacraments, or moral duties. We cannot accept this crude advice of theirs, as neither ought we to be passive under the violent appeals by which they are unceasingly in the pulpit disturbing the peace of the church, and bringing the whole of our religion into danger. For by their outcries of this kind, we have, alas! too severely experienced that the mind of the queen, otherwise inclined to favour religion, has been much irritated; and we know for a certain fact, that the minds of some of the nobility, to say nothing of others, diseased, weak, and vacillating, have been wounded, debilitated, and alienated by them. And who will venture to doubt, but that the papists will lay hold of this opportunity to send forth and vomit their most pestilent poison against the gospel of Jesus Christ and all who profess it, encouraged by the hope that an

opportunity is now afforded them of recovering the Helen that has been stolen from them? But if we were to acquiesce in the inconsiderate advice of our brethren, and all unite our strength illegally to attack the habits by law established, to destroy and abolish them altogether, or else all lay down our offices at once; verily we should have a papistical, or at least a Lutherano-papistical ministry, or none at all. But, honoured brethren in Christ, we call Almighty God to witness, that this dissension has not been occasioned by any fault of ours, nor is it owing to us that vestments of this kind have not been altogether done away with: so far from it, that we most solemnly make oath that we[1] have hitherto laboured with all earnestness, fidelity, and diligence, to effect what our brethren require, and what we ourselves wish. But now we are brought into such straits, what is to be done, (we leave you to conjecture, who are prudent, and sagacious in foreseeing the impending dangers of the churches,) but that since we cannot do what we would, we should do in the Lord what we can?

We have thus far then explained the matter in dispute, and which occasions so much disagreement among us, according to the real state of the case. Hear now what we have yet further to communicate. That report, if indeed it may be called such, (for we know and commend your prudence and moderation,) respecting the acceptance, subscription, and approbation of these new articles which you enumerate, is altogether a falsehood. Nor are those parties more to be depended upon, who either in their written letters, or verbally[2] in your presence, have under this pretext endeavoured to blind your eyes, and to brand us with a calumnious accusation. For almost all these articles are falsely imputed to us; very few indeed are acknowledged by us; and not one of them is obtruded upon the brethren for their subscription. We do not assert that the chanting in churches, together with the organ, is to be retained; but we disapprove of it, as we ought to do. The church of England, too, has entirely given up the use of [prayers in] a foreign tongue, breathings, exorcisms[3], oil, spittle,

[1 See note 3, p. 208.]

[2 Perceval Wiburn seems to be especially referred to. See below, Letter CXXV. p. 288.]

[3 "In the first book of Edward VI. the priest, looking upon the children, was required to say, 'I command thee, unclean spirit, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that thou come out, and depart from these infants,&c.' which form," says Mr L'Estrange, "was agreeable to the usage of the first church, who applied it not only to the energumeni, or per-

clay, lighted tapers, and other things of that kind, which, by the act of parliament, are never to be restored. We entirely agree that women neither can nor ought to baptize infants, upon any account whatever. In the receiving of the Lord's supper, the laws require, custom sanctions, and our Anglo-Louvaine calumniators in their reckless writings bear us witness, that we break the bread in common to every communicant, not putting it into his mouth, but placing it in the hand[1]: they testify also to our explanation of the manner of the spiritual feeding and presence of the body of Christ in the holy supper. The wives of the clergy are not separated from their husbands; they live together, and their marriage is esteemed honourable by all (the papists always excepted). Lastly, that railing accusation of theirs is equally false, that the whole management of church government is in the hands of the bishops; although we do not deny but that a precedence is allowed them. For ecclesiastical matters of this sort are usually deliberated upon in the convocation, which is called together by royal edict, at the same time as the parliament, as they call it, of the whole kingdom is held. The bishops are present, and also certain of the more learned of the clergy of the whole province, whose number is three times as great as that of the bishops. These deliberate by themselves upon ecclesiastical affairs apart from the bishops, and nothing is determined or decided in convocation without the common consent and approbation of both parties, or at least of a majority. So

sons possessed by evil spirits, but also to infants, whom they accounted under the dominion of Satan, until he was by such increpation expelled. *Si Diabolus non dominatur infantibus, quid respondebunt Pelagiani quod illi exorcisantur?* saith Augustine. Of this custom there is very frequent mention in Cyprian, Tertullian, and other ancients." Hamon L'Estrange, Alliance of Divine Offices, p. 243.]

[1 So was the celebration observed by Christ himself, and so the primitive custom. One, mentioned in Eusebius, is said *χεῖρα εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τῆς ἁγίας τροφῆς προτείνειν*, to stretch out his hands for the receiving of the sacred food. In tract of time some indiscreet persons, pretending greater reverence to the mysteries, as if they were defiled with their hands, were at the cost to provide certain saucers, or little plates of gold, to receive it, until they were forbidden by the sixth council in Trullo, (held at Constantinople under Justinian II. A.D. 692) the 101st canon of which enjoins, "that those that will receive the eucharist must hold their hands across and so receive it; and forbids using vessels of gold, or of any other matter, to receive it in." Another abuse the church of Rome brought in, where the priest puts it into the people's mouth, lest a crumb should fall beside; which, favouring transubstantiation, is by our church discontinued. See L'Estrange, ut sup. p. 218, and bishop Mant on the Common Prayer, 4to edition, p. 366.]

far are we from not allowing the clergy to give their opinion in ecclesiastical matters of this kind. We receive, it is true, or rather tolerate, until the Lord shall give us better times, the interrogations to infants, and the sign of the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the Lord's supper; also the royal court of faculties, or, as they call it, of the metropolitan. We publicly profess, and diligently teach, that questions of this kind are not very suitable to be proposed to infants, notwithstanding they seem to be borrowed from Augustine[2].

We do not defend the signing with the sign of the cross the forehead of the infant already baptized, although the minister declares in set terms that the child is signed with the [sign of the] cross, only "in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed of the faith of Christ crucified;" and though it seems to have been borrowed from the primitive church[3]. We allow of kneeling at the receiving of the Lord's supper, because it is so appointed by law; the same explanation however, or rather caution, that the very authors of the kneeling, most holy men and constant martyrs of Jesus Christ, adopted, being most diligently declared, published and impressed upon the people. It is in these terms: "[4] Whereas it is ordained in the book of prayers, that the communicants should receive the holy communion kneeling; yet we declare, that this ought not so to be understood, as if any adoration is or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread and wine, or to any real[5] and essential presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood there existing. For the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, for that were horrible idolatry, to be abhorred of all Christians; and as to the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ, they

[2 For the practice of the ancient church on this subject, see Suicer, v. *ἀποτάσσομαι*. The passage referred to in Augustine seems to be taken from his tenth sermon, de verbis Apost. where he says, speaking of children, "accommodat illis mater ecclesia aliorum pedes, ut veniant, aliorum cor ut credant, aliorum linguam ut fateantur." Serm. CLXXVI. Tom. v. col. 1214. Paris. 1837.]

[3 See Suic. Thes. v. *σταυρός*. II. 1009. and Mant on the Common Prayer, p. 400.]

[4 A protestation, in effect, though not in words, the same as that cited above, was inserted in the liturgy of king Edward, in 1552, but on queen Elizabeth's accession was laid aside, and was again added at the last review [in 1561]. See Wheatly in loc.]

[5 The words *real and essential* presence were thought proper at the last review of the liturgy to be changed for *corporal* presence. Wheatly.]

are in heaven, and not here; it being against the truth of the true natural body of Christ, to be at one and the same time in more places than one."

The court of faculties[1], from whence soever it has been introduced, is the court of the sovereign, and not of the metropolitan. For that prudent father, learned as he is, and exceedingly well disposed towards the propagation of the most pure religion, is exceedingly anxious, and earnest, and active, in entirely washing away the Romish dregs of every kind. And although we are unable to remove all the abuses of this fiscal court, as also some others, yet we do not cease to find fault with and censure them, and send them back to that hell from whence they proceeded. Believe us, reverend brethren, every minister is at liberty to speak against all matters of this kind, [so as it be done] with modesty and sobriety; and we by no means deprive of their office those ministers who refuse to receive or approve of those articles falsely ascribed to us.

Continue therefore to love, to advise, and to assist us, that the flame which has been stirred up amongst us solely on account of this affair of the habits, may be extinguished; and we will endeavour, to the utmost of our power, as we did at the last convocation, even although we could obtain nothing, that all errors and abuses may be corrected, amended and purified, according to the rule of the word of God. We commend, you, brethren, to the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we pray to preserve you in safety, and your churches in peace, as long as possible. Salute your brethren and all your fellow-ministers at Zurich in our name. London, Feb. 6, 1567. Your most loving

EDM. LONDON.
ROBERT WINTON.

P.S. And I also entreat you, my much-esteemed brethren, to pardon me that I have not yet replied to your letter written privately to myself; and that I have not as yet returned you my thanks for your most learned commentaries which you sent over to me. Neither let Wolfius and Lavater blame me for the like neglect. I entreat you to salute them most respectfully in my name, and to make my apology to them, for I know that my duty requires this; and I doubt not but that both you and they were in expectation

[1 Archbishop Parker had much trouble with the court of faculties, and wished it were wholly suppressed, or else committed to some others. The rules he made for the better regulation of this court are given by Strype, Life of Parker, II. 15.]

of a letter from me. I will henceforth endeavour to satisfy you all by writing, and will not be wanting in my duty. Salute also, I pray you, from me, Simler, Zuinglius, and Haller. Live all of you, and farewell in Christ. Wholly yours,

ROBERT WINTON.

CXXII. G. WITHERS AND J. BARTHELOT TO H. BULLINGER AND R. GUALTER. [B. 58.]

Aug. 1567.

REVEREND fathers in Christ, as you thought proper to read before us the letter[2] of the bishops of London and Winchester, in which they so endeavour to clear themselves with you, as that they seem to obscure the truth, and to try to make the cause for which we are contending appear most frivolous and insignificant; we have though it necessary to reply to the several heads of that letter in this present writing, that to you who have most kindly promised us all your assistance, the truth may become more clear and evident. And if in enumerating these heads we should make any omission or mistake, you will pardon us; both because we have not mentioned the subject any where else, and also because we are hardly capable of remembering every particular.

THE LETTER. They say that very few only have been deprived, and that of these, though pious, yet none, save only Sampson, were men of learning.

THE ANSWER. We reply, that many of them were so learned as to be considered by the bishop of London worthy to preach at Paul's cross, before the most famous and learned congregations in all England; as for instance, Lever[3], Penny[4], Gressop[5], Crowley[6],

[2 See the preceding letter.]

[3 Thomas Lever had been master of St John's, Cambridge; from which he was ejected on queen Mary's accession, and went abroad to Frankfort, Zurich, and other places. He was afterwards preferred to a prebend at Durham, of which he was deprived for non-conformity, though he was allowed to retain the mastership of Sherborn hospital, which he held to his death in 1577.]

[4 Dr Penny was a prebendary of St Paul's, of which he was afterwards deprived upon becoming a physician. Strype, Whitgift, 445. See below, R. Gualter's letter, dated June 5, 1572.]

[5 Mr Gressop was of All-Souls, and reader of divinity at Oxford. He preached March 10, 1560, in the shrouds of St Paul's. Strype, Ann. I. i. 369.]

[6 Robert Crowley had been ordained by bishop Ridley, and in queen

Gough[1], Philpot[2], Wiburn[3]. The rest of them, having been either distinguished by degrees in the universities, or after due probation in the time of persecution appointed to the ministry, have presided over their churches with the greatest credit. And although some of them were not well skilled in Latin, yet by the help and assistance of some books of Calvin, Musculus[4], and others[5], which have been translated into English, they were fully capable of expounding scripture.

THE LETTER. They assert that there is only one subject of controversy, that namely which they quote, concerning the habits.

THE ANSWER. On the 26th of March 1566 all the London ministers[6] were summoned before the archbishop of Canterbury, the

Mary's days was an exile at Frankfort. He was preacher at Paul's cross, Oct. 19, 1559, and March 31, 1561. He subscribed to the Articles of religion in 1562 as archdeacon of Hereford; besides which he was parson of St Peter the Poor, and afterwards of St Giles', Cripplegate, from which preferment he was suspended in 1566. He died in 1588. Strype, Parker, I. 433, &c.]

[1 Strype mentions one of this name among the leading puritans who were cited before archbishop Parker in June, 1571. Parker, II. 66. He had a controversy with Feckenham, who attacked him for a sermon he preached in the Tower.]

[2 This was probably John Philpot of London, ordained together with Perceval Wiburn and others by bishop Grindal, Jan. 25, 1559. Strype, Grindal, 54.]

[3 Perceval Wiburn had been of St John's, Cambridge, and an exile in queen Mary's time. He was deprived for non-conformity in 1564. Strype, Grindal, 54, 145.]

[4 "Musculus's Common Places came out this year (1563) in folio, translated out of Latin into English, for the use of English divines and others, in order to instruct them in a body of sound divinity, purged from the errors of popery. The author was a learned professor of divinity at Berne in Switzerland, and reckoned among the most profound doctors that had writ in the church of God. The translator was Mr Man, head of Merton college in Oxford, who undertook the work by the encouragement and suggestion of archbishop Parker, and dedicated the book to him." Strype, Parker, I. 298, 460.]

[5 Among the other books here referred to, Marlorat upon St John's gospel, Peter Martyr on the book of Judges, Gualter upon the smaller prophets, are specified in Strype, Annals, II. ii. 146.]

[6 For an account of these proceedings against the London clergy, see Strype, Grindal, 154, and Soames, Eliz. Hist. p. 62. The result was, that sixty-one of them promised conformity; nine or ten were absent, thirty-seven denied. Strype, Parker, I. 429.]

bishop of London, the dean of Westminster, and some canonists; and were there asked whether they were willing to acquiesce in the royal proceedings in matters of religion, ordained and to be ordained; nor was the question confined only to the habits. Those who refused compliance were deprived. The archbishop too, when he grants any one a license to preach, binds him in these words, "provided always that in your sermons you shall not persuade the people to procure any alteration or innovation in religion, beyond or contrary to that which the queen's majesty has already effected, or will effect." If the subject of the habits has ever been proposed to any persons by itself, or any disputation has been held, as appears in that treatise published by the bishops in defence of the habits, they have so defended them as if by their means both the sacraments and ministers might recover that ancient dignity and reputation which they have now almost lost; as appears from the examination, division the first, section the first.

The Letter. They deny that women ever baptize; they deny too that they approve of the confession of faith being required from infants, and the signing with the sign of the cross.

The Answer. How true is this denial of theirs, appears from the form of baptism which we gave you, and is also evident from the *Advertisements*[7] of the bishops, article 16, where they themselves require that no infant be baptized otherwise than in the manner prescribed. Besides, the commissaries of the bishops have suffered many brethren to be punished with imprisonment, and most severely and unchristianly treated, for having refused to choose godfathers and godmothers for their infants.

The Letter. They deny that the court of faculties belongs to the archbishop.

The Answer. Every thing goes forth from thence in the name of the archbishop under the supreme authority of the queen. And though in one passage of their letter the bishops call this court of faculties a fiscal court, it can in no wise be so designated, unless perhaps you admit that to be a fiscal court, from which also individual bishops grant license to solemnize marriage in any place soever, and at prohibited seasons; which seasons too continue just the same with us, as they were in the time of popery. Besides,

[7 These Advertisements are printed in bishop Sparrow's collection, 121. Wilkins, Concil. iv. 247. An account of them is given in Strype, Parker, i. 313. See also iii. 84. The following is the article referred to in the text: "That the fonte be not removed, nor that the curate do baptise in parishe churches in anye basons, nor in any other forme then is already prescribed."]

if this was not a fiscal court when held by the legate *de latere* of the Roman pontiff (who, when the papacy was flourishing among us, was fond of loitering here in England); it certainly cannot now in any wise be called fiscal. The reason is this, because when the supremacy was transferred to king Henry of pious memory, and all things which by the canon law belonged to the Roman pontiff as head of the church were made over to him, he then, being both king and pope, appointed another person, namely the archbishop of Canterbury, as his legate, but upon condition of his making him a yearly payment, as the legate *de latere* was wont to do to the pope of Rome. And this archbishop of Canterbury holds that court upon the same terms, and in the like manner.

The Letter. They say that they disapprove the chanting of choristers, and the use of organs.

The Answer. Nevertheless they all adopt them in their churches, and the archbishop of Canterbury especially has caused an organ to be erected in his metropolitan church at his own expense.

The Letter. They say a great deal about the convocation, where the clergy, as they tell you, are three times more in number than themselves, and have free liberty to discuss and determine upon any matters whatsoever.

The Answer. They may discuss and determine, but in such a way as that nothing is held to be binding and ratified without the consent of the queen and the archbishop. Whence it arose, that many things of the greatest advantage to the church, which had been adopted by the last convocation but one, were suppressed, and never saw the light. Our case was also proposed to the convocation at the last meeting by a certain most learned man connected with the bishop of Norwich; but one of the bishops interrupted him, saying, "What are these things to you? We begun this matter, snd we will make an end of it." He made answer, "We thought the queen was the author of this business, but we now perceive that you yourselves are:" and so they would not suffer the matter to be brought forward. Moreover, there is power given by act of parliament to the queen and the archbishop to introduce whatever ceremonies they please into every church in the kingdom.

These things, most reverend and right worshipful masters in Christ, have we written, relying on your accustomed goodness and piety towards the church of England, of which we are witnesses; both because we are loth that you should be ignorant of the true

state of the case, and that you may gain a knowledge of the facts from written documents rather than from a verbal statement. For we have written nothing but what we know to be perfectly true, and clearer than noon-day, and are willing to leave them the right of reply. For all that we have above treated of is manifest from the advertisements of the bishops, from certain royal injunctions, from the formularies of baptism, both of adults and infants, all of which we have before sent you in a Latin translation. You may see the first commencement of a church among us, its progress, and various changes, the origin of our controversy, and the church without a true ministry, accurately described in a letter intended for the most illustrious prince of Heidelberg. And now, our fathers, we make this request, and entreat you in Christ again and again, that (as you have most kindly promised of your own accord) you will soften down the exasperated minds of the bishops of London, Winchester, and the archbishop of Canterbury; and that if you are not able to do any thing more, you will at least obtain thus much, that they may be more gentle towards our brethren who still remain in England; and that if they will not assist them in removing the dregs from their churches, they will at least tolerate them and connive at their proceedings; and that you will, in your promised letters to the bishops of Norwich, Worcester, and Durham, give them due thanks for their kind forbearance, and encourage them, together with their brother ministers who are intent upon the purification of the churches, to persevere in their undertaking. Should we obtain this favour, as your great kindness leads us to expect, we shall not only cease from wearying other churches with renewed petitions, but both we ourselves, and all who are really godly, shall owe every thing to you by reason of the peace and concord restored to the church by your exertions: and may Almighty God bestow upon you an everlasting crown through our Lord Jesus Christ!

Your dignity's most devoted,

GEORGE WITHERS,
JOHN BARTHELOT, } Englishmen.

CXXIII. BISHOP GRINDAL TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 76.]

LONDON, *Feb.* 8, 1567.

HEALTH in Christ, most renowned Bullinger, and very dear brother in Christ. I thank you that, in addition to your general

letter, you have written separately to myself. But there is no reason why you should so studiously thank me, for having so frequently, and with so much satisfaction, made honourable mention of you. For I do this on account of your merit, as well knowing how much you have benefited the church, as you still continue to do, both by your ministry and your writings. Besides, I owe this to you as an individual, that by the perusal of your Treatise on the "Origin of Error[1]," about twenty years since, I was first led to entertain a correct opinion respecting the Lord's supper; whereas before that time I had adopted the sentiments of Luther on that subject. It is but just therefore that I should respect him from whom I have received so much benefit.

I have thus briefly replied to your letter, which was most acceptable to me. The churches in Scotland are in a somewhat better condition than when I last wrote to you; but the queen herself remains unchanged. Her eldest[2] son was baptized in December last, after the popish manner, by some mitred pseudo-bishop; but two[3] only could be found out of the whole nobility of that kingdom, who thought proper to be present at the christening. The rest only accompanied the infant, both in going and returning,

[1 Zanchius, in a letter to Bullinger, mentions with high commendation his book *De Origine Erroris*, and relates an anecdote of Montallinus, a monk, who was burnt at Rome for the cause of the truth, that the said good man, before Zanchius had seen the tract, persuaded him earnestly to peruse it; adding, that if it could not be had upon other terms, he might esteem it a good bargain, to pluck out his right eye for the purchase, and read it with his left. I soon bought the book, says Zanchius, without losing my eyes, and found it the delight of my soul. Zanchii Epist. Tom. II. p. 26. Hanov. 1609.]

[2 The ceremony was performed at Stirling on the 17th of December, 1566. Queen Elizabeth, being requested to be godmother, sent the earl of Bedford with a font of gold for a present. The prince was held up at the font by the Countess of Argyll, in the name and by the special appointment of the Queen of England. She was afterwards summoned for this before the general assembly of the reformed church, and professing her sorrow, was appointed to do penance for what was considered an offence to the religious profession. After the baptismal rites were performed, the name and titles of the prince were three times proclaimed by the heralds to the sound of trumpets. He was called and designed, Charles James, James Charles, prince and steward of Scotland, Duke of Rothesay, Earl of Carrich, Lord of the Isles, and Baron of Renfrew.]

[3 Bedford, the English ambassador, and all the Scottish protestant nobilty stood outside of the door while the ceremony was performed. Bedford afterwards observed to Elizabeth, that of twelve earls present only two had countenanced the rites. See Spottiswood, and Melville's Memoirs.]

as far as the door of the chapel. You are, I suppose, not ignorant of what is going on in Brabant and Flanders. They will not, I hope, be without the divine assistance, since they appear to be in a great measure destitute of all human aid; and especially if, as I fear, the king of Spain should come with an army to overwhelm them. Greet, I pray you, master Gualter, and your other colleagues, in my name. May the Lord preserve you! London, Feb. 8, 1567. Your most devoted in the Lord,

EDMUND GRINDAL, bishop of London.

CXXIV. BISHOP JEWEL TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 77.]

SALISBURY, *Feb.* 24, 1567.

MUCH health in Christ. As my last letter, most accomplished sir, arrived in London rather too late, so that it could not be forwarded in time for the fair at Frankfort, it returned to me without the accomplishment of its object; and I am rather afraid of the same thing happening to the one now before me.

For your late long and very learned letter to me I return you many thanks, and most gladly acknowledge myself to be completely satisfied respecting that synod at Frankfort, as a matter of doubt and controversy. Our ecclesiastical affairs, public and private, are in the same state as heretofore. Our Louvaine friends are making as much noise and disturbance as they can; and they have some auxiliaries, who, though not very numerous, are yet much more so than I could wish. And though they are many, and write against every one in general, yet I know not by what fatality they are all carried out against me alone; so that while I am replying to them, you must not think me idle.

We have assembled within these few months the parliament[4] of the whole kingdom, at which, however, owing to ill health, I have been unable to be present. Laws have been enacted concerning religion[5], by which the obstinate malice and insolence of the papists are kept within due bounds. The question respecting the succession was likewise brought forward; that is, to what family belongs the right of sovereignty, in case any thing, which we should much regret, should happen to queen Elizabeth. This

[4 The first day of the sitting of this parliament was Wednesday, Oct. 2.]

[5 The chief of these was a bill for confirming the consecration of archbishops and bishops. Strype, Annals, I. ii. 229.]

question occupied the minds of all parties for a month or two[1]; for the queen was unwilling that any discussion should take place upon the subject, while every one else was exceedingly anxious about it; and the contest was carried on with great earnestness and ability on both sides. What next? after all nothing could be done; for the queen[2], who is a wise and cautious woman, suspects, that when her successor is once determined upon, there may hence arise some danger to herself[3]. For you know the saying, that there are more worshippers of the rising than of the setting sun.

As to religion, the affair of the habits has at this time occasioned much disturbance. For it is quite certain that the queen will not be turned from her opinion; and some of our brethren are contending about this matter, as if the whole of our religion were contained in this single point; so that they choose rather to lay down their functions, and leave their churches empty, than to depart one tittle from their own views of the subject. They will neither be persuaded by the very learned writings either of yourself and Gualter, or by the counsels of other pious men. However, we thank God that he does not suffer us at this time to be disquieted among ourselves by questions of more importance. One alone of our number, the bishop of Gloucester[4], hath openly and boldly declared in parliament his approval of Luther's opinion re-

[1 Namely, from Oct. 18 to Nov. 25. For a particular account of this discussion, see Strype, Annals, I. ii. 232, &c.]

[2 The question respecting a successor had been moved in the session of 1562, when Sir John Mason, in a letter to Sir Thomas Chaloner, thus expressed his opinion of the queen's prudent conduct: "Bothe our howses have byn earnestly in hand with the queene to appointe her successor, but she wyll not byte at that bayte; wherein in myne opinion she hathe a better judgment than manye have of them that be so earnest in the matter." MS. Cotton. Galba. c. I. 87. This, and other letters referred to in several of these notes, may be found in Wright's Queen Elizabeth and her Times, London, 1838.]

[3 Nov. 6th. Rogers and Cecil read in writing notes of the queen's sayings before the lords and committees of the commons; importing that her grace had signified to both houses, by the word of a prince, that she, by God's grace, would marry, and would have it therefore believed. And touching limitation for succession, the perils were so great to her person, and whereof she had felt part in her sister's time, that the time would not yet suffer to treat of it. Strype, Annals, I. ii. 235.]

[4 Richard Cheney, consecrated bishop of Gloucester, Apr. 19, 1562. He had also the bishoprick of Bristol *in commendam*. A character of him is given by Strype, Annals, I. i. 418, who confirms the statement in the text, by saying, "We may conclude him not a papist, but a Lutheran rather, in his opinion of the eucharist." Annals, I. ii. 285.]

specting the eucharist; but this crop will not, I hope, be of long continuance.

There is some little disturbance now in Ireland. One John O'Neale[5], a bastard, has lately been levying troops, and insolently defying our soldiery. But this is a matter of more tediousness than danger; for he conceals himself afar off in the bogs and wastes, where our forces cannot easily overtake him.

From Scotland, however, (what shall I tell you, or what will you believe?) horrible and atrocious reports are announced. And though they are of such a nature as that I can hardly believe them possible, yet they are written to me from court, and are every where noised about, and believed by all. The young king, they say, has within the last few days[6], together with an attendant whom he has had from his cradle, been murdered in his house, and carried out of doors, and left in the open air. Believe me, my mind shudders to relate such things, whether they are true or not; yet if they should be true, I will hereafter give you entire information as to the motives, or to what treachery he has fallen a victim, as soon as I shall have become acquainted with all the circumstances of the case. At present, I can neither be wholly silent upon a subject which is so universally spoken of, nor can I affirm too confidently what I do not yet know to be the fact.

I hear that my friend Julius is dead at Zurich. I send him, however, twenty French crowns, for his own use, if he is still living; but if, which I hope is not the case, he is dead, let them be expended upon a scholastic entertainment. Had I leisure, I would write to masters Lavater, Simler, Wolfius, Haller, and others;

[5 Shane, or John, O'Neale, the son of Con O'Neale, who had been created Earl of Tyrone, usurped the sovereignty of his clan in opposition to the will of his father, who had appointed his illegitimate son Matthew for his successor. Shane had rebelled in queen Mary's days, and again in 1561, when he was induced, by the persuasions of the Earl of Kildare, to make his submission to queen Elizabeth, and accordingly went to London for that purpose in Jan. 1562. See a letter from Cecil to the Earl of Sussex. MS. Cotton. Titus. b. XIII. 69. He rebelled a third time in 1566, and was reduced by the Lord President to such extremity, that he was on the point of submitting, but was persuaded, by one of his attendants, to make a last attempt upon the Scots. They pretended to embrace his advances, and at a feast treacherously murdered both him and his companions, and sent his head to Dublin. For an account of his last rebellion see the Sidney Papers, Vol. I. p. 15, and a letter from the Archbishop of Armagh [Loftus] to the Earl of Sussex. MS. Cott. Titus, b. XIII. 159.]

[6 Namely, on Feb. 10th. For a detail of the circumstances attending this murder, see Lett. CXXVI. and Camden's Elizabeth, p. 88.]

and especially to Gualter, to whom, ungrateful that I am, I have never yet written. Salute all of them, I pray you, affectionately in my name, and especially your [sons] Rodolph and Henry.

Farewell, my father, and most esteemed master in Christ. Salisbury in England, Feb. 24, 1567.

Yours in Christ, JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus*.

CXXV. P. WIBURN[1] TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 78.]

LONDON, *Feb.* 25, 1567.

HEALTH. When I was with you, reverend sir, at Zurich last summer, your having so kindly received me, an obscure individual, and uncommended to you by any public testimony, as to entertain me at your table, was a singular proof of your courtesy and hospitality; for which I acknowledge myself most deeply indebted to you. But that I was prevented by your illness from conversing with you as freely and fully as I wished respecting our affairs, and the state and condition of the church in this country, this indeed was very mortifying to me during my stay in your city, inasmuch as through this circumstance I was deprived of the greatest advantage of my visit: afterwards, however, I perceived that this turned out most happily, and not without the direction and providence of God.

You remember, excellent sir, if I am not mistaken, that on the day on which you sent for me, by your son, from my lodgings, and desired me to declare the object of my visit, master Gualter being also present, I did not complain at any length concerning the calamity and distress of this our church; partly because you considered yourself as possessing clearly a more than sufficient acquaintance with our affairs; and partly too because you had been so well informed of all these things by the letters of some of our brethren, and especially of master Beza, that there was no occasion to add any thing to that intelligence. Having therefore placed in your hands two schedules, of which mention was made in master Beza's letter to you, I was dismissed by you to my lodgings, so that in the mean time I did not utter a single word upon any given point of religion. And afterwards too, during the two days in which I was waiting for your letter, it is quite evident that I had no con-

[1 Perceval Wiburn was of St John's College, Cambridge, and an exile for religion in Queen Mary's time. He was afterwards prebendary of Winchester and Rochester, but deprived for non-conformity.]

versation either with yourself or others, excepting only that I proposed some questions respecting habits and ceremonies in general to one or two of your congregation. But lo! most learned father, on my return home to my friends, I am charged with detraction and calumny, as if I had gone to you expressly to defame and detract from others, which would have been very unbecoming, or as if I had purposely studied to give a false and feigned report respecting our church. And upon anxiously inquiring the cause and origin of this charge, I find all the mischief to have arisen from your letter to the bishops, which, as I received it sealed, and evidently ignorant of its contents, I had some time before taken care should be delivered into their hands. Why should I prolong my statement? Being fully conscious of my innocence in this matter, I forthwith waited upon the bishop of Winchester, who was then in London, and conversed with him seriously, (as it was right I should do,) upon this business: at length a letter was produced in your handwriting, stating that reports had reached you respecting a strange language, clay, spittle, candles, and I know not what else, here made use of in the public service; for I was only permitted at that time to look over one or two sentences. They will have it that I am the author of this report. But, though this is so very trifling in the relation, and the very supposition falls to the ground by its own absurdity; yet since it has acquired so much strength, either by the instigation of the devil himself, or by the hatred and malice of some individuals, and the too great credulity of others, that I am meanwhile labouring under a heavy suspicion with those persons whom I have now for some years embraced as friends and brethren in Christ, and with whom also I desire to live henceforth upon friendly terms, as far as lies in my power; I am therefore compelled to have recourse at this time to your friendship, that, known as you are for piety and integrity, you may by your testimony vindicate my innocence from being thus slandered. You cannot easily forget, reverend sir, what were the heads I complained of in the articles; so that there was not the slightest occasion to scrape together the strange language, clay, spittle, candles, and other superfluities, to increase this mischief. I would that this church were as free from other burdens and blemishes, as by the grace of God she is free from these evils: the complaint of the godly would not certainly in that case be so well founded, as it now is, alas! too much so.

You will take in good part my freedom in making this request, when you consider, first, that my own testimony respecting myself

in this matter, however simple and true, cannot easily be confirmed; and next, that the affair has come to that pass, by the rashness and inconsiderateness of some parties, that it is made known to some of the highest authorities in this kingdom; lastly, that the cause of the ministers, otherwise good and holy, has under this pretext come into bad odour with many persons, whence it happens, that abuses are now sticking closer and retained more pertinaciously, and all hope of reformation is almost entirely abandoned. For, (besides that the ancient superstitions and relics of popery are too agreeable to many parties, and there are also found among ourselves patrons of those things, who distort the writings of learned men, and your own especially into that direction,) if the rest of the ministers should once be convicted of circulating false reports, it is easy to conjecture how little their diligence and exertions will avail them in future even in the best of causes; so that not only my own danger as an individual, but the common cause, which is certainly not that of man, but of Jesus Christ, especially demands your aid and support. I do not therefore entertain any doubt but that you will promptly and with alacrity put forth your hand in so honourable and necessary a cause. For my own part, I by no means desire you to glance at or censure others, (though this indeed might be done according to the general practice, yet unless it were done in general terms, and with much discretion, it would not be very safe for myself;) but I only ask this, that you will defend and vindicate me, now in danger, upon just grounds; and this, if it please you, in a private letter to myself, lest greater disquiet should arise, in case it should be known to some parties: but if they will be at peace, I wish for nothing else; but if not, I desire only to have something which it is in your power to grant, and which may serve them for an answer. And though this, whatever it be, might, and perhaps should, have been sought for by me at an earlier period, yet I have hitherto abstained from writing that I might spare you, who are both old and infirm, and already more than enough troubled by this matter. And I wish that I could still and altogether spare you any trouble; but when the first counsellor of this kingdom has lately sent for me in a private and friendly way to advise me about this business, and recommended me to obtain two or three words from you, to be ready if necessary, I have at last, most excellent sir, as you see, thrown myself with confidence upon your justice, in which I earnestly implore and entreat you not to reject me, and thereby at the same time provoke those persons yet more against me, whom I

find sufficiently harsh and hostile already. And if you will be kind enough to send to Geneva what you may think proper to write, either to master Beza, or master Raymond, by whom it may be afterwards forwarded to the minister of the French church in London, (a thing they do very frequently,) your letter will by this means safely reach me, if it is directed to me by name.

You may readily infer, my father, from this, that I do not so ardently and seriously request an answer from you, as I expect it with anxiety and solicitude. I shall, in the mean time, comfort and support myself as well as I can, by the testimony of my conscience. May the Lord Jesus long preserve you in safety to his church, and daily visit you with his increasing power!

Salute, I pray you, from me, that most excellent servant of Jesus Christ, master Rodolph Gualter and his wife, whom if you will thank for my sake, or rather in my name, you will gratify me exceedingly. Salute also, I pray you, your other fellow-ministers with whom I am acquainted, masters Simler, Wolfius, both your sons, and especially the younger, to whom I am greatly indebted for the kindness which he shewed me at Zurich.

Farewell, most reverend father in Christ, and remember, I pray you, this tottering church in your prayers to God. Again farewell. London, Feb. 25, 1567.

Your reverence's most devoted, PERCEVAL WIBURN.

CXXVI. BISHOP GRINDAL TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 79.]

LONDON, *June* 21, 1567.

HEALTH in Christ, master Bullinger, and very dear brother in the Lord. I heartily thank you for having received my letter with such acceptance, and likewise for your Homilies on Isaiah, which I received through master John Abel. The bishop of Winchester and myself replied at the last Frankfort fair to your letter of September, sent by Wiburn, but delivered to us by some one else; and I hope you have long since received our answer.

With respect to the publication of your letter on the vestiarian controversy, I knew indeed that you did not write it with that view; but as I foresaw for certain that great advantage would arise to our churches from its publication, I persuaded myself that you would take it in good part.

Our affairs are pretty much in the same state as heretofore.

We have now with us count Stolberg[1], a German ambassador from the emperor Maximilian. He demands, as I hear, an annual subsidy of money for the war with the Turks. But he does not seem likely to get any thing here, unless other kingdoms and states will unite in making a common contribution. There is also some talk respecting a marriage between our queen and Charles of Austria[2]; but religion is duly provided for throughout the whole business; so that unless Charles chooses to renounce popery, he has nothing to hope for in this quarter. Henry, who was lately king of Scotland, as I suppose you know, was found[3] dead on the tenth of last February, in a garden adjacent to a seat he had at some distance from the court. Persons are not yet agreed as to the manner of his death. Some say that the house was blown up by means of some barrels of gunpowder placed on purpose under the chamber in which he slept, and that he was carried by the explosion into the adjoining garden[4]. Others however affirm, that he was violently dragged from his chamber in the dead of night, and afterwards strangled, and that the house was last of all blown up with gunpowder. A certain lord named Bothwell is universally suspected of this murder. The queen of Scotland[5] married him on the fifteenth of May, after he had divorced his lawful wife[6] by the authority of the archbishop of St Andrews, and raised him to be duke of Orkney. A short time before this marriage almost all the nobles of the kingdom[7], perceiving that no inquiry was made concerning the murder of the king, retired from the court, and held a separate assembly at the town of Stirling. In this assembly it was discovered

[1 Count Stolberg was sent over to treat for a marriage between the archduke Charles and the queen of England.]

[2 For the conditions offered see Strype, Annals, I. ii. 240. After various proposals, the article of religion was found to be an insurmountable difficulty, and the match was broken off.]

[3 See p. 287.]

[4 This supposition is contradicted, according to Hume's account, by the confession of the criminals.]

[5 The ceremony was performed in a private manner, after the rules of the popish church; but to gratify the people, it was likewise solemnized publicly, according to the Protestant rites, by Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney, an ecclesiastic, who was afterwards, Hume states, deposed by the church for this scandalous compliance.]

[6 Sister to the earl of Huntley, to whom he had been married two years before.]

[7 The leaders of this confederacy were the earls of Argyle, Athol, Morton, Mar, and Glencairn; the lords Hume, Sempil, and Lindsay; the barons Kirkaldy of Grange, Murray of Tullibardin, and Maitland of Lethington.]

by indisputable evidence, that this abominable murder had been perpetrated by Bothwell. Wherefore they collect troops, and endeavour to seize upon him; he betakes himself to flight, but whither he is gone, as yet no one knows. Some say that the queen[8] is besieged in a certain fortress; but others assert that she is detained prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, as being privy to the murder of her husband. Whatever be the fact, it is impossible but that this infamous marriage must end in some dreadful tragedy. But we are in daily expectation of more certain intelligence of all these things, of which I will shortly take care to let you know.

I write nothing concerning the persecutions in Flanders, because I think you are not ignorant of them. There are many rumours here about Geneva being besieged, but I hope they are not true. May the Lord Jesus preserve your piety in safety to us and to the church! Your most devoted in the Lord,

EDMUND GRINDAL, Bishop of London.

CXXVII. T. BEZA TO H. BULLINGER. [B. 60.]

GENEVA, *June* 29, 1567. [Extract.]

BUT what good can be expected in England, while things remain as they are? I thought the difficulty was only about the

[8 "On June 4th, 1567, Morton, Mar, Hume, and Lindsay, with other inferior barons, and attended by 900 or 1000 horse, on a sudden surrounded the castle of Borthwick, where Bothwell was in company with the queen. Bothwell had such early intelligence of their enterprise, that he had time to ride off with a few attendants; and the insurgent nobles, when they became aware of his escape, rode to Dalkeith, and from thence to Edinburgh, where they had friends who declared for them in spite of the efforts of Mary's partisans. The latter, finding themselves the weaker party, retreated to the castle of Edinburgh, while the provost and armed citizens, to whom the defence of the town was committed, did not indeed open their gates to the insurgent lords, but saw them forced without offering opposition. These sad tidings were carried to Mary by Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, who gives the above statement in a letter to his brother, dated June 17th. He found the queen still at Borthwick, 'so quiet, that there were not with her passing six or seven persons.' She had probably calculated on the citizens of Edinburgh defending the capital against the insurgents; but when this hope failed, she resolved on flight. Her majesty, says the letter, in men's clothes, booted and spurred, departed that same night from Borthwick to Dunbar; whereof no man knew save my lord duke [Bothwell] and some of his servants, who met her about a mile from Borthwick, and conveyed her to Dunbar." Mackie's Castles of Mary queen of Scots, p. 162.]

matter of the habits; that some blemishes were left behind, which the bishops were perhaps too tardy in removing, or, as is every where wont to be the case in practice, they were unable to obtain what they most desire. But if the case is as I hear it to be, (and indeed these things can scarcely be invented,) where did such a Babylon ever exist? But although God alone can provide a remedy for these otherwise incurable evils, yet when these brethren[1] had determined of themselves to go to you, I was unwilling to deter them from this their purpose. For though they will not bring you any agreeable tidings, yet I hope you will not regret the having been made better acquainted with those matters than you had ever been before; and they also, bringing back from you both advice and consolation, will be relieved in some measure at least from the burden of their misery and grief. I therefore request you, my father, and not you only, but also the rest of the ministers and my much honoured masters, that you will freely listen to them, notwithstanding their statement is most distressing; and that you will compassionate them as standing in need of counsel and consolation, which indeed I doubt not but that you will do with your singular brotherly love. As to myself indeed, I have adopted this plan, that, suspending my judgment even in matters, as it seems to me, most evident, respecting absent brethren, (over whom too I am not appointed a judge,) I would exhort them to meekness, and rather to alleviate these evils by patience than by any querulous accusations; in which respect I think that I have found them endued with a spirit of gentleness. And when your authority, which they value most highly as they ought to do, shall be exerted in addition, they will return with a mind yet more tranquillised, and the Lord will doubtless at length provide a remedy. Geneva, July 29, 1567.

Yours, BEZA.

CXXVIII. BISHOP PARKHURST TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 80.]

LUDHAM, *July* 31, 1567.

I RECEIVED a letter from you on the 17th of October, and also on the 16th of May; for both of which, and for your very learned discourses on Isaiah, I return you my warmest thanks.

[1 These were Perceval Wiburn, and probably George Withers. See above, p. 262, and Strype, Parker, II. 110.]

Nicolas Carvil[2] died last summer, and at the beginning of this month Robert Beaumont, master of Trinity College in the University of Cambridge. They have 'gone before us: we shall follow them when the Lord shall think fit.

John O'Neale[3], a chieftain and possessed of great authority among the wild and uncivilized Irish, has, notwishstanding his oath, excited a rebellion against our queen. During this whole year he has been in arms, and was lately killed in an affray. There is now some hope that this rude and savage people, living only upon plunder, will become more humane and civilized.

After the murder of Henry [Darnley,] king of Scotland, the queen married the earl of Bothwell, who has lately been created duke of Orkney. His wife is yet living, and is, as I am told, a most noble and excellent lady. The nobility[4] have humbled the queen; but they notwithstanding treat her with great kindness, remembering, as it is right they should, the allegiance due to her. The duke[5] has fled, I know not whither, detested by almost every

[2 Nicolas Carvil had been one of the exiles at Zurich in queen Mary's time, as had also Rob. Beaumont. Strype, Memorials, III. i. 233.]

[3 See note 5, p. 287. Cecil writes, in a letter to the earl of Sussex, dated Jan. 7, 1561. "On Saturday he (O'Neale) cam to the lord keeper's house, where wer with the lord keeper, the lord marquis of Northampton, the earle of Pembrook, the vice-chamberlayn, and poore I. There he humbly requyred that we wold be meanes for hym to come to her majesty's presence to acknowledg his obedience. After some sharp rehersall to hym of his generall faults, we promised him our meanes. We wold not suffer him to reply for his defence, meaning to leave that untill your lordshipp come. So I thought mete that his submission shuld be both in Irish and English, which he made uppon his knees, and first prostrat upon his face." MS. Cotton. Titus. b. XIII. 69.]

[4 After a conference with Kirkaldy of Grange, the queen put herself, upon some general promises, in the hands of the confederates, and was conducted to Edinburgh amidst the insults of the populace. Hume.]

[5 His end is thus told by Sir James Melvil: "Now the laird of Grange, his two ships being in readinesse, he made sail towards Orkney, and no man was so frank to accompany him as the laird of Tullibardin, and Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney. But the earl [Bothwell] was fled from Orkney to Sheatland, whither also they followed him, and came in sight of Bothwell's ship; which moved the laird of Grange to cause the skippers to hoise up all the sails, which they were loath to do, because they knew the shallow water thereabout. But Grange, fearing to miss him, compelled the marriners, so that for too great haste the ship wherein Grange was did break upon a bed of sand, without loss of a man; but Bothwell had leisure in the mean time to save himself in a little boat, leaving his ship behind him, which Grange took, and therein the laird of Tallow, John Hepburn of Bantoun, Dalgleesh,

one on account of this cruel murder of his sovereign. With whose concurrence he did this, I will not say; but fame circulates some wonderful and horrible rumours:

"Fama, malum quo non aliud velocius ullum,
Tam ficti pravique tenax quam nuntia veri."

The nobles of Scotland have at their command some regiments, and in all their colours or standards they bear this painted representation. There is depicted a green and beautiful tree, under which is lying a tall man, naked, and strangled with a rope: near him is a young man, also naked, and pierced with many wounds: next is painted a little boy with a crown of gold upon his head, with bended knees and uplifted hands, and these words written as proceeding from his mouth, "Lord, have mercy on me, and avenge my father's blood." Hereby are represented the king, his attendant, and his son. I cannot write more. Business presses. The courier is in haste. Rodolph Gualter will tell you every thing else.

I would have written to Wolfius, Lavater, Simler, Wonlychius, Froschover, and Julius; but I can not: I wish I could. They must take it in good part. I will write to them at another time. Farewell. Salute all my friends. In haste. Ludham, July 31, 1567.

Yours, JOHN PARKHURST, [Bishop] of Norwich.

CXXIX. H. BULLINGER AND R. GUALTER TO T. BEZA. [B. 61.]

ZURICH, *Aug.* 3, 1567.

WE entertained, very dear brother, the Englishmen you commended to us, with the greatest courtesy in our power. They laid before us some writings, which indeed we had seen before, requesting our advice and assistance, as that of persons possessing much influence with the English bishops. We replied that we had long since done every thing in our power, and were unable to do more; besides, that the bishops had made such answer for themselves, as to make it appear that they were not the aggrieved party. We therefore read them our letter[1] to the bishops upon this business, with the bishops' letter to us in reply. But they alleged that it was not fairly stated by the bishops, for that the case was widely

and divers others of the earl's servants. Himself fled to Denmark, where he was taken, and kept in strait prison, wherein he became mad and dyed miserably." Wright's Life and Times of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. I. p. 257.]

[1 See above, Letters CXIII, and CXXI, pp. 253, 273.]

different. As we could not withdraw our entire confidence in the bishops, who have acted in all other respects as men of piety and integrity, we were unwilling to fight and contend with these men, so much after the manner of masters of defence, and therefore declined any farther discussion. What need of more words? The fault seems to have arisen at first from too much rigour on their part, and that in course of time the contest increased, and grew warm, as is always the case when people quarrel: and that the feelings have been so exasperated on both sides, that each party is now to blame, and hardly any remedy can be discovered for this mischief. It certainly appears from the conversation of these men that their minds are entirely set against the bishops; for they can scarcely say any thing respecting them but what is painted in the blackest colours, and savours of the most perfect hatred[2]. We must therefore entreat the Lord, the ruler of all hearts, to remedy this miserable state of things. What you write, among other things, that you think this evil is to be mitigated rather by patience than by any querulous accusations, would be exceedingly approved of by us, if they also would approve of it. And for ourselves indeed, as we have no power to dictate to the bishops, so we positively refused to take part against them when they were pleading their own cause, and making a probable defence both of themselves and their conduct; nor would we appear to take part with these their accusers, and so be mixed up in this controversy. Meanwhile we promised these our brethren with godly commiseration, that we would write to the bishops, and intercede with them on their behalf; which promise, God willing, we will faithfully perform at the next Frankfort fair. And we can do nothing else at present. They shewed us moreover a petition prepared to be presented to the most illustrious prince, the elector palatine[3]. We did not deter them from their purpose; for possibly the Lord may be pleased even by these means to quiet those unhappy disputes. This is the sum of our transactions with them, although we had determined among ourselves to have nothing more to do with any one in this controversy, whether in conversation or by letter; and this is now our decided resolution. And if any other parties think of coming hither, let them know that they will come to no purpose.

You will do us a great favour, if you will give us an accurate account of the French affairs, about which, and the queen especially,

[2 *Odium Vatinianum*, so called from Vatinius, noted for his scurrility and abusiveness. See Cic. in Vatin. and Catull. 14. 3.]

[3 See the following letter.]

there are spread wonderful reports. We are in suspense about them, and therefore pray the Lord to overturn the crafty and cruel counsels of the ungodly, and not so much to preserve the churches from evil, as to reconcile them to himself by true faith and amendment of life. For otherwise we fear, and not without reason, that grievous calamities are hanging over us. I will take care that your letter directed to Zanchius shall be faithfully delivered in a few days. That Baldwin[1] of whom you write has found fault with me in a public lecture at Paris, as a student writes me word from that city, upon the subject of human traditions, and quotes a passage from the second chapter of my Apocalypse. He has added also to his censure a barefaced falsehood, that he had conferred with me upon this matter, and that I had scarcely any thing to urge in reply; whereas he never accosted me but once, and that in a cursory way, and never conversed with me upon any subject at all. But these men shall proceed no farther, as the Apostle says; for their condemnation shall be manifest unto all. Farewell. Master Gualter salutes you. All the rest of the brethren salute you. Do you also salute our brethren who are with you. Zurich, Aug. 3, 1567.

H. Bullinger the elder, in
Gualter's name and his own.

CXXX. G. WITHERS TO THE ELECTOR PALATINE[2]. [B. 62.]

[Without place or date.]

It is not through our fault, most noble prince, that we send you this petition; but violence compels us to do so, religion urges us, our country demands it of us, in fine, the church of England

[1 See above, Letter LXXIII, p. 158, note 1.]

[2 "Among the German princes, Frederic III. elector Palatine, in the year 1560, substituted the followers of Calvin's doctrines in place of the Lutheran teachers, whom he displaced, and ordered his subjects to receive the rites and opinions of the Genevans. His successor Lewis, in the year 1576, rescinded the acts of his father, and restored the Lutheran doctrine to its former dignity and authority. But this again fell, on the accession of John Casimir to the government of the Palatine countries in 1583: for he, with his deceased father, Frederic III. had gone over to the side of the reformed, and it was necessary again to give Calvinism the pre-eminence. From that time onward, the Palatine church held the second rank among the reformed churches: and it possessed such influence over the others, that the religious instructions, composed for its use by Zechariah Ursinus, and denominated the Heidelberg Catechism, were received nearly throughout the

now lying prostrate, and (unless some assistance be afforded to her) on the very brink of destruction, drives us as it were headlong to adopt this measure. Yet if that affection towards the church and especial regard to all godly persons, which so greatly distinguish you above all other princes, were not sufficiently made known to us, we should never have presumed to seek shelter under your protection. But now since these things are no secret, (for how can that be a secret which is manifest to every one?) it is no wonder that we are easily persuaded that you will afford to the distressed that protection which you have already led them to hope for at your hands. Wherefore, most excellent prince, if, humble as we are in station and unknown to you, overwhelmed as we are by various calamities, we entreat your succour on behalf of our afflicted church, this is not an act of presumption on our part; and though indeed we may seem a little too bold, you will yet allow us so much liberty of complaining, as you may consider to be warranted by our godly sorrow. For Satan, though he has not been able to do us mischief in open warfare, is making secret attacks upon the church of England; and as he is unable to restore popery altogether, he is endeavouring, but imperceptibly and by degrees, to bring us back to Lutheranism. In which as there are many things to be regretted, so there is nothing more grievous than that it is not now by means of his papists, not by means of men glutted with the blood of the saints, not by most abandoned individuals, but by means of our own selves, by means of those who were heretofore accounted the best of men, he is now endeavouring to bring the best of men into danger: and those whom he could not destroy by violence, or sword, or fire, he now hopes to overwhelm by the authority of our own people, and by the opinions and superstition of those who profess the gospel.

But that you may more plainly and fully perceive and understand the nature of the case, it is necessary to point out to you the first rise and origin of the church upon its first beginning and appearance among us, and then its progress and various vicissitudes; that you may thereby learn both how far removed we have always been from perfection, and yet how far we have gone back from that liberty to which, by the blessing of Christ, we had at one

whole body." Mosheim. ed. Soames, Vol. III. p. 384, where the following authorities are quoted: Henry Alting's Historia Eccles. Palatinæ, in Lud. Christ. Mieg's Monumenta Palatina, Tom. I. p. 223, &c. Loscher's Historia Motuum, Part II. Lib. IV. cap. IV. p. 125. Salig's Historie der Augsberg Confession, Vol. III. Book IX. ch. V. p. 433, &c.]

time attained. Under the auspices of Henry, the eighth of that name, England drove away the Roman Antichrist[1] from all her borders, but yet in such a manner as that his authority seemed not so much suppressed, as transferred to the king. The mass and other relics of popish filthiness retained their former place and estimation. After the pope was cast out, the monasteries were every where destroyed. Monks, friars, nuns, were obliged to lay aside and change their designation and habit; pilgrimages were afterwards forbidden, and the images, by means of which such abominable idolatry was committed, were taken down and broken in pieces; and then, towards the very close of his reign, the bible[2] printed in the vulgar tongue was allowed to all, and the priests in every church were ordered to recite in English the Lord's prayer, the creed, the ten commandments, and the epistle and gospel of the day[3]. And these were the foundations laid in the reign of Henry, upon whose decease prince Edward[4] of pious memory succeeded to the throne; who having called together the most noble and learned men throughout the realm began to reform the church after their advice. He ordered all the statues and images[5] every where to be thrown down and broken in pieces. Next, he every where abolished the mass and prayers in a foreign language. He permitted the laity to receive the cup as well as the bread in the communion of the Lord's supper. He set forth a form of public prayer written in English; which however scarcely differed in any respect from the Latin, except that all the most glaring errors were abolished. The administration of the sacraments altogether savours of Lutheranism. The clergy[6] were allowed to marry, and their children legitimated

[1 For an account of the various legislative provisions by which, in 1534, the power of the papacy in England was wholly destroyed, see Soames, Hist. Ref. I. 429, &c., and Burnet, Ref. I. 236.]

[2 A royal proclamation issued in May 1540, rendered every parish which should not be provided with a bible before the next festival of All-hallows, liable to a penalty of forty shillings per month as long as this omission should continue. See Soames, II. 453, Burnet, I. 486.]

[3 See Soames, Hist. Ref. II. 158.]

[4 Edward VI. began to reign Jan. 28, 1547.]

[5 On Feb. 11, 1548, Cranmer received an order of council for transmission through his province, enjoining the indiscriminate removal of images from churches. This order was signed by the protector, the earl of Arundel, the lord Russell, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Antony Wingfield, and Sir William Paget. See Soames, III. 227, Burnet, II. 95, and IV. 270, where he has given a copy of the original document.]

[6 For an account of the acts of parliament authorising the marriage of the clergy, see Burnet, II. 141, 306.]

by an express act of parliament. Altars[7], organs, the theatrical dresses of the papists, and other things of the like kind were retained under the name of ornaments of the church and of the ministers thereof. Afterwards this godly king, perceiving how far he still was from the mark, took in hand the matter afresh, set forth a new form of prayers, removed and prohibited all the monuments of superstition which he had before left, excepting the surplice and kneeling at the Lord's supper, baptizing by women, and demanding of infants a profession of faith. What he retained however was left so free, that no one who objected to them was compelled to observe them. But the king, who truly feared God, not being yet satisfied with these improvements, was about to put the last finish to this work, and appointed a day for the assembling of both houses of parliament. All were full of hope and expectation; but in the mean time our most excellent king was taken away by an untimely death[8]. His sister Mary succeeded as heir to the kingdom: would that she had inherited his piety also! Every thing was then suddenly changed, and the papacy entirely re-established.

But why should I make mention of circumstances so notorious? I will now come to those with which you are probably unacquainted. Although the church seemed at first to be entirely overthrown, and the godly were dispersed in every quarter, yet a congregation[9] of some importance collected itself at London, chose its ministers by common consent, appointed deacons, and, in the midst of enemies more sharp-sighted than Argus and more cruel than Nero, the church of God was again restored entire, and, in a word, complete in all its parts, And though it was often dispersed by the attacks of its enemies, and a very great number of its members[10] perished

[7 On the 24th of November, 1550, a circular letter was addressed from the council to Bishop Ridley and other prelates, enjoining them to remove all altars within their respective dioceses, and to set up a table instead thereof. For disobedience to this injunction, Day, bishop of Chichester, was committed to the Fleet. Soames, III. 573, &c. See also bishop Ridley's injunctions at his visitation in the same year, as given in his works, Parker Society's Edition, pp. 319, 321. Also bishop Hooper's Sermons on Jonas, Parker Soc. Ed. p. 488.]

[8 Edward VI. died July 6, 1553.]

[9 For an account of this congregation see Foxe, also Strype, Mem. III. ii. 147. Among their ministers were Edmund Scamler, afterwards bishop of Peterborough, and Thomas Bentham, afterwards bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.]

[10 Among these were John Rough, and Cuthbert Simpson, ministers of the abovenamed congregation, and Margaret Mearing, Hugh Foxe, and John

at the stake, it nevertheless grew and increased every day. In the mean time Mary died. Her sister Elizabeth began her reign[1] to the exceeding joy of all. Then those[2] who had been detained in confinement and in chains for the sake of religion, were set at liberty by the queen's command; those who had been driven into exile[3] returned home again. But the church which had survived in the midst of the flames was abolished by some sort of edict[4]. This indeed was a matter of no difficulty, because there was a general expectation that one not less pure would be re-established by the authority of the queen and the laws of the kingdom. The high parliament of the whole realm was assembled, popery again cast out, and the second form of prayers, which Edward left behind him at his death, was restored to the church. But the ceremonies, which, as was above stated, were retained in the church at the first reformation of Edward, are restored under the same name. Power, moreover, was given to the queen and the archbishop, to introduce whatever additional ceremonies they might think proper; and they immediately afterwards both discontinued the ordinary bread heretofore used in the administration of the Lord's supper, and, for the sake of a newer reformation, adopted the round wafer[5], after the pattern of that used by the papists. And at the pronouncing of the name of Jesus they have ordered all persons to take off their hats and bow their knees. Then on the expulsion of the popish bishops new ones were to be appointed in their room; and most of these were of the number of those who had been exiles. These at first began to oppose the ceremonies; but afterwards, when there was no hope otherwise of obtaining a bishopric, they yielded, and, as one of them openly acknowledged, undertook the office against their conscience. In the mean while they comforted their brethren, whom they per-

Devenish. An account of their martyrdoms is given in Foxe's Acts and Monuments, Vol. VIII. 443, &c. Edit. 1839.]

[1 Queen Elizabeth began her reign, Nov. 17, 1558.]

[2 A list of some of these is given in Strype, Ann. I. i. 55. The various orders for their enlargement were dated in Dec. 1558.]

[3 Of these there were above eight hundred. A list of the chief of them is given in Strype, Cranmer, 449, and Mem. III. i. 231.]

[4 We find that an order was sent to the lord mayor of London to commit one Thomas Parrys to prison, till further order should be taken by the council, for suffering, contrary to the queen's proclamation, which prohibited all preaching, assemblies of people to meet at Worcester house, whereof he had the keeping. See Strype, Ann. I. i. 59.]

[5 See Soames, Eliz. Rel. Hist. 243, and Strype, Parker II. 343.]

ceived to be still struggling against these things, by promising them free liberty in the government of their churches; and for some years they kept this promise. On the obtaining of which liberty, they diligently purified their churches from all the blemishes and defilements of popery. Others, who had at first yielded, incited by their example, began to reform their churches in the like manner. But when the bishops perceived that the number and influence of these parties was increasing among the people, they thought their dignity would come to nought, unless they compelled the inferior clergy to adopt the same usages as they did themselves. They took up the matter therefore at the queen's command[6]. They deprived Sampson[7], a most learned man, and possessing very great influence in the church, in the hope that the rest would easily be deterred by the fear of like consequences to themselves. But when, contrary to their expectation, they found them all more prepared for resistance, they made a second attempt; and having summoned together all the ministers[8] of the church in London, they required them to promise obedience to all the commands of the queen, either then or hereafter to be issued respecting religion. And when they stated that they could not do this, under existing circumstances, with a safe conscience, more than thirty of them were deprived in one and the selfsame day. But when they found that this plan did not succeed, but that they had excited the hatred of all, and especially of the godly, against them, they devised another mode of attack, by prohibiting any one to expound the scriptures in his parish without an especial licence under the bishop's own seal[9]. Besides this, they they have recalled all licenses[10] which had been granted before a certain day, and will renew them only to such persons as shall have professed their assent to all their proceedings. If any one should presume to expound the scriptures without their permission, he is brought to trial as being guilty of contempt; and should he not then conform, they punish him by imprisonment or exile.

You perceive therefore, most excellent prince, the wretched

[6 The letter of the queen to the archbishop, for redressing disorders in the church, is given in Strype, Parker, III. 65.]

[7 See above, p. 226, and Soames, Eliz. Rel. Hist. 54.]

[8 The London ministers were cited before the ecclesiastical commissioners at Lambeth, towards the end of March, 1564. Strype, Ann. I. ii. 129. See Soames, Eliz. Rel. Hist. 46.]

[9 The form of licence for preaching is given by Strype, Parker, III. 122.]

[10 All licences granted before March 1, 1564, were to be void and of none effect. Sparrow's Collections, 121.]

aspect of the church of England; you perceive into what an unsightly state it has fallen. For there being three chief parts of the church, wholesome doctrine, the pure administration of the sacraments, and a rightly constituted ministry, which part also includes a vigorous discipline; I will not touch upon the doctrine of our church, which, though sound in most respects, is however lame in others. In what way the sacraments are disfigured by human inventions, will easily appear from the public form of prayer, the royal injunctions, and the admonitions, or (as they call them) the advertisements[1], of the bishops. But the ministry is in fact nothing at all, nor is there any discipline. For those persons cannot be said to be ministers of Christ, but servants of men, who can do nothing according to the prescript of the word, but are obliged to act in every respect at the nod of the queen and the bishops. What must we say, when most of them are popish priests, consecrated to perform mass; and the far greater part of the remainder are most ignorant persons, appointed at the will of the people, not to the ministry of the word, but to repeat the office of the day or festival, which almost any child might do without difficulty? What must we say, when those who preside over the churches are allowed to be absent from them for the sake of study or attendance on other things? What, when there is an innumerable multitude of persons who have neither any church nor fixed appointment? What, when preaching is a privilege confined to the bishops, who are however but seldom at leisure for this office? What, lastly, when the sword of excommunication is taken out of the hands of the clergy and handed over to lawyers? What kind of a church, most illustrious prince, must you think that to be, in which you can neither hear of the pure administration of the sacraments, nor indeed of any ministry whatever, save of this description?

Wherefore, if you possess any interest or influence with our most serene queen, we beg and entreat you to make use of it in so godly a cause, to heal these so great maladies of the church, and to condemn for evermore the entire remembrance of popery; but in such a way that, if you cannot, as we desire, obtain a more complete reformation of the whole church, you will nevertheless earnestly entreat and obtain, (and this we hope you will be able to accomplish,) for those who abominate the relics of antichrist, the

[1 For an account of the book of Advertisements, see Soames, Eliz. Rel. Hist. 42, Strype, Ann. I. ii. 130, and Parker, I. 313. It is printed in Bishop Sparrow's Collections, 121.]

liberty of not being obliged either to adopt them against their conscience, or to relinquish the ministry.

And if, most excellent prince, you wish well to us and to our church, which we certainly persuade ourselves to be the case, you must take especial care to transfer all the blame from the queen unto the bishops, who do not act the part of her advisers with the freedom that becomes them, and which it is right they should exercise. For as to their asserting both at home and to foreigners that they do not themselves approve these measures, but that they execute them at the instigation of the queen, they both themselves command them in books publicly set forth for that very object, and state that it is done by the queen after good and pious counsel, and for the benefit of the whole church. So that it is not to be wondered at, if, deceived by their blandishments and flatteries, she adopts some severe measures against us as though we were rebellious and contumacious. But as we know that you are of your own inclination sufficiently disposed to help us, and as it is not right that you should any longer be detained by us from the most important business of your commonwealth, we will not enlarge our statement any farther, but will now bring it to a close.

[George Withers.]

CXXXI. R. HILLES TO H. BULLINGER. [B. 63.]

London, *Aug.* 23, 1567.

I pray for you, honoured sir, and very dear friend, much health. I received, four months since, from John Abel (who also desires his best respects) a large volume, namely your Isaiah, as expounded in your homilies, together with your very gratifying letter, dated on the 25th of last February. You have presented me with that volume, that I may have this gift from you as a memorial of our uninterrupted friendship, which, God willing, it shall be. I have also purchased from my very dear brother, the aforesaid John Abel, the book of Daniel with the epitome, expounded in your sixty-six homilies. Both books delight me exceedingly, and I hope that the homilies in each volume will be productive of no little benefit to faithful and diligent readers.

As to your desire of certain information respecting the affairs of Brabant, and your request that I should be mindful of you in this matter to the utmost of my power, whether occupied or disen-

gaged; I have now to inform you, my very dear sir, that I have already committed to writing all that I myself know for certain about these matters, or have been able to ascertain from my friends; and that from such information I have written as it were a little history. And if I can get it translated into Latin (which a schoolmaster of my acquaintance has promised to undertake for me), I will send it you, or at least to Frankfort for you, at the next Lent fair, should it please God that I live till that time. I am very glad that your two youngest grown up daughters so prudently and judiciously manage your household concerns, as that you can remain a widower[1] without discomfort.

It is stated here as a fact, that the duke of Alva[2], who has lately come to Louvaine or Ghent with the forces of the king of Spain, which he has stationed there in lower Germany and at Antwerp in the name of that sovereign, intends to take away the liberties and privileges of all the cities of that country which admitted, or freely permitted, the preaching of the protestants during the past year, and to reduce the lower Germany under a regular monarchy. May the will of the Lord be done, without whose permission he can do nothing! Let us heartily pray him to deign to give us peace in our days. This indeed still remains undisturbed, by the blessing of God, in this realm of England; except that some of our preachers (though not among the most learned), kept back by too great scrupulosity, or overcome by vain-glory or some measure of popular applause, are still occasionally disturbing it by impugning or opposing the ordinance of the queen and the whole realm, touching the use or wearing of the surplice in the church during the singing of the psalms, the reading of the lessons, and the administration of the sacraments. But I am of opinion with holy Jerome (in his first book against the Pelagians), that it is no offence against God, for a bishop, presbyter, and deacon, and all other ecclesiastics to walk in a white garment in the administration of the sacraments[3]. Moreover, religion requires one kind of habit

[1 Bullinger lost his wife in 1564. She died of the plague, as also did three of his daughters, who were married to Hulric Zuinglius, Lewis Lavater, and Josiah Simler, all ministers of Zurich.]

[2 "The king of Spain's army, led by the duke of Alva, hath already passed through Franche Comté and Lorraine, between Metz, Thou, and Verdun; so as it is thought by this they are come to Luxembourg." Sir Henry Norris to queen Elizabeth. July 23, 1567. MS. Sloane 4126.]

[3 Unde adjungis, gloriam vestium et ornamentorum Deo esse contrariam. Quæ sunt, rogo, inimicitiæ contra Deum, si tunicam habuero mundiorem; si episcopus, presbyter, et diaconus, et reliquus ordo ecclesiasticus in adminis-

for the ministry, and another for common use and daily life: and the Egyptian priests (who, as you well know, were Christians in the time of Jerome) wore linen garments not only in divine service, but in common use. (Commentary on Ezek. Lib. XIII. c. 44.)[4] And truly the disciples of Christ, as much as lieth in them, must follow peace with all men, and not be a stumbling-block to unbelievers or to the churches of God. We must pray the Lord to make us all of one mind to dwell in the house of God, which is the church, and to remove all unnecessary contentions and causes of offence. May the Lord preserve you! London, Aug. 23, 1567.

Yours from my heart, &c. RICHARD HILLES.

CXXXII. H. BULLINGER AND R. GUALTER TO BISHOPS GRINDAL, SANDYS AND PARKHURST. [B. 64.]

ZURICH, *Aug.* 26, 1567.

REVEREND sirs, right worshipful masters, and very dear brethren in the Lord. May the Lord Jesus bless you, and preserve you from all evil!

In proportion to our exceeding regard for you, reverend masters and very dear brethren, is our grief at the sad dissensions between you and some of your brethren, learned men, who have been deprived of their ministerial offices in England. You must impute it therefore to our sincere affection, that we have repeatedly wearied your ears with the same complaint. We have seen and received your apology for your conduct in this matter; but some English exiles have come to us in the mean time, who affirm that the doctors of the church in London, and also of other churches in England, men who had been tried in the Marian persecution, and by whose fidelity and diligence the Anglican churches were preserved during those most cruel times, are now turned out; and not merely turned out, but oppressed with grievous persecution, and even cast into loathsome prisons. They add, that there are many ministers of the churches in Ireland, who in their opinions and conduct are nowise different from those very persons who are suf-

tratione sacrificiorum cum candida veste processerint? Adv. Pelag. Lib. I. cap. 9. Tom. II. p. 277. Antv. 1579.]

[4 Vestibus lineis utuntur Ægyptii sacerdotes, non solum intrinsecus, sed et extrinsecus. Porro religio divina alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu vitaque communi. Tom. IV. p. 476.]

fering persecution in England; but that by the favour of their bishop, and his intercession with the queen's majesty, they are living in the greatest tranquillity. Whence they conclude that, if the bishops who are in England would also intercede with the queen's majesty, they themselves would be allowed quietly to retain their charge of the churches committed to them. And they state, what is very important in this question, that the bishops do not deny that those who are persecuted and degraded have the better cause: for they acknowledge that the church would be established on a better footing, and governed when so established, without those ceremonies and rites and institutions than with them; so that if the option were allowed them, they would rather make choice of a church without them, than that one thus burdened should be committed to their charge. And this is also most evident from this fact, that the bishops have more than once requested of her majesty in parliament that they might be removed, and the church thereby become more purified and beautified, or at least less burdened.

Wherefore, reverend sirs and very dear brethren, your piety will doubtless stir you up to consult by what means convenient and speedy succour may be afforded to these afflicted brethren, and that they may not be oppressed with so cruel a persecution; but rather that by the clemency of the queen's majesty they may be tolerated in the kingdom, and that the gifts which are in them, so useful to the church, may not be quenched by their abdication. But we need not by many arguments or examples incite you, who are most experienced in all that is godly and just: we only entreat you by the Lord, that if it be in your power either to alleviate or altogether remove the distress of these oppressed persons by your influence with the queen's majesty, you will, for the sake of christian love, afford them your assistance with all faithfulness; and take in good part this our brotherly admonition, and continue to regard us, who have the greatest love for you, with your wonted affection. Farewell, honoured masters. Zurich, Aug. 26, 1567.

BULLINGER and GUALTER.

CXXXIII. BISHOP GRINDAL TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 31.]

LONDON, *Aug.* 29, 1567.

HEALTH in Christ our Saviour. The affairs of Scotland, respecting which I promised in my last letter to write more fully, are

now in this condition. The nobility of the kingdom, having taken offence at the marriage of the queen of Scots with the regicide Bothwell, about the end of June last collected together a numerous body of troops. When Bothwell, who had also assembled some forces, discovered his inferiority, he fled with four or five ships to the Orkney islands. The queen surrendered herself to her nobles, who conveyed her to a strongly fortified castle in the middle of the lake called Lochleven, where she is still in custody. After some days the queen by a solemn public instrument[1] resigned her royal dignity to the prince her son, who was crowned king of Scotland towards the end[2] of the July following. Not long after was held a convention[3] of the estates, in which were decreed these five things: first, they declared the Lord James Stuart, earl of Murray, or Moray, of whose piety I think I have before written to you, the king's guardian and regent of the kingdom. Next, they prohibited, under a heavy penalty, all exercise of the popish religion. Thirdly, an universal reformation of the churches was determined upon. Fourthly, the stipends of the clergy were confirmed and augmented. Fifthly, and lastly, they decreed that the advisers and perpetrators of the king's murder should be sought out and punished. The queen is still kept in the closest confinement, and there are those who think it will be perpetual. It is reported that there were found in Bothwell's writing desk some letters written in the queen's[4] own

[1 The confederate lords, by putting the queen in fear of death, compelled her, unheard, to set her hand to three writings; by the first whereof she resigned the kingdom to her son, who was scarce thirteen months old: by another she constituted Murray to be vice-roy or regent in the minority of her son; and by the third, she named, in case Murray should refuse the charge, these governors over her son, James, duke of Chatelherault, Matthew, earl of Lennox, Gillespie, earl of Argyle, John, earl of Athol, James, earl of Morton, Alexander, earl of Glencairn, and John, earl of Mar. Camden's Elizabeth, p. 96. "She was urged to the resignation of the crown by the implacable Lindsay, who with his mailed hand seized the delicate arm of the queen, and swore that unless she subscribed the deeds without delay, he would sign them himself with her blood, and seal them on her heart." Mackie, Castles of Q. Mary, p. 202.]

[2 He was proclaimed July 29, by the name of James VI., and soon after crowned at Stirling. Hume.]

[3 Sir Nicholas Throgmorton writes to the earl of Bedford, in a letter dated Edenborowghe, July 20, 1567, and preserved in the state paper office, "The assembly contynueth the 20th day of thys moneth: where I thynke lytle wyl be done to the quene of Scotlande's advantage."]

[4 This subject has long been involved in great uncertainty. On the one side, Camden states that some servants of Bothwell's, who were put to death

hand, in which she exhorted Bothwell to accelerate the death of the king, her husband. How true this may be, I know not. A certain baron (Grange [1] by name) was lately dispatched with four armed vessels in pursuit of Bothwell. For it is now generally agreed that he strangled the king with his own hands, and then blew up the house with gunpowder, that it might appear accidental. From this you may easily imagine what great and terrible commotions have lately taken place in Scotland. In the mean time we entertain the most lively hopes, that all these things will turn out to the further advancement of evangelical doctrine. John Knox has lately returned, amidst the great rejoicing of the people, to his church in Edinburgh, from which he had heretofore been altogether banished.

Thus much of the affairs of Scotland. Our own are pretty much in the same state as when the bishop of Winchester and myself last wrote to you. All men's minds are not yet settled, but we are daily hoping for an improvement. We were exceedingly glad that no attack was made last summer upon the people of Berne or Geneva; for we were much afraid that the duke of Savoy, with the aid of Spain, would have done them some great mischief. You will salute from me master Gualter and your other colleagues. May the Lord bless you and your labours, and preserve your piety in safety as long as possible to his church! London, Aug. 29, 1567.

Your most devoted in the Lord,

EDMUND GRINDAL, bishop of London.

WITH respect to the acts passed in the general assembly of the kingdom, I will briefly write you a summary of those by which the true religion of Christ is established, and the impious superstition of the papists abolished. I shall however omit such as relate to the civil government of the kingdom, as it would be a work of infinite labour to record them; and besides most unnecessary, to yourself

by Murray for being present at the murdering of the king, protested at the gallows that they understood from Bothwell, that Murray and Morton were the authors of the king's death. The queen they cleared from all suspicion; as Bothwell also himself, being prisoner in Denmark, many times witnessed, both living and dying, with a religious asseveration, that the queen was not privy thereto: as did also Morton, fourteen years after. See Camden's Eliz. p. 97. On the other side, however, Soames, in his Elizabethan History, p. 87, observes, "Her guilt is unquestionable, if certain letters and sonnets, produced as evidence against her, be genuine; and that they are is more than probable." Robertson's dissertation, he adds, at the close of his history, fully and accurately discusses the genuineness of these conclusive documents.]

[1 Kirkaldy of Grange. See note 4, p. 295.]

especially, whom I fully believe to be sufficiently acquainted with them all.

1. First, then, not only are all the impious traditions and ceremonies of the papists taken away, but also that tyranny which the pope himself has for so many ages exercised over the church, is altogether abolished; and it is provided that all persons shall in future acknowledge him to be the very antichrist, and son of perdition, of whom Paul speaks.

2. The mass is abolished, as being an accursed abomination and a diabolical profanation of the Lord's supper; and it is forbidden to all persons in the whole kingdom of Scotland either to celebrate or hear it: should any one do otherwise, on the first offence all his goods, whether moveable, as they say, or immoveable, are forfeited to the exchequer, and the offenders themselves are to be punished at the discretion of the magistrate in whose jurisdiction they shall have been apprehended. For the second offence they are to be punished with banishment; the third is capital.

3. All those acts of parliament are repealed, by which the pope's authority in the bygone times of darkness had been either declared or confirmed.

4. The king's coronation is confirmed, because the queen, his mother, voluntarily laid down the royal authority, and appointed him by her letters to be proclaimed king.

5. The lord James, earl of Moray, is elected regent, as they call it, of the kingdom; and authority is given to him to administer the government in the king's name; and this, until the king himself shall have attained his seventeenth year. This too was done at the command of the queen, who also fixed the time of his majority.

6. A form of oath is prescribed, which all future sovereigns are to take at the time they are proclaimed. They must solemnly promise and swear that they will endeavour, to the utmost of their power, that the christian religion which is now preached throughout the whole kingdom shall be faithfully retained, without being contaminated by any traditions of papists and other heretics, which oppose its purity.

7. In the seventh is prescribed the mode of presenting benefices to those who shall undertake the office of the ministry. Those to whom belongs the hereditary right of patronage are to present some one to the church, whom if the church shall upon diligent examination find to be duly qualified, she shall admit [to the living]; if

otherwise, she must reject him, and appoint to that office a more worthy candidate.

8. None are to be appointed judges, scribes, notaries, public apparitors, and beadles, until they have made a profession of the christian religion.

9. The third only of the tithes is to be paid to the ministers of God's word, so long as until, after the decease of the old incumbents, they may enjoy the entire benefice.

10. None shall be admitted to the instruction of youth in learning and morals, until he shall have made an open profession of religion.

11. Authority is given to ministers that they may sincerely preach the word of God, lawfully administer the sacraments, and sharply reprove the vices and corrupt manners of the people.

12. The patrons of those preferments which the mass-priests heretofore enjoyed in the colleges, may now convert them to the support of those whom we commonly call bursars[1], into the number of whom are generally chosen such young men as, being without friends or means of support, would otherwise be unable to procure a learned education.

13. A punishment is decreed against fornicators. For on the first offence they are to pay eighty[2] pounds, or to be committed to prison for eight days, and there fed only upon bread and the smallest beer: they are afterwards, on the next market-day, to be placed in some conspicuous situation whence they may easily be seen by every one, there to remain from ten o'clock till twelve, with their heads uncovered, and bound with rings of iron. For a second offence the penalty is one hundred and thirty pounds[3], or sixteen days' imprisonment upon bread and water: then, as before, they are to be exposed to the people in the public market, with the addition of having their heads shaved. For the third offence the penalty is two hundred pounds[4], or imprisonment for thrice the former number of days; and at the expiration of that time, after having been dipped three times in deep water, they are to be for ever banished from the city or parish. Both the man and woman, as often as they shall offend, are liable to these punishments.

14. Incest is made a capital offence. Nothing however was

[1 Or exhibitioners.]
[2 Pounds Scotch, i. e. of 20*d.* each, in all £6. 13*s.* 4*d.*]
[3 i. e. £10. 16*s.* 8*d.*] [4 i. e. £16. 13*s.* 4*d.*]

determined upon in the assembly with regard to adultery; but the consideration of that crime was deferred till the next session.

15. Marriages contracted between persons related in the second degree, such as those between brothers' and sisters' [children], are declared lawful.

CXXXIV. BISHOP GRINDAL TO T. BEZA AND OTHERS. [B. 66.]

London, *April* 17, 1568.

Health in Christ. Master John Cousins, the most faithful minister of the French church in this country, and my very dear brother in the Lord, has this day shewn me a letter that he has written to you upon the state of the Dutch church in London, and which he sends together with this. In that letter the origin and substance of all the controversies in the said church are set forth with the greatest simplicity and truth. I pray you therefore, very dear brethren, to give full credit to that letter, and aid with your counsel not only the Dutch church in London, but also the other churches of that language; and earnestly exhort them to be zealous in the promotion of peace and unity. I doubt not but that your exhortations and admonitions will have great influence with them. I would have written somewhat more fully upon this subject, and also upon the state of our own churches, had not a disorder in my eyes, which succeeded a tertian ague, prevented me from doing so. But the Lord, I hope, will afford me a better opportunity at some future time. May the Lord preserve you, my very dear brethren, and bless your ministry! London, April 17, 1568.

Yours in Christ, Edmund Grindal, bishop of London.

CXXXV. BISHOP GRINDAL TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 82.]

London, *June* 11, 1568.

Health in Christ. Your affectionate letters, I believe, have all reached me, for which I return you my best thanks. I did not reply to them at the time of the last Frankfort fair, because at the beginning of Lent I was suffering with a tertian ague, which was succeeded by a disease in my eyes; but by the mercy of the Lord I am now recovered.

I congratulate you and the people of Geneva on the quiet pos-

ture of affairs, which indeed is almost miraculous; for you have on every side the most bitter adversaries.

Our controversy concerning the habits, about which you write, had cooled down for a time, but broke out again last winter; and this by the means of some who are more zealous than they are either learned or gifted with pious discretion. Some London citizens[1] of the lowest order, together with four or five ministers, remarkable neither for their judgment nor learning, have openly separated from us; and sometimes in private houses, sometimes in the fields, and occasionally even in ships, they have held their meetings and administered the sacraments. Besides this, they have ordained ministers, elders, and deacons, after their own way, and have even excommunicated some who had seceded from their church. And because masters Laurence Humphrey, Sampson, Lever, and others, who have suffered so much to obtain liberty in respect of things indifferent, will not unite with them, they now regard them as semi-papists, and will not allow their followers to attend their preaching[2]. The number of this sect is about two hundred, but consisting of more women than men. The privy council have lately committed the heads of this faction to prison, and are using every means to put a timely stop to this sect.

You are, I suppose, well acquainted with the state of affairs in France and the Netherlands. New commotions have lately arisen in Scotland. On the second of May last the queen, who was kept a prisoner in the castle of Lochleven[3], having bribed her keepers,

[1 See Strype, Life of Grindal, p. 168, &c.]

[2 When Bishop Grindal reproved some of this party for not going to church, one of them replied, that he had as lief go to mass, as to some churches; on which the bishop said, that they ought not to find fault with all for a few, and that they might go to other places; and particularly mentioned Laurence, and Sampson, and Lever, who preached in London, being dispensed with, though they wore not the habits, besides Coverdale. See Strype, Grindal, p. 171.]

[3 George Douglas, brother to the laird of Lochleven, conveyed her in disguise into a small boat, and himself rowed her on shore. Hume. See Camden, Eliz. p. 108. She had previously attempted an escape on the 25th of March, the manner of which is thus related in a letter of Sir William Drury to Cecil, dated Berwick, April 2, 1568: "There cometh into her the landresse early as at other tymes before she was wonted, and the quene (according to such a secret practice) putteth on the weede (clothes) of her landresse, and so, with the fardell of clothes and her muffler upon her face, passeth out and entreth the bote to pass the Loughe, which, after some space, one of them that rowed said merrily, 'Lett us see what manner of dame this is!' and therewith offered to pull downe her muffler; which to

escaped from confinement, and fled to Castle Hamilton[4], where she collected troops[5]. On the 13th of May the lieutenant of the kingdom, (called the regent,) assembled his forces and engaged in a skirmish with the queen's party[6]. Her army was put to flight: about a hundred escaped; the rest, who could have been destroyed to a man, were allowed quarter; but she herself, with a few attendants, fled to the sea[7], and going on board a small vessel, crossed the narrow frith at the mouth of the river Solway, and arrived at the city of Carlisle, which is in this kingdom. She still remains, but however in honourable custody, in the castle[8] of that city. The

defend she put upp her hands; which they espyed to be very fayre and white, wherewith they entered into suspition whom she was, beginning to wonder at her enterprise. Whereat she was little dismayed, but chardged them uppon danger of their lives to rowe her over to the shore, which they nothing regarded, but eftesones rowed her back agayne, promising her that it shud be secreted, and in especiall from the lord of the house under whose gard she lieth." MS. Cotton. Calig. c. I. 53.]

[4 "The quene would willingly have gone for her more suerty to Dumbarton castle; but the Ambletons wyll not therunto condescend, alledging that there she should be in lyttell better estate then in Loghleven, consydering the practice that the Lord of Ledington would use to the Lord Fleming. But as that may be one cause, so they thynk by having her in theyr possession they shol be the stronger, and bryng theyr purpose the better to passe." Sir Wm. Drury to Cecil, May 12, 1568. MS. Cott. Calig. b. IX. 365.]

[5 Within a day or two so great a multitude flocked unto her from all parts, that she levied an army of six thousand warriors. Camden, Elizabeth, p. 108. The following letter is given verbatim as it was written by her on this occasion to the laird of Nether Polloc, and which is still preserved in the family: "Traist freind, We greit zow weill. We dowt not bot ze knaw that God of his gudenes has put us at libertie, quhome we thank maist hartlie, qwharefore desyres zow wt all possible diligence fail not to be heir at us in Hamylton, wt all zor folks, freinds and serwands bodin in feir of weir as ze will do us acceptable service and plessrs. Becaws we knaw zor qutance [constancy] we neid not at yis pnt (present) to mak langar lie (letter) bot will byd zow fair weill. Off Hamylton ye 5 of Maii 1568. (Signed) Marie R." See Mackie, Castles of Q. Mary, p. 126, who gives a fac-simile of the original letter.]

[6 Namely, at Langside, near Glasgow, on May 14, as Sir William Drury writes to Cecil from Berwick on the following day. He says, "the earle did his best to stay bloud to be shed, yea, by his contraryes [enemies] the same is affirmed." MS. Cott. Calig. c. I. 67.]

[7 She embarked on board a fishing boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Workington in Cumberland, about thirty miles from Carlisle.]

[8 Sir Francis Knolles, who was sent to Carlisle to receive the queen of Scots, writes to Cecil, from Richmond, Thursday, May 27th. "The quene of Scotts is staied still at Carlile by the deputie warder's good behaviour and discretion toward her highnes' service." MS. Cott. Calig. b. IX. 290.]

queen[1] of Scotland seeks aid from us, that she may be restored to her kingdom, which under the influence of fear (as she says) she resigned to her son; or at least, that she may have a safe conduct to France[2], where she may make trial of the fidelity of her friends. The Scottish nobles, on the other hand, by their ambassadors, require her to be again delivered into their custody, alleging it to be unfit for her to resume the crown, who not only procured the death of her husband, but afterwards united herself in an adulterous marriage with his very murderer, and one too, who had a wife yet living. What decision will be come to as to these matters, I am yet ignorant. May the Lord overrule them all for good! Whatever it may be, should the Lord spare my life, I will endeavour to inform you. Salute, I pray you, master Gualter and the rest of the brethren in my name. May the Lord preserve you, my very reverend friend and dear brother in the Lord! London, June 11, 1568. Your most devoted in the Lord,

EDMUND GRINDAL, Bishop of London.

Just as I was about to seal this letter, news was brought me, that the duke of Alva, at Brussels, on the fifth of this month, had inflicted capital punishment on the counts Egmont[3] and Horn[4], and

[1 Queen Mary's letter to Elizabeth is given by Camden, Eliz. p. 109.]

[2 "Well, sayd she (queen Mary), I woll not detayne this Frenche ambassador untyll Master Mydelmore's comyng, neither woll I be any longer delayed; for I woll require the quene, my good sister, that either she will lett me go into France, or that she woll put me into Dunbritone, unlesse she woll hold me as a prysoner." Sir F. Knolles to Cecil, from Carlisle, June 21. MS. Cott. Calig. c. I. 107.]

[3 Lamoral, Count Egmont, had been ambassador in 1553 from Charles 5th to queen Mary respecting her marriage with his son Philip. He was afterwards governor in the provinces of Flanders and Artois, and was of so popular a character, that when the duchess of Parma was made regent of the Low Countries, the public voice had already nominated Egmont to fill that exalted station. See Burgon's Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham, Vol. II. p. 126, where, in p. 233, is a curious letter from Sir Richard Clough describing the arrest of the Counts Egmont and Horn.]

[4 Philip de Montmorenci, Count Horn, had been governor of the province of Gueldres, which was taken from him and given to Count Meghem. His trial, with that of Count Horn, is thus noticed in a letter from Sir R. Clough to Sir Thomas Gresham, dated Sept. 15, 1567. "We have news from Brussells, that there are 12 appointed to sit upon the County of Egmont and the County of Horne; 2 of them to be of the Lords of the order [of the golden Fleece], and all the rest presidents of the counsell of these Low Countries; who are all papists (saving one, who is the president of Gawntt, who is takyn for a man of good judgment,) so that by them both they and all the rest shall be tried." Burgon, as above, p. 236.]

about twenty other noblemen. The man, it seems, is cruel enough by nature, and has descended to this degree of ferocity through irritation at the unfortunate result of the battle near Groningen, with Louis of Nassau. For the duke of Alva, it is reported, lost there two thousand Spaniards and three thousand Walloons, as they call them. There fell also the Count von Orenburg, and some Spanish generals of consequence. Egmont admitted a monk as his confessor, and adored the cross at the very place of execution. The Count Horn rejected all such things, and died in the confession of the truth.

CXXXVI. BISHOP PARKHURST TO R. GUALTER AND H. BULLINGER. [A. 83.]

LUDHAM, *Aug.* 4, 1568.

I WROTE a letter to you at the end of February, and hope it came safe to hand. I received letters from Bullinger and Lavater on the 11th of May, and from you, Gualter, on the 18th of the same month. The queen of Scotland made her escape from prison about the same time. A bloody fight[5] immediately took place between the papists, the friends[6] of the queen, and the protestants, who were on the king's side. She was on an eminence[7], mounted on a swift horse, when the battle was at its height, and had a view of the whole engagement. But when she perceived at length that the victory lay with the regent James and his party, she fled with a few of her attendants into England; for she had rather trust herself to the English than her own subjects, and I believe it was more safe for her to do so. She is now at Carlisle, a town

[5 At Langside near Glasgow, May 14th. See note 5, p. 315.]

[6 A bond of association for her defence was signed by the Earls of Argyle, Huntley, Eglinton, Crawford, Cassilis, Rothes, Montrose, Sutherland, Errol, nine bishops and nine barons, besides many of the most considerable gentry. And in a few days an army, to the number of six thousand men, was assembled under her standard. Hume.]

[7 "The quene [was] a reasonable distance of, and gave the looking on, till she saw howe it [the battle] proceded." Sir W. Drury to Cecil, MS. Cott. Calig. c. I. 67. "On a hill opposite to Langside queen Mary stood during the battle, and witnessed the discomfiture of her friends and the annihilation of her hopes: a hawthorn bush, commonly known by the name of Queen Mary's thorn, long marked out the place, till it decayed through age; when another was reverentially planted on the same spot to preserve the memory of the scene." Mackie, Castles of Queen Mary, p. 127.]

well fortified, but is shortly, as I am told, about to reside in the middle of England.

On the 13th of July[1] Dr William Turner, a good physician and an excellent man, died at London. Lever preached at his funeral. I have written this single letter, short as it is, to you both; for I am in doubt whether, in the present confused state of affairs, it will ever reach you. I am therefore unwilling now to write more.

Salute in my name all my friends, especially masters Simler, Lavater, Wolfius, Haller, Wickius, Wonlichius, Zuinglius, &c. Farewell. In haste. Ludham, August 4, 1568.

Yours entirely, JOHN PARKHURST, [Bishop] of Norwich.

CXXXVII. BISHOP COX TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 84.]

[1568.]

HEALTH in Christ Jesus, my Bullinger, my very dear brother, and a most shining light in the church of God. I have by me three letters of yours, written last year, the first of which is dated January 6, 1568; the second, March 20th, 1568; the third, August 24th, 1568. I have, in addition to these, your books[2] on the "Origin of Error," presented by yourself. For my not having yet replied to your most gratifying and pious letters, I had rather assign no reason at all than a light and futile one. Passing over, then, all excuses, I return sincere thanks to my friend Henry, both because he has so frequently vouchsafed to converse with me by letter, and also for his continuing to oblige me with such pious presents. I do indeed thank God from my heart, that he has set you up as a most solid pillar for the propagation of his truth. I pray that the Lord our God may prolong your life to his glory and the good of his church; which is now confined and oppressed on every side, and over which the adversaries are meditating and most eagerly anticipating a triumph. But "why do the heathen rage? &c."—(Ps. ii. 1.) We may hope most confidently that God will not desert his people for ever. May the Lord confound the counsels of those Swiss, who with so much animosity deserted you for the French! The Assyrians raged terribly against Jerusalem, but it was to their great discomfort. If God be for us, who can be against us? Our affairs, thank God, are hitherto tolerably

[1 See above, p. 230, note 2.]

[2 See note 1, p. 284.]

quiet, except that the Canaanites are wonderfully thickening among us, daily looking for the time when the ass will speak.

Our excellent friend Abel is still alive, but most grievously tormented with the stone. There is an abundant crop of pious young men in our universities. The Lord, we hope, will increase the number of the labourers who may be sent into his harvest; and this ought to be a singular comfort to myself, who must soon expect my own dismission, when my spirit shall return to heaven, and my body be consigned to the earth.

Farewell, my very dear brother, and let us aid each other by our mutual prayers to God. Salute my friend Julius; he is not quite a stranger to me. 1568.

Your most attached, RICHARD COX, [Bishop] of Ely.

CXXXVIII. C. MONT TO H. BULLINGER. [B. 67.]

Dated at STRASBURGH, *Dec.* 27, 1568.

I HAVE lately received two letters from you, the one written on the 13th of December, the other on the 16th, brought to me by master Antony Francis, whom both on account of his learning and piety I would willingly have obliged, if I had had it in my power. As I could not forward more speedily your treasurer's letter to his son, I have given it in charge to master Antony, who is going to-morrow from hence to Heidelberg.

I can write your excellency no certain news from France; for all the tidings brought from that country are so vague, that we dare give very little credit to what is told us. We have this one token, that the affairs of the Huguenots are not yet despaired of, namely, that the king's party, who have at other times put forth vain and inflated exaggerations of any new occurrence in their own favour, are now silent, and have become more moderate. I believe that the Italians[3], having met, as they deserved, with a warm reception, will not rashly make an incursion into France. The cruelty and impious domination of the Spaniards will be retaliated by the avenging arms of the Turks.

The bishop of London wrote to me on the 10th of October, which letter I received at length on the 20th of December. For as we are now deprived of the convenience afforded by Flanders in

[3 A subsidy of 10,000 ducats was paid by Pius V. to the duke of Savoy, to furnish him with necessary equipments, that he might take the field in France against the Huguenots. Smedley's Hist. of Ref. in France, I. 299.]

the transmission of letters, and the German Ocean is now closed against us, we are deprived of the facility both of sending letters and receiving them in return. The bishop in his letter desired me to salute your excellency in his name. I have thought it right to communicate to you, as a friend and well wisher to the affairs of England, the tidings that I have received from thence. The duke of Norfolk, who had till now conducted himself loyally and peaceably in England, as a nobleman should do, puffed up by extravagant and ambitious expectations, entertained the idea of contracting a most unhappy marriage with the parricide and blood-sucking Medea[1], and inflamed with this project withdrew from court to his ancestral domains. On his presumption being discovered, he was summoned to court by a special messenger; to which summons however he paid no attention, but remained on his paternal estate. The queen, perceiving with her wonted discretion the necessity of putting a stop to such proceedings, sent an officer[2] of the royal guards with a troop of soldiers to apprehend him; on hearing of

[1 The queen of Scots gave her consent to the marriage, but first desired that queen Elizabeth's consent might be obtained: the latter, it appears, first heard of the proposition through some ladies of the court, on which she took the duke to her board at Farnham, and pleasantly gave him warning to "beware on what pillow he leaned his head." Leicester afterwards more fully revealed the matter to the queen, on her coming to visit him, when he either fell sick, or counterfeited himself so, at Titchfield. The queen sharply reproved Norfolk, and commanded him to desist; and shortly afterwards, on the representation of Murray, (who first moved this match to the duke, but who wrote to the queen that the duke had propounded it to him,) committed him to the Tower. See Camden's Elizabeth, p. 126, &c. and Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 237, &c. There is a very interesting letter from John Foxe the martyrologist to the duke of Norfolk, to dissuade him from the above-mentioned marriage, in which the writer says: "There is a great rumour with us here in London, and so far spread that it is in every man's mouth almost, of your marriage with the Scottish quene; which rumour as I trust to be false, so would I be sorry that it should be true, for two respects: the one, for the good will I beare to you; the other for the love I beare to the commonwealthe, for that I see no other, (and many besides me do so no lesse,) but the day of that marriage, whensoever it beginneth, will end with such a catastrophe as will be either ruinous to yourself, or dangerous to the tranquillity of the realme, the peace whereof standing so long amongst us through the great mercy of God, God forbid it should now begin to break by you!" MS. Harl. 416, 154.]

[2 Edward Fitzgerald, the earl of Kildare's brother, lieutenant of the band of gentlemen pensioners, met and received the duke of Norfolk at Saint Alban's on his return to court, and conveyed him to Burnham, three miles from Windsor, where the queen then lay. Camden, Elizabeth, p. 131.]

which he voluntarily commenced his journey to court, but he was stopped by the queen's order, and not allowed to come near the court. After a delay of three days he was committed to the tower of London, where he is still detained. Two other earls[3] were ordered to confine themselves to their own houses, as being charged with the suspicion of being privy to his design. Now that the duke is arrested, and the others reduced to order, the whole kingdom is quiet and tranquil. Unless that serpent is removed out of the way, she will occasion much mischief by the arts and wiles peculiar to her race, like her who dreamed that she was delivered of a burning torch. Our most serene queen has hitherto peaceably carried on the government without any bloodshed: may God grant her a continuance of this happiness!

An ambassador was lately sent over from the king of Spain to the most serene queen of England, requesting liberty of passage in his name for three legions or regiments of Flemish infantry, who were on their way to Spain to be employed against the rebel Moors. The queen is reported to have replied on the instant, that it might possibly be attended with danger for such a number of soldiers to sail along the coasts of England; for as the winds are changeable and uncertain, and many things may happen to persons travelling by sea, different from what they expected, if these soldiers, upon some urgent necessity, should be obliged to bring to in the English ports, the landing of such numbers could not take place without mischief, and it would therefore be necessary for the queen to arm and defend her coasts and harbours with garrison troops: but if the king chose to bear that expense, and give security that he would not make any other use of the German soldiery than against the Moors, she would be ready to oblige him. But it must be considered that faith is not to be kept with heretics, and that, if an oath is to be violated, it may well be violated for the sake of a kingdom[4]. Pope Julius used to say that oaths were binding on merchants, but not on princes.

We hear no news from Saxony. The prince of Orange is still lingering with the Saxon. The elector himself, it is said, will be

[3 The earl of Pembroke was commanded to keep his house, and brought to a private examination. Camden, Eliz. p. 132. The other nobleman was probably the earl of Arundel, who "had earnestly moved [the duke] to marry the Scottish queen," as the earl of Sussex writes to Cecil, Sept. 11, 1569. MS. Cotton. Calig. c. i. 324.]

[4 See Cicero, De Off. III. 21.]

present at the marriage of his daughter[1], who is to be brought to Heidelberg, where the marriage will take place on the 5th of February. Nothing is yet determined about our sending troops into France. A small force will not be able to penetrate; a large one will cost too much money, and, to go to any expense and incur danger for the sake of religion, is the work of a Sampson. I offer my services to your reverence. Strasburgh, Dec. 27, 1568. Let us pray that through the divine mercy we may meet with better success in the year now approaching. I wish you would omit my English[2] titles in the address of your letters.

The prudent man, of such possessed,
Enjoys them in his silent breast.

C. M.

CXXXIX. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO J. STURMIUS. [B. 68.]

WESTMINSTER, *May* 1, 1569.

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, &c. to John Sturmius, our right well-beloved friend, greeting.

We have received your letter, written to us on the 19th of March, from those parties to whom you gave it to be delivered to us. And to the individuals themselves we have both given the credit that your letter requested, and have accurately considered every thing that they were ordered to acquaint us with. By which recognizing your former good will towards us, and that care and solicitude respecting our state, which you have long since manifested to us by abundant evidence; though we were not greatly surprised at it by reason of your ancient attachment to us, yet we rejoiced greatly, and now also return you much thanks.

But with respect to the things mentioned by them to us, we have thus determined, that, as we have lately sent over thither with dispatches our faithful servant, Henry Killigrew[3], in whom, together with doctor Mont, our faithful servant, who is well known to you, we wish full confidence to be placed in respect to all our affairs, you may freely make known to them all the circumstances, and

[1 Elizabeth, daughter of Augustus, elector of Saxony, was married in 1569, to John Casimir, count Palatine.]

[2 Christopher Mont was Q. Elizabeth's political agent at Strasburgh.]

[3 For an account of this embassy see Strype, Ann. I. ii. 268.]

communicate them without reserve to either one or both. And when we have been made acquainted by them with such your conference, we will come to such a determination, by God's blessing, upon the whole matter, as may be worthy of the cause and of ourselves. Farewell. From our palace at Westminster, May 1, in the year of our Lord 1569, and in the eleventh year of our reign.

ELIZABETH R.

CXL. BISHOP GRINDAL TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 85.]

FULHAM, *Aug.* 13, 1569.

HEALTH in Christ. That I seldom write to your reverence, my very dear master Bullinger, you must impute to our late wars and interrupted commerce with the Netherlands. I received last year your books "on the Origin of Error," and "on Councils," for which also I return you my best thanks.

The dissensions[4] in our Dutch church at London, about which you wrote to me, are, by the grace of God, at length composed. The judgment of your churches was of very great advantage to us.

The duke of Alva[5] is clearly acting the part of Phalaris among our Low-Country neighbours. All persons of wealth, of whatever religion, are living in the greatest danger. For men, the rich especially, are daily dragged to execution, without regard to any form of law. As to the affairs of France, you know them all better than we do. Through the mercy of God we are in great tranquillity, notwithstanding Alva's threatenings. Our commerce with the Netherlands has been interrupted on this account. Last winter the Spanish[6] vessels, which through the medium of the Genoese

[4 For an account of these disputes, see Strype, Grindal, 189, &c.]

[5 The duke of Alva's first act, after he found himself sole governor of the provinces, in 1568, was to erect a tribunal, so arbitrary in its objects, so inhuman in its proceedings, that the common people designated it by the epithet *bloody;* and that tribunal might well be called so, which enabled the duke to boast on his return to Spain, that he had caused the death of upwards of 18,000 persons by the hands of the executioner. He might have added, that he had been the ruin of 300,000 besides. Burgon, Vol. II. p. 259.]

[6 These ships were chased by some of the prince of Condé's ships of war, and took refuge in England. It was thought proper, for better security, to land the money, which was all in Spanish reals, and amounted to 400,000 ducats. The queen was informed by the cardinal de Chatillon, that the money did not

merchants conveyed money to Alva from the pope, were driven by a tempest into our harbours, which are both numerous and safe. The sum, I believe, was 300,000 crowns. This sum, sent as it were from heaven, as all the neighbouring nations are raging with war, our queen, that she might have money ready against every emergency, determined to borrow from the merchants themselves, giving sufficient security for the repayment, at a given time, both of the principal and interest; a plan which had often been adopted by other sovereigns. When Alva[1] heard this, he caused all our merchants now in the Netherlands to be arrested, together with their vessels and their freight. Our government did the same both to the Spaniards and Netherlanders. Our merchants therefore are now compelled to exercise their trade at Hamburgh, a place far less convenient, and this to the great detriment of the whole of the Netherlands.

In Scotland, our next neighbour, all affairs are still carried on, as heretofore, under the authority of the youthful king. The administration (of the government) is in the hands of an excellent man, the Lord James Stuart[2], earl of Murray, the king's uncle, to whom the rest of the nobility, who formerly opposed his authority, have at length submitted. Their disagreement was not respecting matters of religion; for each party, even when the dispute was at the highest, professed, as they still continue to do, the doctrine of the gospel. The queen of Scotland, who is still detained here in suffi-

belong to the king of Spain, but to some Genoese and Italian merchants, who were afraid the duke (of Alva) would seize it for his own use, as he indeed intended; and the queen, knowing it would be employed against the protestants, and the merchants being willing to lend it her, she borrowed it of them, and gave security for its repayment. Alva, incensed at a disappointment which put him under difficulties in the measure he was taking, caused all the English merchants at Antwerp to be arrested; and he took an inventory of their ships and effects, which he sold afterwards to his own profit. Carte's Hist. of England. See also Burgon's Life of Sir Thomas Gresham, Vol. II. p. 277, &c. and Camden, Eliz. p. 120, &c., who states, p. 191, that the money was faithfully repaid in 1573.]

[1 The earl of Leicester writes to Randolph, May 1, 1569: "The duke of Alva hath ruffled with us ever since Christmas, and not only emprisoned our merchants, but also stayed their goods and shippes, whereuppon the quene's majestie hath done the lyke here, and stayed certayne treasure which by force of weather was dryven uppon the west coast. She hathe likewise armed forthe certayne of her shippes to keepe the narrow seas, which have taken dyvers of their hulks and therein greate substance and treasure, all which is surely kept uppon a reckoning till we may see howe matters will fall out betwixt us and them." MS. Lansd. II. 36.]

[2 See p. 309.]

ciently honourable and free custody[3], will not confirm this regency of Scotland, and thinks herself wronged by it. She is therefore urging [the assistance of] her friends as much as she can; but unless she is supported by foreign aid, she will not easily recover her kingdom.

Thus much have I thought fit to write to you at this time concerning our own affairs and those of our neighbours. Bishops Horn, Parkhurst, Jewel, Cox, Sandys, Pilkington, are all well, and entreated me, whenever I should write to you, to salute your reverence in their name. Greet, I pray you, from me master Rodolph Gualter, and your other brethren in the ministry. Commend us to the Lord in your prayers. May the Lord Jesus long preserve you in safety to us and to his church, my very reverend and dear brother in the Lord! Fulham, on the banks of the Thames, 13th August, 1569.

Your most devoted in the Lord,

EDM. GRINDAL, bishop of London.

Our brother John Abel, after having been long afflicted with the stone, exchanged this life for a better some months since.

CXLI. J. STURMIUS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH. [B. 69.]

STRASBURGH, *Sept.* 6, 1569.

THE individual[4], most serene queen, who has translated the holy Bible into Spanish, is one of those, who, oppressed by the calumnies of wicked men, are unable to retain the position in which they seem in a manner to have been placed by God. That serpent, the enemy of all good men, envies England this man and his work, yea, envies the church of Christ; and this excellent man has been compelled by the evil artifices of his enemies to depart from England. But he

[3 The queen of Scots was removed from Bolton to Tutbury Castle in the January of this year, and placed under the care of George Talbot, sixth earl of Shrewsbury. In the month of August she was again removed to Sheffield Castle.]

[4 Cassiodorus de Reyna is the person here mentioned. He was one of the preachers of the Spanish church in England, which he was obliged to leave upon suspicion of some grievous crime. His translation of the Bible was printed at Basle in 1569, and entitled "La Biblia, que es los sacros libros del viejo y nuevo Testamento, transladada en espagnol, 1569." A revised edition of it was published by Cyprian de Valera, at Amsterdam, in 1702. Horne's Introduction, Vol. II. p. 268. He also published "A defence of the divinity of Christ against the Jews."]

has neither laid aside his zeal for religion, nor his good will towards the kingdom of England, nor his veneration for your majesty; and he has overcome the power of the devil, and completed a work which he would willingly have published under the protection of your majesty, if he thought the Spaniards would suffer it without resentment, and if he had considered it worthy of your majesty's patronage: not that he is himself undeserving of the support of the most excellent and powerful, by reason of his virtue and learning, but that he thinks too humbly of himself. He is however desirous that this work and his services should meet with the approval of your majesty, and has requested my recommendation of both; that, if he may not come into England himself, his bible may at least obtain a place, in which, after having been so long and greatly tossed about with its author, it may at length repose in peace. I commend therefore to your majesty both this man and his labours against the calumnies of the malevolent. They indeed have received their just punishment, and the end of their life sufficiently proved what their course of life had been. But I so intercede for the author, as also to ask pardon for myself, for being so troublesome amidst this vast pressure of business, especially in these disturbances of the world; believing however, and hoping, that as the prayers and supplications of the humble are not unacceptable to God, so they will not be so to great men and the rulers of empires and kingdoms. I pray God to preserve your majesty in health and safety, happiness and prosperity. Strasburgh, Sept. 6, 1569.

Your most serene majesty's faithful servant and subject,

JOHN STURMIUS.

CXLII. J. STURMIUS TO SIR W. CECIL. [B. 70.]

STRASBURGH, *Sept.* 8, 1569.

I HAVE written to the most serene queen about the Spanish Bible[1], and have commended it to her majesty's protection. But I have need also in this matter of the support of your authority, that if this my vindication should be at all questioned, you may afford us your assistance; that the calumny of the Spanish papists may not prove of more avail than the desires of the professors of the gospel in those parts. The bible, I hear, is faithfully translated, and I entertain such an opinion of the party who has translated it, that

[1 See the preceding letter.]

I would not hesitate even to swear to his fidelity and innocence. He is certainly endued with an acute and erudite judgment. We only petition her majesty to allow the work to be exposed for sale in your booksellers' shops, should any copies happen to be brought over. You have already dared, and still dare to do greater things than this; and it is surely the duty of religion to provide a habitation for the Holy Spirit.

We hear nothing in these parts about the French affairs, as all the roads are so entirely blocked up. We have, however, great expectations from you, and also from the conference of our princes at Neuberg. The emperor's commissioners have now been fruitlessly expecting for many weeks the arrival in our city of the envoys of the electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh, and know not how to account for their delay. Farewell, illustrious sir. Strasburgh, Sept. 8, 1569.

Your honour's most devoted, JOHN STURMIUS.

CXLIII. R. HILLES TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 86.]

LONDON, *Feb.* 6, 1570.

THIS, most learned sir, is my letter, whereby you will understand, that on the death of our friend, John Abel, your letter of the 14th of March last, together with one from master Rodolph Gualter of the 17th of the same month, both of them being addressed to me in the absence of the aforesaid John Abel, were delivered into my hands. I therefore opened [the packet] and read the letters, and forwarded them, together with the books which you mention therein, to the persons to whom you had directed them. I received also a letter from Julius, of the 16th March, 1569, and some works tied up in separate parcels, addressed to the bishops of Salisbury, Ely, and Worcester, and Sir Antony Cook, together with some little books for each of them; and which I forwarded with the parcels to the individuals above mentioned. I wish you to be informed of all this; for your letter dated August 24th has also reached me, and as you seem therein to desire that, both as to forwarding letters from yourself to others, and also conveying them from others to you, I will supply the place of our friend Abel, (who has died in the Lord, and therefore is now, I doubt not, blessed and delivered from those pains which he endured when alive in this world,) I will most readily do this as far as I can. As to the writings which you state to have been inclosed with the aforesaid letter, as soon as they came

into my hands, I sent them to the reverend the bishops and other learned persons to whom you had directed them. But it pained me much to perceive, from the letter which you sent to John Abel, that although you were not tormented, as he was, with the stone in the bladder, you have nevertheless been afflicted with the same disease in the reins, so that from Martinmass up to the 14th of March you parted with sixty calculi, some of which were of a considerable size. I am glad, however, that although you have been suffering so severely under that kind of disorder, so much patience has been bestowed upon you by divine providence; and I pray God it may abide with you to the end.

Two years since I sent you a letter, of which I derived the chief materials verbatim from one written by a certain individual to master Christopher Mont of Strasburgh, informing him of the state of lower Germany, and especially of Antwerp, a little before the arrival of the duke of Alva. I sent a duplicate [copy] of this letter to the Lent fair at Frankfort in 1568, inclosed in my letter to you, that it might be given in charge to one of the Zurich booksellers, who would deliver it to you. But as you make no mention whatever of this letter to Christopher Mont in yours of the 24th of August 1569, I rather suspect that it has been lost than that it has reached you, and therefore I inclose a duplicate in this present letter. But when you state that if a letter to you from hence can by my means be conveyed to master Christopher Mont, it will doubtless reach you, [and] that the reverend bishop of London, Edmund Grindal, if I avail myself of his assistance, can be of great use in forwarding it to the aforesaid Christopher Mont, I am but seldom able to be of much use in matters of this kind. For I was generally accustomed, as long as that route was permitted, to be of use in sending letters, as well to Christopher Mont as to yourself, by way of lower Germany. But now for a whole year I have not sent a single letter to any learned men, either in upper Germany or Switzerland, by way of lower Germany, lest it should be opened in that quarter; so that I have been necessarily obliged to send my letters to Hamburgh. Wherefore, until this long-pending dispute[1] between our most serene queen and the king of Spain shall be settled, I am of opinion that both yourself and the aforenamed Christopher Mont will receive very few letters from hence, except at the Frankfort fair.

I thank you for acquainting me with the news relating both to yourselves in Switzerland, and on the borders of France on the

[1 See note 1, p. 324.]

Swiss side. There is no news in this country which I can relate for certain, except that two earls, those namely of Northumberland and Westmoreland (as I fancy you have heard from hence some days since), whom the queen's majesty ordered, in the month of December last, to appear before her honourable council, (to clear themselves from a suspicion of a conspiracy premeditated by them against the religion and doctrine proved by the holy scriptures, and established by the authority of our most serene queen, at least ten years since,) have raised a rebellion; and together[2] with some of the queen's subjects, inhabitants of the bishoprick of Durham, (over which bishop Pilkington presides,) whom they had jointly stirred up to battle, they most impiously took up arms. The rest of the people, however, in other parts of the country, by the great mercy of God, continued in their allegiance, preserved the peace, and lived godly therein under the authority of God and the queen. Those too who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the bishoprick of Durham, rendered their assistance towards the suppression of the rebellion to those noble personages whom the queen had sent for that purpose[3]; and thus they so pursued those two earls and their whole army, that they themselves, with some cavalry who accompanied them, took refuge in Scotland, where they were forcibly seized[4] by lord James the

[2 In a letter from Sir George Bowes to the earl of Sussex, dated Bernard Castle, Nov. 10, 1569, the writer states that "Yesterday at four of the clock in the afternoone, the sayd erles.....wythe others to the nomber of *three hundred* horsemen, armed in corsetts,.....with speres, harquebusses, and daggers, came to Durham." MS. Cott. Calig. b. IX. 331. Stowe says they marched to Durham on the 14th of November, and on Tuesday the 22nd, (which Camden and Whitlocke call the 12th day of their rebellion) they mustered on Clifford Moor to the number of *sixteen hundred horsemen*, (or *six hundred* according to Camden and Whitlocke) and *four thousand* footmen. A letter from Thomas Stanhope, dated Newark, Dec. 1, (MS. Lansd. Calig. b. IX. 351,) states, on the report of Sir William Bellewes, at York, "that they were not above four thousande footmen at the moste; the moste part whereof, rude, unarmed, and ill appointed; and are eight hundred horsemen, or under a thousand."]

[3 Namely, the earl of Sussex, who marched against them with seven thousand men, accompanied with Edward, earl of Rutland, the Lords Hunsdon, Evers, and Willoughby of Parham. The rebels fled to Hexham, and shortly after to Naworth castle: where, hearing that the earl of Warwick and Clinton, lord admiral, pursued them in haste with twelve thousand men from the south parts of England, the two earls with a small company, unknown to the rest, presently withdrew themselves into the neighbouring country of Scotland. See Camden's Elizabeth, p. 135.]

[4 Northumberland was delivered by the Grahams into Murray's hands, by whom he was confined in the castle of Lochleven. Westmoreland found

regent, and a nobleman of the family of Hume. So that I hope they will shortly be brought to England, where I doubt not they will receive the condign punishment that their crimes demand. While the aforesaid persons were in arms prosecuting their impious attempt, they not only threw down the communion tables[1], tore in pieces the holy bible and godly books, and trod under foot the printed homilies, but also again set up the blasphemous mass as a sacrifice for the living and the dead. And as a farther cloke to their pretended piety, they caused some crosses, and some banners of certain saints, whom they either believed to be their patrons and defenders, or pretended they would be, to be carried in procession among their arms.

Whereas our friend Rodolph Gualter inquired of John Abel to tell him the price of a piece of cloth in England, and how many German ells it contains, you may learn from me that our pieces are of different prices and lengths; but that the common and coarser ones contain about 28 or 30 Frankfort or Strasburgh ells, and are each worth from eight to ten French crowns; and the cost of dyeing or tinging with woad will be about two and a half or three French crowns each.

Before I had sealed this letter, certain intelligence is brought me that the above-mentioned lord James, regent of Scotland, has been wounded by a gun-shot and killed[2] by a certain nobleman of the Hamilton family.

Farewell in Christ Jesus, my very reverend sir, and may he evermore preserve you! Amen. London, Feb. 6, 1569, according to the computation of the church of England.

Yours, R. H.

a lurkingplace with Kerr of Fernihurst, and Buccleugh, and at length escaped into the Netherlands, where he led a very poor life, even to his old age, living upon a very slender pension [of £200. a year] from the Spaniard. See Camden as above, and Strype, Annals, I. ii. 344.]

[1 The rebels went first to Durham, an episcopal see hard by, where they went and trampled under feet the English Bibles and books of Common Prayer, which they found in the churches. From thence they went small journeys, celebrating mass in all places where they came, trouping together under their colours, (wherein were painted, in some the five wounds of Christ, in others the chalice); Richard Norton, an old gentleman, with a reverend gray head, bearing a cross with a streamer before them, as far as Clifford Moor, not far from Wetherby. Camden's Elizabeth, p. 134.]

[2 In the streets of Linlithgow, (Jan. 23.) See p. 333.]

CXLIV. BISHOP GRINDAL TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 87.]

London, *Feb.* 18, 1570.

My very dear and honoured brother, master Bullinger, I have received your letter, dated August 24th. I had received also in the course of last year your book on the "Origin of Error," and "on Councils," as I wrote to you more fully in my letter sent to the autumn fair at Frankfort, and which I hope you received some months since. We cannot now send our letters except by way of Hamburgh, to one or the other of the Frankfort fairs, by reason of the road being closed against us by the duke of Alva. Had not this been the case, nothing would have been more delightful to me than to have conversed with you by letter more frequently.

I most sincerely congratulate you on your recovery from your sickness of last summer, and greatly desire to hear that your health is entirely re-established. Should you be able to regain a tolerable degree of strength in the summer succeeding the disorder, we shall, it seems, have reason to hope for a yet longer enjoyment of you: for the disease of itself very often acts as a medicine, or rather as a cure.

Our affairs, through the mercy of God, are now tolerably quiet, though they have of late been very unsettled. An attempt[3] was made, last summer, to marry the queen of Scotland to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk; but our queen, offended at the proposal, committed the above-named nobleman, on the 11th of September, to the tower of London, where he now remains a prisoner. At the beginning of November two earls, namely those of Northumberland and Westmoreland, collected troops and raised a rebellion in the counties of York and Durham, for the purpose of restoring the catholic religion, falsely so called[4]. Their army consisted of twelve hundred cavalry and four thousand infantry. They supposed that at the name of the Mass vast multitudes would come over to them; besides which they expected assistance from the duke of Alva; for they had determined upon releasing the queen of Scotland from her confinement: but their expectations were altogether disappointed. For the queen of Scotland, on the discovery of the plot, was transferred to the city of Coventry[5], in the very

[3 See above, Letter CXXXVIII. p. 320, n. 1.]

[4 See note 2, p. 329, and below, Letter CLV. note 1, for a summary account of this rebellion.]

[5 The queen returned to Tutbury Castle in January, 1570. Haynes, p. 526.]

heart of the kingdom: her friends at home were prevented from acting, partly by the severity of the winter, and partly by the passes being pre-occupied: armed vessels were also sent out to prevent any foreign aid. The queen then collected an army of twenty-four thousand men, consisting both of cavalry and infantry, and which the rebel army had not the courage to resist. So that on the 16th of December the rebels disbanded their infantry; the cavalry, however, fled to the borders of Scotland, where the greater part surrendered, and the remainder consulted their safety by flight. The two earls themselves fled into Scotland with a hundred chosen troops. But Northumberland[1] was taken prisoner by the regent of Scotland, where he still remains in confinement. Westmoreland[2], however, who is a young man, and with the spirit of a Catiline, is living among freebooters in the wilds of Scotland. Thus was this rebellion suppressed within forty days, and without bloodshed, except that five hundred of the rebels were afterwards executed, and many are still kept in prison awaiting a like punishment[3]. The rebel army had on their colours the five wounds, as they are called, and the representation of a cross with this inscription, *In hoc signo vinces.* They performed their masses in every church; the bibles moreover, translated into our language, which are found in all our churches, they either tore in pieces, or committed to the flames. They ransacked the property of the bishop of Durham, and that of all the pastors and ministers; but they put no one to death. Pilkington, the bishop of Durham, (God having so ordered it) was at that time staying in London for the recovery[4] of his health: he would other-

[1 The earl of Northumberland was delivered by Morton for a sum of money to the English, and conveyed to York, where he was condemned of high treason, and executed on Aug. 22, 1572. Sir Thomas Gargrave, who was president of the council of the North, writes to lord Burghley from York, on the day after his execution, that "he contynued obstynate in religion, and declared he would die a catholicke of the pope's churche. He accompted his offences nothing, and especially after he heard he should die; but before he seemed to confesse he had offended, and would greve lyke it, saying, he dyd that he dyd by compulsion and for fear of his lyfe." MS. Cott. Calig. c. III. 381. Saunders says that the earl "suffered martyrdom."]

[2 He afterwards escaped into Flanders, where he got a pension of £200. a year from the king of Spain. See note 4, p. 329.]

[3 See p. 330.]

[4 Pilkington thus wrote to Cecil on the 4th of January: "According to your honor's appointment I have sent my man to know by your gudd meanes the quene's majestie's pleasure for my repairing homeways." After describing the state of the country, he adds, "but God is present ever with his people, and his vocation is not rashly to be forsaken, nor his assistance to be

wise have been without doubt in great danger of his life. As soon as our disturbances were suppressed, we received most sad news from Scotland respecting the death of the most excellent and pious prince, James Stuart, regent of Scotland; who was shot through the lower part of the belly by a musket-ball on the 23rd of January, and died two days after. As the regent was riding on that day (for thus the murder was committed) in a street of the town of Linlithgow, surrounded by his nobles, as usual, a certain traitor, of the Hamilton[5] family, aimed a gun at him from a window, and shot him. The assassin mounted a fleet[6] horse, which he had ready saddled at the back door of the house, and took refuge in a certain castle[6]. It is to be feared that great changes will take place in consequence of the death of this illustrious personage: we hear, however, that the nobility and council of Scotland, who have embraced the gospel, have unanimously and resolutely determined to take upon

dowted on. His gudd will be done!" MS. Lansd. XII. 29. Another interesting letter from the bishop to Cecil in 1573 is given by Strype, wherein he desires the queen's leave to come up to London that winter, being by reason of his age very much pinched by the winter's cold in that northern part of the nation. "There is," he said, "a highway to heaven out of all countries; of which free passage, I praise God, I doubt not." Strype, Annals, II. i. 437.]

[5 James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who had been taken at Langside, and condemned to death, had made his escape out of prison, and his estate was forfeited. His wife, heiress of Woodhouslie, still expected she might enjoy her own in quiet; but Murray, giving it away to one of his favourites, sent officers to take possession of her house, who turned her out into the fields, and treated her with such inhumanity, that she became raving mad. From that moment her husband resolved to revenge himself by the murder of the regent. See Carte's History of England, and Robertson's History of Scotland, who says that Hamilton owed his life to the regent's clemency.]

[6 In a letter from lord Hunsdon to lord Burghley, dated Berwick, Aug. 24, 1575, the writer says: "The regent's dealings in many thyngs are greatly mislyked withall by the most part of the nobylytie of his owne faction, but chiefely for one matter, whych is, for that he hathe of late, (as it is credibly reported, and I thynk is very trew,) taken a secret submission of the lorde of Arbrothe, by delivering to the regent hys sworde with the hylt forwarde, the poynt in his hande, being knowne to be the pryncipall procurer of the kylling of th' erle of Murrey; for the harquebuss that kyld him was hys, the horse the murderer fled upon was hys, and he receivyd hym into Hambelton, and sent hym into France." MS. Cott. Calig. c. v. 37. This enterprise thus appears to have been connected with the same plots as had produced the rebellion of the two northern earls. See Wright's Queen Elizabeth and her Times. Vol. I. p. 358, note.]

themselves the defence of religion and the commonwealth. We are in daily expectation of more certain intelligence. We have lately had news from Spain, that the Moors, or Moriscoes, have defeated the royal army with great slaughter, and taken the camp. Alva has a fleet in readiness, but its destination is unknown. Some think that he is about to send aid to Spain; others suspect that he will land an army in Scotland; nor are there wanting those who imagine that he is meditating some attempt against ourselves. We are therefore sending out a fleet thoroughly prepared for any thing that may happen, to observe his movements.

I am writing this account both of ourselves and our neighbours more fully, that I may in some measure make amends for my long silence. The bishops of Winchester, Norwich, Durham, and Salisbury, are all in good health, as are also Humphrey, Sampson, and Foxe. I communicated your letter yesterday to Sampson and Foxe, who respectfully salute you in return. Salute your colleagues in my name. Commend, I entreat you, me and my ministry to the Lord in your prayers. I pray our heavenly Father to give his choicest blessing to you all, and to your labours which you daily undergo. May the Lord Jesus long preserve your piety safe both to us and to his church! London, Feb. 18, 1569.

Your most devoted in the Lord, EDM. LONDON.

CXLV. BISHOP COX TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 88.]

ELY, *July* 10, 1570.

I RETURN your salutation from my heart, my beloved brother in Christ. Your letter dated on the 2nd of March last did not reach me till the 22nd of June. This is usually the case, either from the great distance between us, or from the carelessness of the couriers. I read it however, when it came, with attention and pleasure, because it announced to me that you were in the enjoyment of tolerable health, notwithstanding you are so advanced in years[1], and worn out by numerous labours, and weakened by [former] illness. I willingly took up your books both upon Daniel and on Isaiah, (in which I occupy myself from time to time, and not without a holy delight,) and return you many thanks for them; and all who have any regard for religion acknowledge themselves much indebted to you for the same. Your German discourses, as soon as they reach me, I will endeavour to make out either by

[1 Bullinger was now in the sixty-sixth year of his age.]

myself or with the assistance of others. But now, my Henry, since the Lord has for so many years past employed you as his instrument to the great advantage of his church, you must persevere in the defence of the church of Christ, as far as your age will allow you, even to the end of your life. Many of the heads of antichrist yet remain to be cut off, which from time to time occasion us much trouble. I wish you would in earnest use your endeavours for their extirpation. Antichrist, relying on the authority of his church and councils, contends that faith is not to be kept with heretics, that is, with those whom he judges to be such. Then he arrogates to himself the authority of recalling, and withdrawing, and absolving subjects from their fidelity and obedience to their princes and magistrates, and commands foreign powers to invade, desolate, and destroy godly magistrates, and deprive them of every right of government. This has been fully confirmed during the last month by a popish[2] bull introduced by stealth into this country. Lastly, there are among us some papists, and those not of the lowest rank, who strain every nerve that they may be permitted to live according to their consciences, and that no account of his religion be demanded from any one. Meanwhile many iniquitous practices take place in secret, and by the bad example they afford are a stumblingblock to the godly. If you will turn your attention to these three points you will do a very acceptable service to Christ and his church. The schism about the habits of the clergy is still increasing, I grieve to say, among men of a purer character. May God at length grant that we may all of us think the same things!

The Lord Jesus preserve you and yours, with your illustrious state! Let us rejoice in the Lord, and aid each other by our mutual prayers.

From my Tusculum at Ely, 10 July, 1570.

Your brother in Christ, Rich. Cox, [bishop] of Ely.

[2 This year Pius V. caused a bull to be publicly set up in London against the queen; which was daringly done by one Felton, upon the bishop of London's palace. Strype, Annals, I. ii. 354. The bull is given at length by Camden, Eliz. p. 146, and was printed with observations and animadversions upon it in English. See also Cardwell's Documentary Annals, I. 328-331, and Collier's Ecclesiastical History, VI. 471-474.]

CXLVI. BISHOP PILKINGTON TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 89.]

July 17, 1570.

Your letter, my reverend father in Christ Jesus, dated on the 2nd of March, and rebuking me for not having written to you of so long a time, I received on the 29th of June. Go on then as you have begun; instigate me, rouse me up, and at length you will at least extort something. "Better are the wounds of a friend, &c." [Prov. xxvii. 6.] I am a dilatory and unfrequent correspondent; but I have not cast off all shame, nor has my remembrance of you become so cold, but that I can truly say of your happy Zurich what the psalmist speaks concerning Jerusalem: "If I do not remember thee, Jerusalem, above my chief joy, let my right hand forget her cunning." [Psal. cxxxvii. 6, &c.]

Your prudence has heard, although but lately, as you tell me, concerning those disturbances which have so sharply and suddenly burst upon us; and likewise, how happily they have been quelled, —I wish I could say entirely extinguished.

I informed you in my last letter that the queen of Scots had fled over to us, and I compared our situation with that of the people of Laish[1]. I feared lest that should happen to us which occurred to them; and my fears have been realized. The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, between whom I reside, having planned a rebellion, roused us from our slumbers, and as long as they could, persecuted us with the greatest harshness. They offered all manner of violence to religion and all its ministers. But the Lord has delivered us all from the mouths of the lions, uninjured indeed in our persons, although stripped of all our fortunes and plundered of our property. You perhaps wonder how this has happened. The world cannot bear two suns; much less can the kingdom endure two queens or two religions. Our Louvaine friends obtained bulls from the pope, that they might absolve the people from the allegiance due to the queen's majesty; those who would no longer attend our church and liturgy were to be reconciled to their synagogue, and those who would submit themselves to them were to obtain pardon of all their sins, without even purgatory. These impieties are so deeply settled in the minds of many, that I am in doubt whether they will ever be eradicated. Some persons are detained in prison for these things; many have absconded; but the greater number are lying in concealment, eagerly expecting an occasion of fresh disturbances. Some of the nobility joined them-

[1 Judg. xviii.]

selves to them: but our good Lord disappointed all of them of their hope, and hath preserved our Elizabeth to us, and long will preserve her, as all good men both hope and desire. Northumberland, having fled into Scotland, is there kept in prison, with some others of the same faction; Westmoreland[2] is wandering about in exile in the same country with a few others like himself. Others, convicted by their own consciences, have sought refuge in Flanders, with a view of obtaining assistance. But the Lord will not be wanting to his people. James, the guardian of the king of Scotland, and regent of the kingdom, has been murdered by the treachery of a certain Scotsman whom he had saved from execution. This is a great grief to many good persons; for he was a good man towards all, and one who feared God. The better part of the Scots side with our queen; the rest we are pursuing with fire and sword.

I am, by the blessing of God, restored to my flock[3]; and though the minds of all are not so settled as I could wish, there is, notwithstanding, both here and in Scotland quite liberty enough both for the administration of the laws and for religion. The Lord will give [us] yet better things [in answer] to your prayers. The bishop of London is now made archbishop of York, and my neighbour; at which I rejoice exceedingly.

Thomas Lever, as soon as he comes to London, will make a collection in behalf of our good landlady, and will send it over. I should now send it myself, if I knew in what way it could be forwarded; but since our good friend Abel, who was our general messenger, has been so long dead, I do not even know how this letter will reach you. Farewell, my master, with all your fellow-ministers. Prosperity to Zurich! July 17, 1570.

Yours in Christ, JAMES PILKINGTON.

CXLVII. ARCHBISHOP GRINDAL TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 90.]

LONDON, *July* 31, 1570.

HEALTH in Christ. I have received your discourses written in German, for which I thank you. I am still sufficiently conversant

[2 "The lord regent had lyked to have gotten betrayed the earle of Westmoreland, at a place called Blood-lanes; it is the lord of Fernyhurst's; but he got knowledge, and so escaped that end." Allayn King to Sir Henry Percy. MS. Cott. Calig. b. IX. 400.]

[3 The bishop, it seems, had been required by the queen to return to his diocese, from which he had been absent in London during the rebellion. See above, note 4, p. 332.]

with German writing, for I laboured hard to learn your language; but I have lost the habit of conversing in it.

I transmitted the pension of Julius Santerentianus to Richard Hilles a month ago, that he might take care it should be paid to Froschover at the next Frankfort fair. I hope you received the letter which I sent at the last spring fair. Since then it has seemed good to our most gracious queen to translate[1] me from this city to the see of York, where things are not yet properly settled[2]. In the counties of York and Durham there arose, as I lately wrote you word, last winter a rebellion of the nobles and the peasantry for the purpose of restoring the papacy. Notwithstanding many executions[3] took place, I am informed that the feelings of the people are much exasperated, and panting for renewed disturbances. What therefore may await me there, I cannot tell. But if new tumults should arise in that quarter, it is impossible but that both myself and my very dear brother Pilkington, the bishop of Durham, must be in the greatest danger. But these things do not move me; the will of the Lord be done! However, I tell you of them, that you may commend both us and our ministry more earnestly to the Lord in your prayers.

When I was writing the above, I was almost on the point of setting off on my journey to York, so that I could not at this time write to you more at length. Our affairs, through the mercy of God, are tolerably quiet. Our army[4] entered Scotland at the

[1 He was translated May 1st, 1570, and installed by proxy June the 9th. Strype, Grindal, 239.]

[2 Archbishop Parker told Secretary Cecil, that my lord of London would be very fit for York, "who were, as he styled them, *a heady and stout people:* witty, but yet able to be dealt with by good governance, as long as laws could be executed, and men backed." Strype, Grindal, 234.]

[3 Three-score and six petty constables and others were hanged for a terrour at Durham, among whom the man of most note was one Plumtree, a priest. At York were executed Simon Digby, J. Fulthorp, Thomas Bishop, Robert Peneman; and at London, some few months after, Christopher and Thomas Norton; and some others elsewhere. Camden's Elizabeth, p. 135.]

[4 In the midst of April, Sussex, with the lord Hunsdon, Drury marshal of Berwick, and an English army, entered into Scotland, fired the towns and villages of Buccleugh and the Kerrs all over Teviotdale, spoiled their fields, and demolished Fernihurst and Craling, two castles of Thomas Kerr's. On the other side, Henry lord Scroop entered at the very same time into the west March of Scotland, and wasted far and wide all over Annandale the territories of Johnston and others which had harboured the English rebels. At this time were burnt 300 villages, and about 50 castles razed. Camden, Eliz. p. 141. See also Strype, Annals, I. ii. 358.]

beginning of last May, under the command of the Earl of Sussex, with the view of reducing the rebels and those who harboured them in Scotland. Our troops destroyed within a few days fifty castles in Scotland by means of gunpowder, and burned three hundred villages without any resistance. Scotland is now sufficiently tranquil. But this is probably owing to our queen, who is keeping an army on the borders; for otherwise the party of the queen of Scotland, who is still in our custody, seem as if they would be plotting some new disturbance. The king's party now prevail, and have chosen the Earl of Lenox, grandfather of the young king, to be regent. He has taken upon himself the defence of religion and of the king. York is 160 of our miles distant from this city. I shall not, therefore, be able to send letters to you so conveniently as I have been used to do. I will write, however, from time to time, even though you should be longer in receiving them; and I shall anxiously expect to hear from you. May the Lord Jesus preserve your piety in safety to me and to his church, my very reverend and dear brother in the Lord! London, July 31, 1570.

Yours in Christ, EDMUND EBOR.

Greet, I pray you, your colleagues in my name, and especially master Rodolph Gualter.

CXLVIII. BISHOP JEWEL TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 91.]

Aug. 7, 1570.

MUCH health in Christ. Your letter, my much esteemed father and master in Christ, was most gratifying to me, both as coming from you to whom alone I owe every thing, and also as seeming somewhat angry and complaining, and claiming from me the performance of my duty [of writing.] I confess my fault, and beg for pardon; for it is much better to do this, than to stand upon one's defence, though I doubt not of my being able to defend myself, even before the most severe judge. For in the first place, I am at a great distance from London: in the next place, John Abel, the mutual agent of our correspondence, has departed this life: lastly, the disorders in the Low Countries have for some years thrown so many obstacles in the way of travelling, that neither our merchants can pass over to Antwerp, nor the Antwerp merchants to us. And then, our letters are often left on the road, often carried to other places, often come back, and are often lost. And what is to become of the one I am now writing, it is impossible to

tell. This reason certainly makes me write to you both less frequently, and more sparingly and cautiously, than I could wish.

I rejoice, however, that your affairs are in the condition you mention. May God send you help from his holy place, and aid you out of Sion! For there are enemies gaping upon you at this time, not less numerous or ferocious than upon ourselves. For antichrist seems now to have ventured his last cast, and to have thrown the world into confusion by seditions, tumults, wars, fury, fire and flame. He perceives that it is now all over with him, and that destruction and death are impending over him and his party; so that his wretched object now is, not to perish ignobly or obscurely. Let the remembrance of them perish then with a noise.

That vague rumour which was generally reported among you, respecting a change in our circumstances, was altogether unfounded. For both our queen, by the blessing of our good and gracious God, still holds the government, and religion is in the same state as heretofore, and as we wish it to be. Our papists, however, by the persuasion and influence of pope Pius, have endeavoured to regain their power. But blessed be our God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that while they seek to destroy others, they perish themselves. Two of our nobility[1] indeed, young and foolish and dissolute, who cared more for dice than for religion, raised, towards the end of last autumn, some thousands of peasantry in the remotest parts of England. And relying on their numbers, these silly men were bold enough to publish a proclamation[2], to the effect that they intended to remove some persons, I know not whom, (for they mentioned no names,) from the sacred council of the queen, and to restore the old religion. What more? Without delay altars are erected in their camp; the holy bibles are committed to the flames[3], and masses are performed. After some weeks the earl of

[1 The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, see p. 329, and note 1, Letter CLV. This rising gave occasion to the Homily against wilful rebellion. Strype, Annals, I. ii. 322.]

[2 The two earls set forth a writing, wherein they declared, that they had not taken arms with any other intent, than that the religion of their forefathers might be restored, corrupt councillors removed from the queen; the duke, and other faithful lords, that were put from their rank and degree, restored to liberty and grace; and that they attempted nothing against the queen, to whom they owned themselves now and ever to be dutiful and faithful subjects. Camden's Eliz. p. 134. See also a letter from Sir G. Bowes to the earl of Sussex, in Wright's Elizabeth and her Times, vol. I. p. 333, from the MS. Cott. Calig. b. IX. 351.]

[3 See p. 332.]

Sussex, a good and active man, and of great discretion, was sent against them at the head of a handful of troops. They began gradually to disperse and retreat, while Sussex was skilfully and resolutely pursuing them, and pressing upon their rear. At last the wretches, when they perceived the enemy hanging over them, being utterly unskilled in action, and men who had never seen an enemy before, were afraid of trying the fortune of war; and struck with the consciousness of their crime, mad and blind, they leave the army without a leader, and quitting the camp secretly by night, with only a few adherents, take refuge in Scotland. Here then you have the history of our affairs, which I cannot even call to mind without a blush; for I am ashamed that men of such ignorance and folly should have been found in England. Our queen demands through her ambassador the rebels from Scotland, where there are at this time two parties; one of which cherish the pure religion and the gospel, and depend upon us; the other are enemies to godliness, and friendly to popery, and are inclined towards the French. The leader of these is the duke of Hamilton, a man, they say, much more influential in name than in counsel. The states are assembled, the deliberation is begun, our party are of opinion that the rebels should be given up; the Hamilton party maintain the contrary, and at length are successful. Our people, impatient of the offence, arm troops and march into the very midst of Scotland without any opposition, and lay waste, after an enemy's fashion, the castles and towns belonging to the duke of Hamilton. But those notable enemies of ours above mentioned, when they could no longer keep themselves in Scotland, fled over into Flanders, where they are now remaining with the duke of Alva, and are making all the disturbance in their power.

The most holy father has occasioned us all these disorders. For in his holiness and wisdom he secretly sent to his friends in England a bull (shall I call it a golden or a leaden one?) of great importance. It was for some months carried about in obscurity and confined to a few. The good father declared that Elizabeth was not queen of England, for that her institutions did not please him; and he therefore ordered that none should acknowledge her as queen, or obey her in that character. Whosoever should act otherwise, he devoted to all the furies, and delivered to destruction. O holy see! Thus it was, forsooth, that Peter used to act of old! There were some, however, to whom on other accounts these decrees seemed holy; others were not so flexible to every nod of the pope, and had not so learned the gospel. I send you a copy

of this most offensive and empty bull, that you may understand with what solemn impudence the beast is now raging. Within these few days new disorders have arisen in Norfolk[1]. But their authors were forthwith apprehended at the very outset, and thrown into prison.

The queen of Scots, an exile from her country, is, as you know, here in custody; with sufficient honour indeed, yet so as that she cannot raise any disturbances. This is she to whom pope Pius not only freely promises Scotland, but England likewise; for he hopes that a woman, a catholic, a murderer of her husband, and an adulteress, will have great influence in the restoration of popery! We are preparing a fleet, and have troops in readiness. Our church in other respects, by the blessing of God, is quiet. Dr Grindal is made archbishop of York, and Dr Sandys, who was heretofore bishop of Worcester, is now translated to London. Parkhurst, [bishop] of Norwich, is alive and well; but I have not seen him these six years. May God preserve you very long for the advancement of his gospel and of his church!

Salute in my name masters Gualter, Simler, Lavater, Zuinglius, Wickius, Haller, and your Bullingers, whom I love in the Lord. On my journey: for I am now visiting my diocese. Aug. 7, 1570.

Yours in Christ, Jo. Jewel, bishop of Salisbury.

CXLIX. BISHOP PARKHURST TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 93.]

Norwich, *Jan.* 16, 1571.

Hail, my Bullinger. The death of Abel, to whom alone I was accustomed to entrust my letters, and whatever other things I had to send, has been the reason of my writing to you less frequently. For he was a most faithful friend, and I cannot tell where I shall be able to find such another. But the Lord, I trust, will raise me up one like him, and who may in future supply his place. Norwich is nearly a hundred miles from London, which I

[1 The object of this rebellion was, to set the queen of Scots at liberty; to rescue the duke of Norfolk, who was a prisoner for listening to a match with that queen; likewise to seize the persons of the lord keeper, the earl of Leicester, and secretary Cecil, persons near about the queen, and to make insults upon the poor protestant strangers, and drive them out of the land; and finally to bring in the duke of Alva from Flanders to invade England. Four were condemned for high treason, and two more to perpetual imprisonment. Strype, Annals, I. ii. 364.]

am not in the habit of visiting, unless when summoned to parliament, which will be the case this winter. I must there seek out some trustworthy person, who will undertake that my letters shall be safely delivered to you. Our merchants are not over fond of going either to Flanders or Spain. For they fear the Spanish inquisition more than that of the devil, which neither spares its own subjects nor strangers.

Grindal, late bishop of London, is made archbishop of York. Sandys, bishop of Worcester, is translated to London. About the beginning of November great inundations of the sea occasioned extensive mischief in many parts of England; nor did my diocese escape with impunity in Norfolk and Suffolk. Flanders was injured more than any other country. The ground here has been for some weeks buried in deep snow, such as I never saw before, and still continues to be so. There is not a spot of green any where. A murrain is apprehended among the cattle through want of food.

My wife has been ill from the beginning of November to the present time, and is not yet recovered. Should I be able to ascertain that this letter of mine has reached you in safety, I will endeavour to write more frequently. But the death of Abel, the disturbances in Belgium, and spies in every quarter, have hitherto retarded in great measure every attempt.

I wish all happiness to your chief magistrates, the council, the ministers of the word, the citizens, and the whole state of Zurich. Farewell all of you in the Lord! And I bid you again farewell, most agreeable Bullinger. My invalid salutes you all. In haste. Norwich, Jan. 16, 1571.

Yours from my heart, JOHN PARKHURST, N.

CL. BISHOP JEWEL TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 95.]

SALISBURY, *March* 2, 1571.

MUCH health in Christ. I wrote to you, most accomplished sir, and much esteemed father in Christ, towards the beginning of September, and at some length, concerning the general posture of our affairs. I know not what has become of that letter; for it often happens in these turbulent times that our poor innocent letters are either destroyed or lost on the road. Should I hear that it has reached you in safety, I shall be more encouraged to write in future.

Our churches are now, by the blessing of God, in peace. The most holy father has endeavoured to create confusion by every means in his power. He sent over to us by stealth his most senseless bull, by which he would deprive queen Elizabeth of the government of the state, and Christ of his kingdom. I sent a copy of it to you at the last fair, that you might know with what solemnity that old and foolish man is raving. All his secret counsels have been so ably detected, and skilfully and opportunely counteracted by those who hold the helm of government, that they are now perceived even by children. Those wretched and infatuated rebels, who, eighteen months since, began to raise disorders in the county of Durham, are now utterly defeated, and exiles in Flanders. Our friends at Louvaine have not written any thing for two years. The queen of Scotland is still kept here, as you are aware, in a free custody, honourably, and with almost a royal attendance; but still she is in custody, which she bears with impatience and indignation, and complains that she is unjustly dealt with. You well know the spirit and disposition of the Guises. They say that the brother of the king of France is courting her for his wife. The affairs of Scotland, meanwhile, are under the direction of those who profess the gospel. That intercourse, which formerly existed between us and the people of Antwerp, having been violated some years since by their injustice and breach of faith, cannot as yet be renewed. In Spain the Moors are increasing in number, strength, and victories; Philip is growing weaker every day. But what can I tell you about the affairs of Cyprus[1] and Venice? The Turk, they say, is now hovering upon Italy. He will at least bridle the ferocity of antichrist; for the sovereigns of christendom, though so often warned, pay no attention. Our queen Elizabeth hath summoned the peers, and proclaimed a parliament[2] for the 2nd of April, which I hope will be for the prosperity and welfare both of

[1 In a letter to the countess of Shrewsbury, dated London, Aug. 31, 1570, the unknown writer says: "It is written, by letters of the 28th of the last, from Venice, that the Turke hath landed in Ciprus a hundred thousand men or moo; and hathe besieged the two great cities within that kingdome, Nicosia and Famagosta .... The Turke hath sent another army by land against the Venetians, into Dallmatia, and are besieging of Zora with 20,000 footmen and 20,000 horsemen; .... and it is written that the Turke's severall armies be above 200,000 men against the Venetians .... A man may see what accompte is to be made of these worldly thinges, as to see in a small tyme the thirde state of Christendome in security, power, and welthe, to be in danger of utter overthrowe in one yere." Shrewsbury Papers, Lodge.]

[2 For the proceedings of this Parliament, see Strype, Annals, II. i. 90.]

church and state. There, at length, I hope to see our friend Parkhurst, whom I have not seen of seven whole years.

Walter Haddon[3], a pious and eloquent man, has departed this life. Grindal [archbishop] of York, Sandys [bishop] of London, Horn of Winchester, are a great way from me, each on his watch-tower. All of them, however, desire your welfare, and send their respects.

I owe my friend Julius forty French crowns, being his pension for the two past years. I have desired him by letter once or twice to let me know to whom he wishes me to pay them. The money is forthcoming, as soon as there is any one to receive it. If he does not choose to write, he must not accuse me of not keeping my promise, for it is altogether his own fault.

Farewell, my father, and much-esteemed master in Christ. May the Lord Jesus very long preserve you in safety to his church! Salisbury, March 2, 1571. Yours in Christ,

JOHN JEWEL, bishop of Salisbury.

CLI. R. HILLES TO H. BULLINGER. [B. 73.]

LONDON, *March* 8, 1571.

MUCH health in the Lord. As my son Barnabas Hilles, my much honoured friend and master, has informed our beloved brother in Christ, Julius Sancterentianus, by letter dated on the 26th of last November; I have received your letter, written on the 27th of August last, here in London from the learned and pious youth Henry Butler, whom, a fortnight after I had received the letter aforesaid, I sent on horseback with trusty attendants to a certain Dunstan Felton, son of master John Butler deceased, to an English village named Chilton[4], in the county of Suffolk: from which place I have received a letter from the aforesaid Henry Butler, written from the house of his aunt, a widow, and a very godly matron. I will also most diligently and heartily undertake the manage-

[3 Walter Haddon was esteemed one of the most learned and religious men of these times. He was master of requests to queen Elizabeth, and employed by her in many foreign embassies. Of him it was that, when asked whether she preferred him or Buchanan for learning, she replied, *Buchananum omnibus antepono, Haddonum nemini postpono.* See Strype, Parker, II. 145. Burgon's Life of Sir Thomas Gresham, II. 67.]

[4 There are two places of this name in Suffolk; the one, a hamlet in the parish of Clare, the other a small village near Sudbury.]

ment of all that business which in your aforesaid letter you desired me to execute. But I forwarded to the aforesaid Henry Butler on the 26th of November, by a trusty messenger, some letters which master Christopher Froschover delivered to my aforesaid son Barnabas at Frankfort. My son Barnabas Hilles has also received from the aforesaid master Froschover, together with the aforesaid letters, four books in the German language, which he took care should be faithfully delivered to the parties to whom they were addressed; and I and my wife are exceedingly obliged to you for having sent us two of those books as a present.

I am very sorry that, when you wrote me the aforesaid letter, you had not yet fully recovered from your illness. I hope however that before this time you are much better: God grant it may be so! I have not lately received any letters to be forwarded to you from any of our bishops or others residing here in England. Should I however receive any letters for that purpose at any future time, I will take care that they shall be sent over to you with all diligence. Master Edmund Grindal, who now, as you may have heard, is archbishop of York, is constantly resident, as I am told, near York, or in the city itself. But I think that he will shortly come hither to London, as will almost all the other bishops; for by the queen's majesty's command the famous council of all England, which among us is commonly called a parliament, is summoned to assemble. With you, if I remember rightly, such assemblies are called *comitia imperialia* in Latin, and in German, *Reichstag*. Master Edwin Sandys, who was lately bishop of Worcester, is now our bishop of London; but he is not much known to me, except by sight: and indeed almost all the other bishops, with the exception of that most learned and amiable, yea rather divine bishop, master Jewel of Salisbury, are for the most part unknown to me. For I am afraid, (although I have never experienced it myself,) that some of them (as the most learned Jerome wrote concerning some bishops of his time), placed as it were upon some high beacon, scarce deign to look upon mankind, or hold any intercourse with their fellow-servants. Your friend master Cox, bishop of Ely, who married a year ago the young widow of master Doctor Turner[1], a physician, is still living, and, by God's blessing, in good health. But his predecessor master Thirlby[2], who was bishop of

[1 See Strype, Cranmer, I. 394. Parker, I. 93, 301. See also Letter CVIII. p. 230, and CLXVI.]

[2 Thirlby at first had his liberty, till he began to preach against the reformation; but being pardoned, afterwards was in custody of the arch-

Ely in Mary's reign, and who resided with the most reverend Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, (but under restraint there by reason of his profession of popish doctrine,) lately died, six or seven months since, at Lambeth, in the palace of the said archbishop of Canterbury. Some of the other bishops or prelates, who were placed under restraint by reason of their obstinacy, are still living; but they scarcely suffer any inconvenience, unless perhaps some regret for their want of liberty, and that they are prevented from the power of speaking or doing mischief. Of all these Nicolas Hethe[3], who under queen Mary was archbishop of York, was the least troublesome, on which account perhaps he found more favour with our most serene queen Elizabeth; for he had no other prison but his own house in the country, sufficiently comfortable, and in a healthy situation.

Here, among us, by the favour of God all things are settled both in church and state. May the Lord long grant us this blessing! I hear too, that the king of France is wisely maintaining that peace which you informed me had been concluded; and I am very glad, and heartily thank God, that in the ratification of that peace sufficient regard was had to the security of the faithful, as you wrote me word, and as we now see to be the case. But I grieve very much, that the pestiferous sect of Arians is budding forth again in many other places besides Switzerland. But when the Lord Jesus shall come to judgment, will he find faith on the earth?

I pray you to salute in my name and that of my wife the aforesaid Julius Sancterentianus. Matters are not yet quite settled between our most serene queen and the duke of Alva[4], touching the release of the persons and goods, or merchandize, of both

bishop, with whom he lived in much ease and credit for ten years. He died Aug. 26, 1570, and was buried by the archbishop in the chancel of Lambeth church. See Strype, Ann. I. i. 213. Parker, I. 278.]

[3 Hethe, late archbishop of York, having been Lord Chancellor of England, and having in parliament declared the death of queen Mary, and the just title of the lady Elizabeth, her sister, to succeed; for this duty towards his prince, he lived, after a little trouble, quietly and nobly in his own lordship of Chobham in Surrey, four miles from Windsor. He was always honourably esteemed by the queen, and sometimes had the honour to be visited by her majesty. See Strype, Ann. I. i. 212, and Parker, I. 281.]

[4 For an account of this transaction see above, Letter CXL. p. 323. Queen Elizabeth satisfied to the full the damages which the English merchants had sustained out of the Netherlanders' goods that were here stayed; the rest she restored to the duke of Alva. Camden's Elizabeth, p. 191.]

nations which have been arrested or detained these two years. But though there is no agreement at present, there is some hope of it. But there is no prospect or even hope, as far as I can see or conjecture, of any commerce in future, such as has for many years past been continued between the kings of England and the archdukes of Austria and Burgundy.

There died, on the third of this month, another papist, or, as he seemed to himself, a good catholic, of the name of Boxall[1], who was chief secretary to queen Mary above-mentioned. He was a man of much moderation (as he used to boast) and of gentle disposition, and lived also some years under restraint in the palace of the most reverend archbishop of Canterbury. May the Lord Jesus evermore preserve you and yours! London, March 8, in the year of our salvation 1570, according to the computation of the church of England.

Yours from my heart, RICHARD HILLES.

CLII. R. HILLES TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 96.]

LONDON, *July* 27, 1571.

MUCH health in the Lord. I wrote a letter to you, very reverend sir, on the 8th of March, which my son Barnabas, as he afterwards informed me, transmitted to you by Christopher Froschover, at the last Frankfort fair. You have received it, I hope, before this time; and would learn from it that your last copious letter of the month of August in the past year has long since reached me. I have only, however, received this day your most gratifying letter from Zurich, of the 25th of February in this present year, together with your three letters addressed to the reverend the bishops of York, Ely, and Salisbury; and also the three copies in manuscript, of which you write in the letter abovementioned; all of which I will take care shall be faithfully delivered to the bishops to whom you have directed them. I certainly much wonder where they have been so long delayed in their journey: but I am very glad to have received them even now; and I have to thank you also for your present of a book printed in German, entitled, A promised Answer to the Testament of John Brentius, &c. Of this I have received two copies, besides five books printed in Latin, and three letters, viz. one to the bishop of London, another to the bishop of Durham, and the third to Henry Butler,

[1 See below, Letter CLVI. note 1.]

together with the three manuscript copies above-mentioned; which letters, as well as all the aforesaid seven printed books, I will take care shall be delivered as soon as possible, to the persons to whom in your letter you desired them to be sent[2]..... This cloth I make you a present of; and I pray God that you may long enjoy it, though it is not very likely that you will: for Jerome says most truly, quoting some philosopher or poet, The young *may* die soon, but the old *cannot* live long.

That labour of yours, of which you inform me, in replying to the whole of that impudent popish bull which the Roman antichrist has vomited forth against our most serene queen, will be, without doubt, very greatly approved by the three bishops afore-mentioned, to whom you have sent those three copies; and if they think it for the good of the kingdom, and that it will be agreeable to her most serene highness, they will publish it. I am much grieved at your so humbly entreating me to take in good part your writing to me, and that you ask my pardon for so freely employing my services; for you may always employ them most freely as long as I live.

By the blessing of God, before the dissolution or ending of the parliament held at Westminster, the above-mentioned Henry Butler was here with his master, Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, and was anxiously expecting a letter from his mother; for, as he then told me, he had not heard from her since his arrival in England. Master doctor Mont, however, informed him in my house, that a packet of letters had been left at his house in Strasburgh, in which he thought there were some addressed to this Henry Butler.

In the month of June now last past, the very learned divine David Whitehead, who was an exile in queen Mary's time for the profession of orthodox doctrine, departed happily in the Lord. He also lived about seven years a widower, as you write me word is now your own case; but very lately, before the middle of this year, he married a young widow when he was himself about eighty. Master Cole too, who was also at that period an exile in Germany for preaching the gospel, died about the same time of the quinsey, on the day after he was taken ill. He was the archdeacon of Essex, in the diocese of London, and was preferred a month or two before his death to the deanery of Salisbury, but died here at London, on the same day, as is reported, or on the day preceding that on which he had determined to go from London to Salisbury to receive induction, attended by many friends and domestics.

[2 A paragraph respecting some cloth that Bullinger had bespoken is here omitted.]

Thus from a slight and slender thread all human things depend,
And those which seem the strongest now may soonest have an end[1].

I have taken care, previous to my finishing this letter, that all the manuscript copies aforesaid, and all the other printed books, have been delivered to the right reverend bishops to whom they were addressed; and I hope that they will shortly acknowledge the receipt of them to your worship. Farewell, my very reverend master, in Christ our Saviour. London, July 27, 1571. Yours heartily, as you know,

RICHARD HILLES, *Anglus.*

P. S. July 31. Since my letter was sealed, I have seen and read your letter to the three right reverend bishops, viz. York, Ely, and Salisbury, already in print; and the first part also of your work above-mentioned, (from the manuscript copy, I understand, which you sent to the lord bishop of Ely,) also printed. And I am informed that some more pages of the same work are also printed; so that the whole of that manuscript copy of yours will be printed and published as soon as possible.

CLIII. BISHOP COX TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 97.]

After *July* 27, 1571.

YOUR letter, my very dear brother in Christ, which however I did not receive till almost the end of June, was most gratifying to me. I received at the same time two little books, the one against the Testament[2] of John Brentius, a man who is gone crazy through a variety of error. To this error of his, creeping on as it was by degrees, you have seasonably closed the way. The other book is a most powerful defence against that terrific bull, which however is lighter than any bubble; in which you have so mauled the author, that he has no more breath remaining in him. We are all much in your debt for having so zealously taken up the common cause. I wrote to you on this subject very weakly and vapidly; but one of my brethren[3] has treated it more fully and copiously, and has also made for you a copy of the bull itself. It was your regard for us, and your indignation at the thing, and the most ardent zeal

[1] "Omnia sunt hominum tenui pendentia filo,
Et subito casu quæ valuere ruunt."

[2] This Testament was published at Wittenberg, for the purpose of forewarning all states not to allow the Zuinglians a toleration.]

[3] Bishop Jewel.]

for the truth, that extorted from your piety this attack upon it. You have hitherto lived in the most holy and devout study of the divine word, so as to cherish and promote its progress by every possible means. You were called to this from your earliest life; you have sedulously adorned this your calling; and God will enable you to persevere in it even to the end of life, to the peace of your own conscience, and the most eager expectation of all good men. Hence it is that you always take occasion to deserve well of the christian religion, and to attack with severity the enemies of godliness. Hence it is, that you both seasonably interpose a remedy for the disorder occasioned by Brentius, and restrain the fury of the [papal] bull. I will most diligently take care that our queen, who is well skilled both in Latin and Greek, may be made acquainted with your respect and courtesy towards herself, and I will make her to have a most agreeable taste of your little book[1]. But since you refer to us the best manner of dealing with your book, we are of opinion that it should be printed, and published in the name of Henry Bullinger, as soon as possible; and I will send you some copies by the earliest opportunity.

That Henry Butler, of whom you write, has not yet called upon me. I will do my best, that when he comes, he shall have no occasion to require my assistance. May the good and great God preserve you, my most beloved brother in Christ, and that for many years, to the advantage of the church; and I pray you to commend us to God in your prayers, those of us especially who are labouring in his vineyard. I write no news to you; for my brother Horn has promised to take that office upon himself.

Your very dear brother in the Lord,

RICHARD, bishop of Ely.

[1 In the month of September the archbishop caused it to be fairly bound and sent to her, and further procured the printing of it in Latin, not without the advice of the Lord Treasurer, and had it translated and printed in English too. The Latin, printed by John Day, had this title, *Bullæ Papisticæ ante biennium contra sereniss. Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Reginam Elizabetham, et contra inclytum Angliæ regnum promulgatæ, Refutatio, orthodoxæque Reginæ et universi regni Angliæ Defensio Henrychi Bullingeri.* Strype, Parker, II. 78.]

CLIV. J. DAY[1] TO H. BULLINGER. [B. 74.]

LONDON, *Aug.* 8, 1571.

REVEREND father in Christ, I heartily wish you health. Now that I have finished printing your book[2], which I confidently believe has been completed with accuracy and fidelity according to the copy sent me by the reverend father in Christ, doctor Cox, and which he had previously corrected with the utmost diligence; it was his wish, most faithful pastor, that I should take care that half a dozen or more of these books should be sent over to you, if it could be done without inconvenience; and I have found a suitable opportunity of effecting this. Moreover, the reverend fathers themselves will return you in their next letters their most deserved thanks for the pains you have bestowed in the composition of that book, and which is the greatest evidence of your good-will to England, which is divided from you by so great a distance. Meanwhile may the Lord of glory so comfort you and his universal church by his most holy Spirit, that his truth may be advanced, and the kingdom of antichrist confounded and overthrown altogether. And may Christ the Lord grant that more persons from every part of the world may exert themselves for this object with their whole heart, and bestow their utmost pains upon it. Take, I pray you, in good part my labour, such as it is, in this work. Farewell, most vigilant pastor. London, in the month of [August 1571[3].]

Your most devoted, JOHN DAY.

[1 John Day was printer to Edward VI, and in queen Mary's time a prisoner in Newgate for religion, and afterwards an exile. After the accession of Elizabeth he resumed his printing, and to him posterity is largely indebted for editions of the writings of the reformers, and many works relative to the reformation. He was patronized and much encouraged by archbishops Parker and Grindal, and was the printer of the Acts and Monuments of Foxe. See Strype, Mem. III. i. 320; Ann. I. i. 267.]

[2 This book was Bullinger's confutation of the Bull of Pius V. against queen Elizabeth. In the month of September 1571, the archbishop (Parker) caused it to be fairly bound and sent to her, and further procured the printing of it in Latin, not without the advice of the Lord Treasurer; and had it translated, and printed in English too. Strype, Parker, II. 78.]

[3 The date is wanting in the MS. Simler dates it as above.]

CLV. BISHOP HORN TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 98.]

London, *Aug.* 8, 1571.

Though, my dearest Bullinger, neither love will admit of a suspicion of ingratitude, nor will prudence permit rashness of judgment, yet delay both weakens the ardent expectation of a duty that is owing, and negligence requires a serious apology for the omission of it. But the present case will not admit of any accusation, inasmuch as I am neither conscious of an offence, nor does your disposition, far from being suspicious or angry, require any apology to be made. Since however, you may be in doubt as to the reason [of my not writing,] you shall be acquainted with it, lest your opinion of me should be shaken; or since, perhaps, you may desire to know it, I will satisfy your wish, lest that opinion should be wounded. Do not however suppose that my not having replied to your letter sent so long since arises from a rash disregard of my duty, or a negligent forgetfulness of it; or in any way from unkindness. The reason is, that we are somewhat in confusion at home, and there is a vehement commotion on all sides of us abroad, so that the very seas, even unto the coast nearest to yourselves, have been lighted up with the daily flames of war; whereby there has neither been afforded me any certain opportunity of writing, nor since the death of our friend Abel has any method presented itself of forwarding a letter; nor, if I had chosen to write, and been able to send my letter, could I have ascertained with certainty whether it had been delivered. Now however, having met with both an opportunity and a courier, no inducement ought to be wanting to one who has been so long invited by your most affectionate letter, and also incited by your most friendly salutations lately offered in the epistle prefixed to the pope's bull; neither could inclination be wanting to me who have so long and earnestly desired [to write]. But I am acting as those are wont to do, who when they are so encumbered with debt as to owe much to many persons, and have not wherewith to discharge the whole, surrender their property to one or other of their creditors, to make an equal distribution among the rest; and thus they satisfy each according to their means. In the same way, being greatly in debt not only to you, but also to my friends Gualter, Simler, Zuinglius, Lavater, Wolfius, and my other beloved brethren in Christ at Zurich, I pay all that I have into your hands, that you may therewith satisfy both yourself and my other creditors in those quarters. You must therefore equally distribute and share with them, whatever new

wares I have to dispose of, from England, Scotland, France, and Flanders. I do not offer you any commodities from Rome; for I am aware that such are becoming cheap among among you, as is apparent in many ways, and especially by that most learned refutation of the pope's bull, which you sent over some time since, and which is now being printed also for general circulation.

Our government has been for almost the last three years in a dangerous and dreadful state of agitation; being not only shaken abroad by the perfidious attacks of our enemies, but troubled and disturbed at home by internal commotions. Both these kinds of pestilence, as is always the case, are the brood and offspring of popery, that pernicious and accursed fury of the whole world. But our noble and excellent virgin [queen], reposing in security at home, has broken both their forces at the same time, and destroyed the one without difficulty, and the other without bloodshed. Every thing turned out so unexpectedly as it were from above, that it seemed as though the Lord of hosts and of might had undertaken from his heaven the cause of his gospel, and had fought, as it were, with his own hands. The winds from heaven brought us in, as if with spontaneous gales, the arms, treasures, and ships of the one; while the report that the royal army was advancing, dismayed and scattered the soldiers, baggage, and military stores of the other. Thus the one party were unconquered till they were completely routed; the others were manifestly conquered before they had made any progress. There were only two noblemen[1], and those of

[1 The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. See p. 329. In addition to the account there given, the following summary will be acceptable, taken from the preface to Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569. London 1840, p. xvi. xix. "The earls, after refusing to obey the queen's commands to repair to her presence, committed themselves irrevocably, by entering Durham in arms on the 14th November. For a short period they acted with vigour, and proceeded rapidly to Ripon, Wetherby, and Tadcaster, and finally they assembled on Clifford Moor. The queen of Scots was suddenly removed from Tutbury to Coventry, and the earls hesitated what course to pursue. The earl of Sussex, with Sadler and Hunsdon, felt insecure in York, which however they durst not leave on account of their inferiority in cavalry. They could not act on the offensive, as their levies came slowly in; and they were reduced to the mortifying alternative of keeping a watchful eye on the movements of the rebels. The earl of Sussex, (now lieutenant general of the army in the north,) directed Sir George Bowes, in the event of their proceeding southwards, to join him immediately with the northern horsemen.

"From whatever cause—whether from 'mistrusting themselves', according to Hollinshed; from 'disagreement amongst themselves', according to lady

no influence or reputation; men, to say the least of them, of the most worthless character, and of the old leaven, or, as they choose to call it, the old religion; their reputation was certainly somewhat out of date. These men, having secretly crossed the channel after these events, still lie hid in the parts beyond sea, and are, as is reported, miserable vagabonds, as though they were accursed and fugitive Cains. This torch afterwards kindled some sparks of sedition in other parts of the kingdom[2]; but by the prudence of the government, or rather by divine providence, it was put out and extinguished without any difficulty; so that now, thanks to immortal God! all England is at rest, and in the enjoyment of halcyon days.

And I wish, if it had so pleased God, that I could say the same really, or nearly at least, (verè aut ferè) of the church. For our church has not yet got free from those *vestiarian* rocks of offence, on which she at first struck. Our excellent queen, as you know, holds the helm, and directs it hitherto according to her pleasure. But we are awaiting the guidance of the divine Spirit, which is all we can do; and we all daily implore him with earnestness and importunity to turn at length our sails to another quarter. Meanwhile, however, we who stand in a more elevated situation do not act in compliance with the importunate clamours of the multitude; for it would be very dangerous to drag her on, against her will, to a point she does not yet choose to come to, as if we were wresting the helm out of her hands. But we aim at this, that although *badly habited*, we may yet be *strong hearted* in doing the Lord's work; and we are not so much concerned about the

Northumberland; or, more probably, from perceiving that no response was made to their movements by the great body of the [Roman] Catholics of England,—the rebels suddenly retreated and returned to the county of Durham; where, instead of pursuing vigorous measures to restore their 'moral force', and increase their numbers, they wasted their time and strength in laying siege to Barnard Castle; during whose prolonged and gallant resistance, the army of the south, commanded by the lords Warwick and Clinton, arrived at Doncaster; when Sussex, thus powerfully supported, advanced rapidly toward the county of Durham; and on his approach the earls, without waiting for an attack, suddenly dismissed their infantry, and flying with their cavalry towards Hexham, afterwards took refuge in Scotland. Thus terminated an enterprise, begun without foresight, conducted without energy, and ending in dastardly and inglorious flight; entailing on the families of those concerned lasting misery; and inflicting on the leaders, attainder, proscription, and death."]

[2 Namely in Norfolk. See p. 342.]

fitness[1] of our apparel, as about rightly dividing the bread of the Lord; nor, in fine, do we deem it of so much consequence if our own coat appears unbefitting, as it is to take care that the seamless coat of the Lord be not rent asunder. There are not however wanting some men of inferior rank and standing, deficient indeed both in sagacity and sense, and entirely ignorant and unknown, who, since they do not yet perceive the church to square with their wishes, or rather vanities, and that so far from agreeing with their follies, the wind is rather directly contrary, for this cause some of them desert their posts, and hide themselves in idleness and obscurity; others, shaping out for themselves their own barks, call together conventicles, elect their own bishops, and holding synods one with another, frame and devise their own laws for themselves. They reject preaching, despise communion, would have all churches destroyed, as having been formerly dedicated to popery; nor are they content with merely deriding our ministers, but regard the office itself as not worth a straw. And thus, as far as lieth in them, they are too rashly and precipitately accessory to the wretched shipwreck of our church, and are doubtless retarding not a little the free progress of the gospel. They themselves, in the mean time, wonderfully tossed about by I know not what waves of error, and miserably borne along, I know not whither, on the various gales of vanity, are reduced to the most absurd ravings of opinion. They therefore cut themselves off, as they say, from us; or rather, like Theudas, they depart with their own party, and act just like persons who, perceiving the wind somewhat against them, so that they cannot directly reach the point they aim at, refuse to reserve themselves for a more favourable breeze, but leaping out of the ship, rush headlong into the sea and are drowned. But here it is wonderful how fit an instrument, as they think, the adversaries of our religion have laid hold of for dishonouring the gospel. They whisper in the queen's ears, that this is the fruit of our gospel now coming to maturity; that this is the only harvest of our doctrine to be expected; so that, unless her pious heart had been altogether inflamed with the love of the truth, it would long since have been cooled by their aspersions. You see I have endeavoured, my excellent Bullinger, as briefly as I could, to make you perceive, as it were at one glance, the whole state of our affairs, and the aspect of the government, and the entire condition of the church.

[1 There is a play upon the words *pannus* and *panis*, which cannot be preserved in the English translation.]

France, long since disabled by her own wounds, and as if wearied with wars, has at length allowed herself a little breathing time[2]. She admits the gospel indeed, but as if it were a pestilence; so that it visits no cities[3], save a few, and those of no importance; or, if any of larger size, in such a manner as to abide without the walls. Very great precaution is taken for the court, lest Christ should sometimes be admitted even as a guest; and he is therefore ordered to be banished, under a heavy penalty, to some miles distance[4]. A cardinal[5], a man of rank and piety, and an exile here among us for the sake of religion, while he was sojourning some days at Canterbury, waiting for a wind for his prosperous and safe return, was taken off, (as they report, and it is indeed credible,) by the deadly poison of the papists, and wasted away, destroyed by wickedness and crime. But why am I exporting any news from France to Zurich? for nothing can be conveyed from France which is not well known to the people of Zurich, and which you have not in abundance. I think however that you have not heard this one circumstance, or at least that it is but little known among you. The duke of Anjou[6], brother to the king of France, has become an ardent suitor of our queen. What will be the event of this, is not yet known. As I do not hear that it is altogether approved of, so

[2 A treaty of peace with the Huguenots was concluded at St Germain on Aug. 15th, 1570; and early in the following spring the 7th synod of the Reformed Church of France assembled at Rochelle, being the first which received the sanction of royal authority, and it commenced its sittings under the direct protection of the king's letters patent. Smedley's Hist. of the Reformed Religion in France. Vol. I. p. 346.]

[3 As an especial gratification to his "dear and most beloved aunt," the queen of Navarre, the king empowered her to have divine service performed, in the presence of as many persons as chose to assist, in one house in each of her fiefs, even during her absence from it. Smedley, ut supra, I. 344.]

[4 The suburbs of certain provincial towns, expressly named, were set apart for the exercise of general worship, provided such towns were neither the actual residence of the court for the time being, nor within two leagues of that residence. In Paris and within ten leagues it was altogether prohibited. Smedley, ut supra.]

[5 Odet de Coligny, archbishop of Toulouse, and Cardinal de Châtillon, was condemned by the council of Trent for embracing the protestant faith. He fled hither out of France, in 1568, after the battle of St Denis, and on his return, in 1570, was poisoned by one of his servants. He was honourably buried among the metropolitans, in the cathedral at Canterbury. See Strype, Annals, II. i. 353.]

[6 For a full account of all particulars relating to the proposed marriage, see Strype, Annals, II. i. 48, &c. and Camden, Eliz. p. 160, &c.]

neither do I understand that it is altogether disliked. If you ask what I myself think, it is a difficult thing to be a judge in the affairs of princes. I shall merely say, that in my opinion this expected marriage will never take place. There are many reasons which make me fear it, and not a few which lead me to wish for it. But I leave these matters, like all others which concern us, to be well and happily disposed of by the wisdom and goodness of God. And should he make it tend as much to the propagation of the gospel, and the setting forth of the glory of the name of Christ, as it seems at first sight likely to conduce both to the private advantage of individuals, and the public good, both my life and my wishes will be abundantly satisfied.

And now to interweave a few observations respecting our neighbour Scotland. Having been lately almost ruined by the most foul homicides, and stained with the blood of her first nobility, both of her king, a most illustrious youth from England, and after him of the excellent regent James, both of whom they took off by horrible and lamentable murders, she is still in a flame through the mutual abhorrence of these events in both parties. The queen, being suspected of the murder of her husband, and required by the nobles of her kingdom either to prove her innocence, or suffer for her guilt, as I mentioned in my last letter, has secretly taken refuge here in England, where she is still detained captive. She has often meditated an escape, and others have contrived plans for her rescue, but hitherto to no purpose, for she is very diligently and carefully guarded: with what design, few can tell; with what result, does not yet appear; with what hope, or rather what fear, I grieve to say. He who has forced her to this step, both easily can, (for he is powerful,) should it seem good to him, and he readily will, (for he is merciful,) if he is entreated, order all things according to his will, and also according to our own. But in this country how wonderfully and beyond all expectation the God of all goodness and the Lord of glory has preserved every thing safe and sound, as it is certain from experience, so it is true in the relation of it; yet as being of rare occurrence, will almost be incredible in the hearing. For both in the commotions in France, and the contests in Scotland, and moreover with the secret hatred of Spain, none of which could ever be overcome by any slight means or ordinary exertions, our Elizabeth, the sole nurse (as it were) of these affairs, and solely for the sake of the gospel, has preserved the friends of godliness, who would otherwise doubtless have been destroyed long since, free from harm. But observe that ancient

and most convenient, and in a manner the leading stratagem of the papists, which is now both rendered familiar to us by daily experience, and peculiar to themselves by long use and possession. They besiege the tender frame of the most noble virgin Elizabeth with almost endless attacks, and most studiously endeavour to compass her death, both by poison, and violence, and witchcraft, and treason, and all other means of that kind which could ever be imagined, and which it is horrible even to relate. Hitherto however, as God has had for his gospel a faithful and active Deborah, so truly has he made her a triumphant Judith; and we implore him also to make her an aged Anna.

These Scottish wares which I have given you, are not only sordid and unsound, but really black. Now then accept of some from Flanders, few indeed in number, but which however you will without doubt call elegant. A certain person was here not long since, a doctor of laws, of some learning, such an one, I imagine, as those among the Jews who menaced Christ with death: his name is Story, a man, as it were, born for cruelty, a most raging persecutor[1] in the Marian times, to whom it was gain to kill the saints, and sport to shed blood. This man then, after the happy day had shone upon us in which God raised our Elizabeth to the head of the English government, was apprehended and thrown into prison on an evident charge of treason. A short time afterwards, when the gaoler was not so careful as he should have been, he broke out of prison and escaped into Flanders, where he entered into the service[2] of the duke of Alva, the capital enemy of our kingdom, who is resident in that country. Here, like a fury fresh from hell, or more truly, like a wicked Davus, it is wonderful how he is continually making mischief. Having obtained licence from

[1 Dr Story was one of the examiners of the martyr Philpot. His character may be judged of from the following language, addressed to Philpot, and recorded by Foxe: "Well, Sir, you are like to go after your fathers, Latimer the sophister, and Ridley, who had nothing to allege for himself but that he had learned his heresy of Cranmer. When I came to him with a poor bachelor of arts, he trembled as though he had had the palsy; as these heretics have always some token of fear whereby a man may know them, as you may see this man's eyes do tremble in his head. But I despatched them: *and I tell thee that there hath never been yet any one burnt, but I have spoken with him, and been a cause of his despatch.*" Acts and Monuments, VII. 628. See also Strype, Annals, I. ii. 297.]

[2 He was appointed searcher of all ships at Antwerp for English goods and heretical books, (Strype, Parker, II. 366,) and was allowed a moiety of the confiscation. Carte's Hist. of England.]

the duke, he plunders, annoys, and imprisons the merchants arriving in those parts; he entices the people of England to rebellion, is strenuously and solicitously urgent with Alva to afford a liberal supply both of men and means for so holy an object; lastly, he is endeavouring hand and foot, with all his might, to procure by some unheard-of cruelty[1] the premature and lamentable destruction of the most noble queen his sovereign, and that of the government of his honoured country. Here however the merchants, who being daily scourged by the most cruel stripes of this Davus, had a fuller perception of them to their greater sorrow, and without any hope of relief, take common counsel among themselves, and cry out as it were with one voice, that he must be carried off, which they thus effected with consummate artifice. There comes to him one of his friends[2] whose fidelity he least suspected, but who had been suborned by the merchants: this man privately whispers in his ear that a ship[3] has just arrived from England, laden with I know not what golden mountains of treasure. Fired with the love of plunder, he straightway sallies forth, promising the money to himself, and certain death to the merchants. After he had entered the ship, and was prying about in every corner, and had just gone down into the interior of the vessel, they suddenly closed the hatches, and with their sails set are carried by a prosperous and safe breeze into England. And here, if in addition to all the ships of the Turkish empire laden with treasure even the whole Venetian fleet with all its wealth had met them, and been offered to them on their way, I well know that they would not have exchanged this merchandize and worthless lading of their little vessel for all those treasures. And so at length he was brought to London, amidst the great congratulations of the people, awaiting him on his return; and shortly after being convicted of treason, hung[4] and quartered, was made an ill-savoured martyr of the Roman church, and enrolled in the popish catalogue of saints, next to Felton, who affixed the pope's bull to the palace-gates of the bishop of London.

[1 Story was arraigned, and was to be charged with treason, for having consulted with one Prestall, a man much addicted to magical illusions, against his prince's life. Camden's Elizabeth, p. 168.]

[2 One Parker, who was afterwards cast into prison, by the craft and malice of Story's private friends. Strype, Parker, II. 367.]

[3 He was decoyed on board the ship of Cornelius de Eycke, at Bergen op Zoom. Carte's Hist. of England.]

[4 Story suffered at Tyburn in June 1571, and was made a saint at Rome, and his martyrdom printed, and set up in the English college there. Strype, Annals, I. ii. 297.]

I have moreover transmitted to you, my Bullinger, by this carrier ten crowns, not so much by way of an honourable, or at least an honorary present, as a token, such as it is, of my regard towards you. The whole of this sum I desire to be expended upon a public entertainment in your common hall, devoted to the remembrance of me, though without a sacrifice.

Farewell all of you, and live happy. I desire you would so think of me, just as you are accustomed to regard one who for your sake would willingly plan any thing by his advice, or accomplish it by his assistance, or embrace it in his thoughts, or lastly, promote it by his influence. May Christ Jesus preserve the church which he has redeemed by his precious blood, disappoint the designs of all her adversaries, frustrate their attempts, and break their power! Farewell, most loving Bullinger, and live in him who is the author of life. London, Aug. 8, 1571. Wholly yours,

Robert Winton.

CLVI. BISHOP PARKHURST TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 99.]

Ludham, *Aug.* 10, 1571.

Health to you, most agreeable Bullinger. On the 4th of March Boxall[5], a notorious papist, and secretary to queen Mary, died at Lambeth[6]; where also Thirlby, one of her councillors and bishop of Ely, died before him. About the end of June David Whitehead[7], an octogenarian, and a man adorned with all kinds of

[5 John Boxall was removed from office by Elizabeth on her accession, to make way for Cecil, and his behaviour on the occasion sets his character in a favourable light; for instead of interposing obstacles to his successor in office, it is clear, from a few of his letters to Cecil dated about this period, that he cherished no sentiment but that of anxiety to afford him all the assistance in his power. See Burgon's Life and Times of Sir T. Gresham. Vol. I. p. 214.]

[6 In 1563, the council removed Boxall and Thirlby from the Tower, on account of the plague having appeared in London; and on Sept. 15, wrote to the archbishop to receive them, "and to give them convenient lodging, each of them one man allowed them, and to use them as was requisite for men of their sort; and that they would satisfy his lordship for the charges of their commons." Boxall was doctor in divinity of Oxford, and had been dean of Peterborough, Norwich, and Windsor. Strype, Parker, I. 279, &c.]

[7 Whitehead had been recommended by archbishop Cranmer to be archbishop of Armagh, and was afterwards an exile for religion, and pastor of an English congregation at Frankfort. Strype, Memor. III. i. 231.]

learning, departed this life at London. Thomas Spencer[1], a doctor in divinity and archdeacon of Chichester, died on the 8th of July. He was a most diligent preacher in the Suffolk part of my diocese. He was with us at Zurich. Master Cole, not the one who was at Zurich[2], but whom master Wolfgang Weidner was so fond of, the archdeacon of Essex[3], departed this life about the same time. Both of them were remarkable for their eloquence in the pulpit.

Almost two years since there was an implacable quarrel here at Norwich among the foreigners; nor are they even yet reconciled, though there is some hope that things will be on a better footing and more peaceable in future. You would scarce believe what labour I have undergone, to say nothing of expense, during the whole time; and yet these refractory people will not give up a single point. I have always treated them with the greatest mildness and consideration, though of late a little harshly, contrary to my nature. But what could you do? If we cannot succeed in one way, we must try another. Three[4] of their preachers, ambitious and aspiring men, occasioned and continued all this disturbance. The whole congregation was very near being broken up. Their number was about four thousand. The English, I allow, were somewhat troublesome in Germany; but, if you compare them with these, they were quietness itself. I do not in the least exaggerate. There have been great dissensions among their countrymen, both at Sandwich in Kent, and likewise in London, which, as I hear, are not yet composed. In the French church here every thing is very quiet. They are in number about four hundred.

[1 Spencer subscribed, as a member of convocation, the Articles of 1562. Strype, Annals, I. i. 488.]

[2 This was William Cole, fellow, and afterwards president, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and concerned in the translation of the Geneva Bible. Strype, Memor. III. i. 232. Annals, I. i. 343. Parker, i. 528. Some of his letters are given in this volume.]

[3 Thomas Cole, an exile at Frankfort, and afterwards Rector of High Ongar, and one of the subscribers to the Articles of 1562. Strype, Memor. III. i. 404. Cranmer, 52. Annals, I. i. 488.]

[4 There was a church allowed in the city of Norwich for strangers that fled thither for religion from the parts of Flanders; which church was supplied with three ministers named Anthonius, Theophilus and Isbrandus. These, falling in their sermons upon particular doctrines controverted among themselves, preached so earnestly in answers and confutations one of another, that the congregation was all in confusion, and the peace of the church broken. Whereupon the bishop interposed, and enjoined them to forbear that manner of preaching one against another. Strype, Annals, II. i. 174. Parker, II. 82.]

The true religion is flourishing in Scotland. But the nobles are sometimes quarrelling with each other, not on account of religion, to which all parties are favourable, but for the custody of the king, which is their chief object. The queen of Scotland is still detained in England. The archbishop of St Andrew's[5], the author of many disturbances in Scotland, was hung on a gibbet last May.

The marquis of Northampton[6] (the brother of queen Catharine, the last wife of Henry the eighth, and my most gentle mistress, whom I attended as chaplain twenty-three years since,) died about the beginning of August. When I was in London, he married a very beautiful German girl, who remained in the queen's court after the departure of the margrave of Baden and Cecilia[7] his wife from England. Our marquis was sixty years old, and I believe much more. Your young friend, Henry Butler, is in good health.

[5 James Hamilton, the natural son of James, first Earl of Arran. He was one of the Queen of Scots' privy council, and performed the ceremony of christening her son. He was in the castle of Dumbarton when that fortress was taken by surprise, from whence he was carried to Stirling, where on April 1st, 1570, he was hanged on a live tree, which gave occasion to the following lines:

"Vive diu, felix arbor, semperque vireto
Frondibus, ut nobis talia poma feras."

He was put to death because he was strongly suspected of being concerned in the death of the regent Murray, by whom he had been declared a traitor. Beatson's Political Index. Carte however says, in his History of England, that he was condemned, not for Darnley's or Murray's murder, with which they endeavoured to blacken him, though innocent, but for rebellion against the prince of Scotland in adhering to his mother; and that the sentence was the effect of Lenox's personal enmity to the house of Hamilton.]

[6 William Parr, first baron Parr of Kendall, created marquis of Northampton 1547; attainted 1554, when his honours became forfeited; again created marquis Northampton 1559; ob. 1571. s. p. Nicolas's Synopsis of the Peerage.]

[7 She was sister to the king of Sweden, and arrived in England with her husband Sept. 7, 1565. The margrave returned to Germany in November, but "hathe lefte here behynd him in the courte the lady Cecilie his wyfe, with whose companye and conversation the quene is so muche delighted, as she doothe not onely allowe her very honourable bouge of courte, three measse of meat twyse a daye for her mayds and the rest of her familye, but also her majestie hathe delte so liberally with her husbande, that he hathe a yearly pension of 2000 crownes, which he is to enjoye so longe as he suffereth the ladye his wife to resyde here in Englande." Lodge's Illustrations, Vol. I. p. 358. Strype, Annals, I. ii. 198, 210.]

I wish every happiness to your chief magistrates, council, preachers, citizens, and the whole estate of Zurich.

Salute in my name your sons Henry, Rodolph, and the third, whose name I have forgotten, your daughters Truth and Dorothy, Simler, Lavater, Zuinglius, your sons-in-law; Wolfius, Haller, Wickius, Froschover, Julius, John Henry Fabricius, and all the rest. My invalide salutes you and yours, sons, daughters, and all. In haste, Ludham. Aug. 10, 1571. You will learn all the other news from the letter to Gualter.

Yours, J. PARKHURST, N.

CLVII. H. ZANCHIUS TO BISHOP JEWEL. [B. 75.]

HEIDELBERG, *Sept.* 2, 1571.

IT is true, most learned bishop Jewel, that, though I have always esteemed you by reason of your singular piety and virtue ever since we were together at Strasburgh, I have never written to you, nor congratulated you as I ought to have done, upon the dignity to which your virtue has advanced you. All this I acknowledge to be the case. But if any one should infer from hence that I therefore have held and do hold you in small estimation, I should deny the consequence, and say that such a person is guilty of false reasoning, by putting *non causa pro causa.* For there exist other reasons why this duty has been, I will not say neglected by me, but omitted; though, were I to detail and explain them, my excuse would extend to a greater length than your patience could endure. One of them, however, I cannot pass over in silence: and that is, that after your return to your most beloved country, I was wonderfully tossed about both by land and sea, to the great injury of my affairs; being persecuted beyond belief, partly by the enemies of the truth at Strasburgh, partly by the foes to discipline, with whom the followers of Servetus united their forces at Chiavenna[1]. What person, I ask, could bear in mind all and each of his friends, amidst such great storms as these? And when the first opportunities of congratulating or writing upon any subject are

[1 Zanchius was appointed professor at Strasburgh in 1553, and remained there almost eleven years. He wrote two treatises against the Servetian or Socinian hypothesis, at the solicitation of Frederic III. elector Palatine, by whom he was appointed divinity professor at Heidelberg in 1568. One of these was entitled *De Dei natura;* the other, *De tribus Elohim uno eodemque Jehova.*]

once gone by, it seems quite superfluous and unseasonable to write about such things at any later period. But no occasion for my writing, worthy of your virtue and dignity, has been since afforded me, except at the present time. There has not indeed been wanting a very pressing subject, only it was a personal one, which did not so much recommend, as compel me, as it were, to address you as well as others; but, to speak candidly, I dared not take the same liberty with you as I did with some others, with whom, though they were persons of great consequence, I lived upon a more intimate footing when I was at Strasburgh, than with yourself. For you had gone away to Zurich with Peter Martyr, while we remained at Strasburgh. Whence it arose, that my familiar and friendly intercourse with the other noble and learned individuals increased more and more, which could not so easily be the case as regarding you and myself. This then is one reason why you have heretofore received no letters from me. But I could not at this time on any account omit writing to you; for a matter of importance and one most worthy of you now presents itself, which compels me to address you.

When master Mont returned from England in June last, he informed me, together with some others, that the controversy has again been stirred up in your churches, about certain habits, which her most serene majesty requires the bishops and ministers to wear in the administration of the word or sacraments; and that there are not a few men of your order, who are minded rather to resign their office, and even retire from the ministry, than adopt the use of such habits. From hence, he adds, is to be feared the entire downfall of those churches. He has therefore requested me to write, both to her most serene majesty, to admonish her of her duty; and also to those bishops who are known to me, and with whom I am upon a footing of friendship. He mentioned you among the first, for that, by reason of your virtue and the influence arising from it, you possessed much authority. I excused myself, and alleged my want of ability; but no excuse would avail. At last therefore, after the persuasion of many of my friends, I was ordered even by my most illustrious sovereign to take the matter in hand. Being thus compelled, I wrote first of all a letter[2] to her most serene majesty, and, as I trust, not an improper one, in which I exhort and beseech her not to give ear to such counsels as are certainly inconsistent with the

[2 See the following letter. Archbishop Grindal, to whom it was sent to be delivered to the queen, thought it best, upon the advice of some of the council, not to present it. See Strype, Grindal, 157, and Grindal's letter to Zanchy, in the Parker Society's Edition of his works, p. 333.]

duty of a good sovereign. I desire nothing more earnestly than that her most serene majesty would listen, not so much to my advice as to that of all my colleagues and godly friends, and of our most illustrious prince himself. And that she may do this, we do not so much request from herself, as from God. But since we are ignorant as to what she will do, and it may possibly happen that she will persist in her present opinion; and in the mean time, if the bishops themselves are unwilling in any way to alter their determination, the church will be in danger; our brethren have therefore judged it expedient that some of the more eminent and discreet bishops should be written to, and requested to advise the rest, that, should not the queen by any means be induced to revoke her orders, they ought not themselves on this account to choose rather to desert their posts than to obey the royal command; for that there seems no reason why it should be lawful for a pastor to forsake his flock, so long as he is freely permitted to teach, and to administer the sacraments according to the word of God, although he may be forced to do some things of which he cannot altogether approve; provided only that they are not such as are intrinsically and of their own nature sinful: for if such things be commanded, we must say with the apostles, that we ought to obey God rather than men: and in the mean time each person should abide in his own calling, and take care of his own flock. But if things in their own nature indifferent be prescribed by law and the queen's command, since it is the only alternative, either to resign one's post or to yield obedience to such a command, we ought rather to obey, but with a due protest against it; and the people should be instructed why and for what reason obedience has been paid to such a command, rather than that they should be waiting for the time when their pastor should be deprived, and compelled to resign his flock to another. And this opinion is so plain and evident, both from the sacred writings, and the fathers and ecclesiastical histories, that to adduce any proof of it to those who are even moderately versed in the scriptures would be altogether superfluous. For a lawful and necessary calling is never to be deserted for the sake of things which are in their own nature indifferent.

We doubt not, most learned Jewel, but that these things are well known to you. We therefore request you to interpose your authority, and with your wonted ability and discretion so consult with your other most reverend and right worshipful episcopal brethren, that they may each of them abide in their respective calling and station. For Satan is surely aiming at nothing else,

than that by the separation of the true bishops, whether by right or wrong, from their flocks, the whole church may be thrown into confusion. He must therefore be resisted, lest he should succeed in his most impious and ungodly purpose. May the Lord preserve both yourself and all the other pious and holy bishops to his church, guide you by his Spirit, and by your assistance advance his kingdom! And we pray you most earnestly on your part to entreat the Lord for us, and especially for our most illustrious prince. And I especially commend myself to you, most pious and learned prelate, as also Rodolph Gualter, and Rodolph Zuingle, grandson of the great Zuingle: they are both of them studious and godly youths. You will be informed by them respecting the state of our affairs. Heidelberg, Sept. 2, 1571.

H. ZANCHIUS, in his own name, and in that of his colleagues.

CLVIII. H. ZANCHIUS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH. [B. App. 1.]

HEIDELBERG, *Sept.* 10, 1571.

WE have been informed, most serene and most christian queen, to our exceeding grief, that the flame of discord, respecting I know not what vestments, and which we thought had been extinguished long since, has been stirred up afresh as though from hell, and rekindled, to the incredible offence of all godly persons, in your majesty's kingdom. And the occasion of this flame has originated from hence; forasmuch as your most serene majesty, at the persuasion of some individuals, excellent in other respects, and actuated by a zeal, though certainly not according to knowledge, for preserving uniformity in religion, has now more than ever formed the resolution, and decreed, willed, and commanded that all bishops and ministers of churches should themselves be attired, during the performance of divine service, in the white linen garments that the mass-priests wear in the popish religion. And there is great reason to fear lest this fire be kindled, and send forth its flames, far and wide; and that all the churches of that most flourishing and powerful kingdom be consumed, to the perpetual dishonour of your most serene majesty. For that the greater number of them are bishops, men distinguished both for learning and piety, who choose rather to give up their office and stations than to admit such vestments against their conscience, as being relics, or at least symbols of idolatry and popish superstition, and to defile themselves therewith; and offend the weaker brethren by their example. But what else were

this, than for the sake of those vestments to destroy the whole body of the church? For that truly is Satan's great object, by sowing the seeds of dissension among the bishops. This also was his aim in the early ages of the church, when he stirred up between the eastern and western churches the dispute respecting Easter[1], and other ceremonies of the like kind. Wherefore it was not without reason that Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, in a letter[2] sent from France to Rome, sharply rebuked pope Victor, who, through his I know not what kind of zeal, but certainly not according to knowledge, desired to excommunicate all the Asiatic churches, because they would not celebrate Easter at the same time as they did at Rome. For this was nothing else than, through an unseasonable desire of retaining the same ceremonies in every church, to divide and tear in pieces the unity of the churches. As soon therefore as I heard that so great a destruction was impending over the church of Christ in that kingdom, I forthwith, from the duty which I owe as well to the church of Christ as to your serene majesty, and in fine to your whole realm, determined to write to you, and to endeavour to the best of my power, to find out a remedy for so great an evil; some persons who fear Christ, and are friendly to your most serene majesty, exhorting me to undertake this office. But I had scarcely begun to turn it over in my mind, when lo! our most illustrious prince commands me to put it into execution; by which command indeed he has only added spurs to me who was already going on of my own accord, but has also imposed upon me the necessity of writing. Your most serene majesty, therefore, will be the less surprised at this my boldness, since I am writing, not so much of my own inclination, and by the advice of my friends, as at the command of my most illustrious sovereign, and your most serene majesty's great friend. But in the first place I have thought it most expedient for me, first of all to advise your majesty of what is your duty under existing circumstances; and then humbly to pray you, through Jesus Christ our Lord, resolutely to perform it.

[1 The Asiatic bishops commemorated the anniversary of Christ's death on the 14th of March, on whatever day of the week it happened, as being the day on which the Jews kept their passover. Hence it arose, for the most part, that the festival of Easter was held on other days of the week than the first. For an account of the controversy, which began in the time of Anicetus, bishop of Rome, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and was revived in the episcopate of Victor, towards the end of the second century, see Du Pin. I. 60. Mosheim. Cent. II. ii. ch. IX.]

[2 The substance of this letter is given in Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. v. ch. 24.]

And I entreat your most serene majesty to take in good part this my writing; for it proceeds from christian love towards the church, and from the singular respect which I so abundantly entertain towards your most serene majesty. The Lord knoweth all things. And now to the subject.

When the apostle, writing to Timothy[3], orders prayers to be made for kings, and for all that are in authority; and declares that the end of their being placed in authority is, that we may lead a quiet life in all, that is, in perfect, godliness and honesty; he teaches with sufficient clearness what is the duty of godly kings and princes; namely, that they should take care and provide, above all, that true religion and the true worship of God, if it has been banished, should be restored; and when restored, preserved in all its integrity; all things which in any wise savour of impiety being driven away; in the next place, that men should live honestly and holily, all kinds of impurity and licentiousness being put to flight; lastly, that a public peace and holy friendship be cultivated among the people, all occasions of discord being removed as far as possible. That these are the three principal parts of the kingly office, and of that of every godly magistrate, is not only, as we have seen, openly taught by the apostle, but all men of learning, and who entertain proper notions of the duty of a magistrate, with one consent and one mouth confirm the same. And this being the case, I do not see how your most serene majesty can, with a good conscience, propose to the consciences of godly bishops the resumption of the habits in question, and other things of that kind which still savour of popish superstition, and which have once been banished from the churches; and so to propose them, as by your command to compel the adoption of them. For first of all, this is repugnant to the chief and principal part of the kingly office. For if the magistrate is especially to provide that the worship of God may be maintained in all its integrity; and if on this account all things are to be removed which can any wise violate this worship either of their own nature, or incidentally; and therefore all things are, as far as possible, to be restored according to the rule of God's word, and the ancient and apostolic, and consequently purer and more simple form of religion; in fine, if, as the apostle enjoins, we are to abstain, not only from all evil, but from all appearance of evil; how, I pray you, most serene and godly queen, can you introduce, by your royal mandate, into the church of God those things which are repugnant to the purity of apostolic worship; which

[3 See 1 Tim. ii. 2.]

savour of popish superstition; which neither tend to the edification of the godly, nor to order, or ornament, except such as is meretricious; and which, lastly, can bring no advantage to the church, but on the contrary may occasion it much mischief? It is certain that by this law respecting the habits all godly persons will be offended; the ungodly will laugh in their sleeve, and hence hope for further concessions; while the middle sort, that is, those who have but lately turned from impiety to godliness, but are not yet sufficiently established, will be in danger; and, if we may speak from human judgment, will rather look back upon that ancient superstition to which we are inclined by nature, than fix their eyes firm and stedfast upon true religion; so that this decree will not in the least advance godliness, while it may probably tend very much to the advancement of ungodliness. For though these habits are not of themselves, that is, of their own nature, evil or unclean, yet they cannot be altogether free from impurity by reason of their having been previously and so recently abused. It certainly cannot be denied but that they may at least afford occasion to much mischief and to the grossest superstitions. But we are to avoid even the occasions of evil. To what end then will you obtrude those things upon the church, from which no benefit but very great harm must be expected? for this is to tempt God. Your most serene majesty should remember that it is not written without a cause, that "whoever touches pitch shall be defiled by it." Nor did the apostle command us without reason to purge away the old leaven, because "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump." Nor were the Jews unadvisedly rebuked by Hosea for having transplanted the shoots of superstition from Israel into their garden, that is, into the true church. It is most evident, most godly queen, that we ought to have no business whatever with the papists in matters of religion, except in such things as they have in common with the apostles. Wherefore, I pray you, are certain kings, although godly in other respects, rebuked in scripture, for not having taken away the high places in which Jehovah was wont to be worshipped before the building of the temple by their pious forefathers? Assuredly, because after the building and appointment of the temple, God would no longer permit any vestiges to remain of any other place of worship. So also upon the manifestation of Christ's kingdom the Aaronic ceremonies and garments ought no longer to have any place. Wherefore the apostles very properly took care that they should be done away with after the ascension of Christ; so that not even any relics should remain. But if they piously removed them, the

papists must impiously have restored them. And who is there so ignorant as not to know which it is best to follow, the pious simplicity of the apostles, or the impious pomp of the papists?

Your most serene majesty may believe me that the restoration of such popish vestments will be a far greater evil than may appear at the first glance, even to those who are most sharp-sighted. For I seem to see and hear the monks calling out from their pulpits, and confirming their people in this ungodly religion by your majesty's example, and saying, "What? why the queen of England herself, most learned and prudent as she is, is beginning by degrees to return to the religion of the holy Roman church; for the most holy and consecrated vestments of the clergy are now resumed. It is to be hoped that she will also at length restore to their former position all the other doctrines, rites, and sacraments of the holy Roman church." This and similar language, most prudent queen, will the monks and Jesuits doubtless make use of from their pulpits; for they will let slip no occasion of establishing their superstitions. What else is it then, to re-introduce at this time these filthy vestments, and the other rubbish of the popish church into the church of Christ, than to afford an opportunity to the papists, and that a most excellent one, of confirming themselves and their people in their superstitions, and indeed to lend them, as it were, assistance towards this very object? But let us hear the prophet[1], who said to Jehoshaphat king of Judah when he joined affinity with Ahab, "shouldest thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord? therefore is wrath upon thee from before the Lord." And what else would this thing be, than to turn away the weak from the love of pure religion, and tacitly to recommend them to look back upon and return into Egypt? For a falling back unto ungodliness is easy to weak men, inasmuch as we are all of us by our very nature inclined to superstitions. So far therefore ought we to be from affording any occasions of relapsing into ungodliness, that they must be altogether removed. What, I pray you, did God mean, when he forbade men "to plough with an ox and an ass together;" and provided that the same field should not be sown with divers seeds; and that men should not wear a garment of woollen and linen together[2]? It is odious and abominable to God that the same field of the Lord should be tilled by ungodly and godly bishops at the same time; that in the same church the doctrine of popery be taught at the same time with the doctrine of the gospel; that, lastly, sacraments, ceremonies and rites made up of apostolic

[1 Jehu. See 2 Chron. xix. 2.]

[2 These prohibitions are recorded in Deut. xxii. 9—11.]

and popish ones, be brought into use, and the church be clothed with them, as it were with a garment made of woollen and linen together. For what agreement hath light with darkness? Such a mingling together, that is, one so abominable and wicked, should also be detested by ourselves. And therefore, the things which are not of God, but of those who have defiled the worship of God, are to be altogether cast off; and this is what the Lord himself commanded to be done, when he ordered that all the property of those persons who should persuade the people to go after strange gods, should be entirely destroyed, and their raiment, and all their goods burned with fire, and that in the middle of the market-place; namely, to shew his abomination of such seducers, and that they might be accursed of the Lord[1]. And who does not know that these raiments are also included among the goods of the Roman deceiver? And there shall cleave, he saith, nought of the cursed thing to thine hand, that the Lord may turn from the fierceness of his anger, and multiply thee as he hath sworn unto thy fathers?" What else then, is the introducing these garments, the ornaments of antichrist, into the church of Christ, but provoking the Lord to anger, and kindling his wrath against us? We may be well assured that no true friend of Christ will ever entertain the ornaments of antichrist in his own house, much less bear them in the church of Christ. For who would endure his enemy's coat of arms in his house, and especially in the most honourable place? And if God will have any thing to be destroyed and abolished, who are we, that we dare to set it up afresh? But God, after the death of Christ, would have all the Aaronic and Levitical vestments abolished; and in our time he has every where declared with sufficient clearness, that is, he would have all the ungodly and vain popish ceremonies, pomps, impostures, and trickeries chased away by the splendour of the gospel; inasmuch as they are of no avail towards the kindling of godliness, but tend very much to the extinguishing of it.

Nor indeed am I able to perceive what is the ultimate object proposed by these vestments, unless it be in fact, (to come now to another head) to disgrace and dishonour the beautiful face, yea, the whole body of that church of England reformed according to the gospel; just as if a modest and honourable daughter of some king, were to be clothed in the raiment wherewith some notorious and well-known harlot was wont to be attired, and thus arrayed, compelled to go forth in public. But who would approve of this, or think such a thing to be endured? Wherefore, even if

[1 See Deut. xiii. 12, &c.]

for no other reason, at least on this account, vestments of this kind ought not to be obtruded upon the church of Christ; because the Roman harlot has abused them, though not evil in their own nature, and still continues to abuse them to evil, and to conceal her harlotries, or rather to allure men to commit fornication. For all these pomps and popish ceremonies are nothing else but meretricious adornments, contrived for the purpose of alluring men to spiritual fornication. Is it not then a shameful thing, to have them in the church of Christ? If the brasen serpent which had been ordained by God, and that too for the healing of the Israelites, was taken away by the godly king Hezekiah, because the Israelites abused it contrary to the word of God; and if Hezekiah was greatly commended for this act, namely, for having reduced that serpent to ashes, and commanding them to be cast into running water, that there might remain no vestige of it whatever; how much rather are these impure garments, which the apostles never used, but which are adopted by the Roman harlot in her idolatrous worship, and for the seduction of mankind, to be banished from the church of God? Nor indeed is it decent, that things which have been long made use of to the dishonour of God, even if they be in themselves indifferent, should be retained in the church to the peril even of the salvation of godly persons. Much less then is this kind of vestment, which is nothing else than an invention of man, or rather of Satan, devised for the seduction of the simple.

There is none of us who is ignorant of the commendation deserved by those states which provide by law against their citizens wearing strange apparel, and will not introduce them into the commonwealth, because they are the corrupters of good and pure morals, and therefore of the commonwealth themselves. How then can the proposal which is made to your majesty ever be commended; namely, that vestments unknown to the christian commonwealth in the time of the apostles and their immediate successors, should be introduced into the church of Christ? For if a strange mode of apparel be not tolerated in well constituted states, how much less are idolatrous and gentile garments to be endured in the church, where God is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and where he requires but few ceremonies, and those of the most simple character? If too, God has provided by law that the woman should not wear the garments of the man, nor, conversely, the man wear those of the woman, because both of these things are in themselves shameful and unseemly, and contrary to nature; why then must godly bishops and servants of Christ be attired, or rather de-

graded and deformed in the habits of the ungodly mass-priests and bond-slaves of antichrist? Why should we not rather, as we are of a different religion, be distinguished from them also by external signs, such as the vestments are, at least in the performance of those duties which appertain to the worship of God? God certainly willed this, and required it of his people that they should be distinguished from the profane gentiles even by a different kind of dress; and thus he declared by this public sign, that he would not let them have any thing in common with the gentiles. And why should not we also do the same? Are we not the people of God? Does not the justice of the same precept still remain? and if what is honest is so called from honour, what honour, I ask, would it be to the church of Christ to have their bishops in the ministry of the gospel and sacraments attired and masked in the disguise of popery, so as to be rather objects of ridicule to all, than of veneration to the people? And in what kind of honour will your most serene majesty be held by true churches and true believers, when you allow such fooleries to be reintroduced into your church? It is not therefore becoming, that godly bishops should be compelled to take up such masks. Nor indeed is the thing itself either worthy of honour and commendation, or does it deserve the name of virtue. For, suppose your most serene majesty were to issue and decree, that every Englishman should lay aside his ancient dress, most grave and decent as it is, and put on the Turkish robe, or array himself in a military dress, as they call it: who, I ask, would commend such a decree as a proper one? Much less then is it to be commended, that godly bishops be required, having laid aside or at least altered that ancient and becoming attire, which was used even by the apostles, namely, a common dress, but decent and becoming, to put on the ridiculous and execrable garments of the ungodly mass-priests.

And as it respects the third part of the kingly office, nothing can be better devised than a plan of this kind, to disturb the public peace. For all novelties, in religion especially, either, if evil, disturb the peace of themselves; or, if harmless, afford accidental occasion for men to contend with each other, the evil namely with the good. But as in things which are good in themselves, as for instance, in the reformation of the churches according to the will of God, the disturbing of an ungodly peace, that is, of the world, is to be disregarded; (for Christ came not by his preaching to preserve such a peace, but rather to destroy it, and send a sword,) so assuredly, to disturb the peace of the churches, and to set the good and bad, or even the good only at variance with each other, by insisting upon

things indifferent, is a thing so evidently unjust, as to admit of no defence; wherefore, on this ground it was that Irenæus rebuked Victor the Roman bishop, as has been above stated. For in such cases the churches must of necessity be split into factions, than which what can be more injurious? The instances which every where occur in ecclesiastical histories confirm openly and clearly enough what I say. How many and how great disturbances, I pray, were stirred up in the primitive church between those who in addition to the gospel, urged also the observance even of circumcision and of the law, and those who very properly rejected them? And what mischiefs would this dispute have farther occasioned to the church of Christ, unless the apostles had met the evil in time, by assembling the synod at Jerusalem, and taking due cognizance and consideration of the matter by the plain testimony of the scriptures, and valid reasoning? If your most serene majesty, as it is your duty, desires both to be and to appear apostolic, you must imitate the apostles in this respect. Neither must you impose this yoke upon the necks of the disciples of Christ yourself, nor allow it to be imposed on them by others. And if you perceive that the bishops disagree among themselves upon this subject, you should call a synod, and take care that the controversy be determined and judged of by the scriptures; and then at length whatever may have been proved upon clear evidence, and solid grounds, you should set it forth for the observance of all parties, and order it to be observed by act of parliament, and so remove all contention from the church. For it is your most serene majesty's especial duty to provide that no change or innovation shall be made in religion, except according to the word of God. By these means the true peace, and concord, and unity of the churches will be preserved. But should the contrary take place, what else will be the result than the destruction of unity, and the disturbance of christian peace? Nor do I think that I ought to pass over in silence, that by this novelty not only will the public peace be disturbed in that kingdom, but also elsewhere out of the kingdom will an occasion be afforded to many persons of stirring up new contentions in the churches; and that not without great injury to godliness, and hindrance of the course of the gospel. For no one is ignorant, that almost all the churches which have deserted the Roman pontiff for the sake of the gospel, not only do not adopt such vestments, but even regard them with abomination. Not however but that there are others, though very few in comparison with the former, who still retain those vestments that were made use of in popery, just as they obstinately retain some other

things; and that for this reason, because at the first, the reformers of those churches, great men in other respects, and most faithful servants of God, did not dare, (nor indeed did they judge it expedient,) entirely to take away every thing that was papistical. But, as is always the case, every one is in love with his own plans. And I call his own, not so much what each has devised of himself, as also what every one makes choice of, receives, retains, adopts for himself, when it has been devised by others. But when the examples of others are brought forward, they become more and more confirmed in those things, and not only confirmed, but also use all their endeavours, and by their speeches, and writings, yea, their hands and feet they leave no stone unturned so that they may bring every one else into their way of thinking. We easily perceive then what will be the consequence, if your most serene majesty should adopt that counsel, which is recommended to you by I know not whom, about the adoption of the vestments and other things pertaining to popery. For some evil disposed persons, stirred up by your majesty's example, will write and disperse throughout all Germany little treatises upon these things which they call adiaphoristic; namely, that it is allowable to introduce them; yea, and that they must of necessity be admitted, to the end that the papists may be less estranged from us, and that we may thus come more nearly to an agreement with each other. As if the papists, even though we were to allow all these things for the sake of peace, would ever alter any doctrine, and banish from their churches, or by any other means lay aside their false and impious dogmas, their open and abominable superstitions and mad idolatries. Thus there will not be wanting those who will reply to such books, should they be dispersed; so that from this flame, kindled in England, will arise also a new conflagration in Germany and France, on which the papists will throw cold water. An excellent benefit in truth! Who then does not now perceive that this design has no other object than the general unsettling of churches? On the whole, that golden saying of some learned man is most true and certain and confirmed by long experience, "that matters of indifference, that is, the question respecting matters of indifference, is the golden apple of discord."

And thus have I said enough with respect to the disturbance of the public peace. But what shall I say of the consciences of individual believers? The dispute itself teaches us that they are disturbed beyond measure by the order about wearing the linen surplice. For their complaints are so vehement that their querulous lamentations and groans penetrate into and are heard

even in Germany. And holy scripture informs us how grievous an offence it is and hateful to God, to disquiet the consciences of the godly; partly, when it commands us not to grieve the holy Spirit, nor to offend the weak; and partly, when it denounces heavy punishments upon those who make no scruple of doing these things; and partly too, when it proposes the examples of the saints, and of Paul especially, who thus speaks, "If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend." (1 Cor. viii. 13.) For in these words he affords by his example a general rule taken from the doctrine of Christ; namely, that nothing indifferent is to be admitted, much less enforced upon others, and still less commanded by act of parliament if in admitting, enforcing, or commanding it the consciences of the faithful are offended. For a tender and God-fearing conscience is a most precious thing, and very acceptable to God. How then can we approve the design of setting forth by royal mandate a law respecting wearing the sacerdotal vestments in the ministry? For, to comprehend many things in few words, if vestments of this kind are to be proposed to the faithful, they must either be proposed as indifferent, or essential. If the latter, we act ungodlily, in making those things necessary, that Christ would have free; if the former, they must then be left free to the churches. For by commanding and enforcing them we make them essential instead of free, and thus fall into the same offence. Then again, they are either instituted of God by Moses; or delivered by Christ, to wit, God manifest in the flesh; or ordained by the holy Spirit acting and speaking in the apostles; or else by men, either godly or ungodly. The ceremonies and Levitical vestments which were instituted of God by Moses, were all of them by the will of God to cease upon the death of Christ; as is every where evident from the scriptures, especially from the epistles of Paul to the Colossians and Hebrews. For which reason they cannot be restored without a transgression of the divine will. It cannot be said that they were delivered by Christ, since there is not a word extant upon this subject; but rather on the contrary he plainly taught more than once that the end of all the Mosaic ceremonies had arrived. I assert and affirm the same respecting the apostles. It remains therefore, that they must be allowed to have been ordained of men. If of godly men, they were either ordained by them to edification, or order, or decency. But now they neither tend to edification, that is, to the advancement of godliness, but rather on the contrary make for its overthrow, as we have before seen: neither do they

tend to any good order, but rather to disorder; for by their means godly bishops are confounded with ungodly ones; whereas it is fitting that they should be distinguished from each other, even by their dress: nor lastly, do they add to the comeliness of the spouse of Christ; as has been proved by me a little before. They ought not therefore to be allowed by us. And as to what has been devised by men destitute of the Spirit of God, with that we have nothing to do. Lastly, the apostles did not use these vestments. For we have no authentic evidence that they did. But the church, as in doctrine, so also in ceremonies and vestments, is to be framed after the model of the apostolic church. To what end therefore are these vestments in the church? By whose authority can they be defended? What benefit or salutary use can accrue from them to the christian people? But it has been proved by us on the contrary, that godliness is weakened by them; the pure worship of God violated; popish superstition gradually restored; the godly offended; the ungodly confirmed in their ungodliness; the weak in faith thrown into peril of their salvation; occasions afforded of much mischief; monks and other popish preachers aided in confirming their people in superstition; God's wrath provoked against us; those things that God would have destroyed again set up amongst us; the whole face of the church defiled and disgraced; decent laws respecting the not wearing strange garments shamefully broken, and thus the whole church dishonoured. Besides this, the public peace of the church, yea, of many churches, is disturbed; bishops are brought into collision with each other; the consciences of the godly are burdened, and the feelings of excellent persons offended; the Holy Spirit in them is grieved, and lastly, the apple of discord is thrown, as it were, upon the table of the gods.

Since these things are so, most serene queen, not I only, but all my colleagues and all godly persons suppliantly entreat your most serene majesty, and implore you by Jesus Christ, who we are persuaded is loved by your most serene majesty from your heart, not to carry into effect that design respecting which so much has been said, nor lend your ears to such advisers. For indeed, most pious queen, these counsels are neither for the benefit of your church and kingdom, nor are they consistent with the honour of your majesty: since they neither tend to the advancement of godliness, nor to the preservation of ecclesiastical propriety, nor the maintenance of public peace; but rather weaken most exceedingly all these excellent things, which your majesty ought most especially to maintain. Your majesty should rather consider, and should

employ all your consideration, authority, and influence to this end, that you may have in the first place bishops truly pious, and well instructed in sacred learning, as by the blessing of God you already possess very many, and should encourage and attend to them. You should then take care that they diligently perform their duty; watch over the flock; teach sound doctrine; refute heresies; drive away the wolves; keep every one to his duty, and exhort, incite, and stimulate all persons to a life becoming a christian man. The elders in like manner and deacons are to be admonished that every one be diligent in his office, and should there be occasion, they must be compelled by the authority of your serene majesty; that neither the former by their slumbering or connivance allow the reins of licentiousness and carnal desires to be relaxed; nor the latter, from a too great regard for their own concerns, neglect the poor members of the church, and omit other duties pertaining to their office. For these three orders of men are the nerves of the church, upon which its safety or downfall depends. Moreover, your most serene majesty must use your endeavours, and that most diligently, that the universities, and good and pious professors in them, may be encouraged, cherished, liberally maintained and provided for. For these are as the mothers and nurses of the churches, in which and by whom those persons are disciplined, taught, educated, and adorned, who shall be called forth some time hence as being qualified to govern and direct the churches. Lastly, as those things which will not admit of correction by the word and by ecclesiastical discipline, must necessarily be cut off and removed by the sword of the magistrate, according to the word of God; provision must be made herein also by your most serene majesty, in case, for instance, of adulteries, blasphemies, and other capital offences of the like nature. For to this end is the sword committed to the magistrate by God, that ungodly deceivers, obscene profligates, and unquiet men, being restrained, the rest may be able to lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. To this end, most serene queen, you must labour, to this end must your thoughts, your counsels, your strength and power, be directed; namely, to say all in one word, that we all, "denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, may live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world." For this is the true and most beautiful garment of all, respecting which every one ought to be anxious; namely, that having put off the old man with his deeds, we may put on the new man, that is, our Lord Jesus Christ. Nor are there any other true ornaments that become christian bishops than those which the

apostle has blended together, writing and speaking to Timothy and even to Titus, that "a bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife; vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach; not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre; but patient, not a brawler, not covetous, one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity" [1 Tim. iii. 2—4]; "not self-willed, not soon angry, not given to wine, just, holy," &c. [Tit. i. 7.] For the garments and ornaments of the Aaronic priest were types of these true ornaments: they were the shadow, these the substance. Let them therefore be removed, and let these be introduced; and we shall then at last have not only the bishops, but the whole church, truly adorned.

I again suppliantly entreat your most serene majesty, that altogether laying aside all this consideration about external garments, you will apply your mind to the retaining, putting on, defending, these true and spiritual ornaments in the churches. And may your most serene majesty, as I said at the beginning, pardon with your wonted clemency my boldness in writing. May our Lord Jesus Christ long preserve your most serene majesty in safety and happiness to us and to the whole church! Heidelberg, Sept. 10, 1571.

[H. ZANCHIUS.]

CLIX. ARCHBISHOP GRINDAL TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 100.]

BISHOPSTHORPE, *Jan.* 25, 1572.

HEALTH in Christ. Your letter dated 25 Feb. 1571, I did not receive till the 25th of last August. I received also at the same time the MS. refutation of the pope's bull, and a Reply to the "Testament of Brentius." I wonder that Brentius would leave so virulent a will behind him. Your reply is moderate and pious. The refutation of the bull is printed both in English and Latin, and you have, I believe, received some copies of the impression before this time.

I thank you for your pious anxiety with respect to our churches. You shall learn, in a few words, the state of my affairs after my translation to this diocese. On the 1st of August, 1570, I left London; two days after I was seized on my journey with a tertian ague arising from fatigue, (for during my residence in London, I had not been accustomed to riding on horseback;) on which account I was forced to rest ten days in the midst of my journey. At length

on the 17th of August I arrived at Cawood[1] (where I have a palace on the banks of the Ouse, about seven miles from the city,) my fever, as the event proved, not being sufficiently cured; for I was seized on the second of September following with another very severe and acute fever, which weakened me to such an excess, that not only my physicians and friends despaired of my recovery, but I myself also received the sentence of death in myself. But the Lord, who killeth and maketh alive, restored me at length after six months to my former health, the violence of the disorder gradually decreasing, yet so as I was not able to leave my chamber the whole winter. Since then I have laboured to the utmost of my power, and still continue to do, in the visitation of my province and diocese, and in getting rid of those remaining superstitions[2] which have maintained their place more firmly in this part of the country, suffering as it does under a dearth of learned and pious ministers. After the suppression of the late rebellion I find the people more complying than I expected, as far as external conformity is concerned: the reason is, that they have been sufficiently distressed, and therefore humbled, by those calamities which are always the

[1 This place was the residence of the archbishops of York, having been given by king Athelstan to Wulstan, the fifteenth archbishop; and where they had a magnificent palace, or castle, in which several of the prelates lived and died, and in which cardinal Wolsey was arrested by the earl of Northumberland on a charge of treason, in the reign of Henry VIII. This castle was dismantled, and in part demolished, at the conclusion of the parliamentary war; since which time, being abandoned by the archbishops, it has remained in a state of gradual dilapidation, and has nearly fallen into ruin. Lewis's Topogr. Dict.]

[2 In his letter written to the secretary, August 29 [1570,] he says, "they keep holidays and fasts abrogated; they offer money, eggs, &c. at the burial of their dead; they pray beads, &c. so as this seems to be as it were another church, rather than a member of the rest." Strype, Grindal, 243. Other popish customs then prevalent in the north were, the frequent use and veneration of crosses, month's minds, obits and anniversaries, the chief intent whereof was praying for the dead; the superstitions used in going the bounds of the parishes; morris-dancers and minstrels coming into the church in service-time, to the disturbance of God's worship; putting the consecrated bread into the receiver's mouth, as among the papists the priest did the wafer; crossing and breathing upon the elements in the celebration of the Lord's supper and elevation; oil, tapers, and spittle in the other sacrament of baptism; pauses and intermissions in reading the services of the church; praying Ave Marias and Pater-nosters upon beads; setting up candles in the churches to the Virgin Mary on Candlemas-day, and the like. Strype, Grindal, 251.]

concomitants of civil war. I wish I had found them as well instructed in the true religion, as I left my flock in London and Essex to my successor. But yet I hope that, with the Lord giving the increase, much may be effected in time even here. The Lord [Bishop] of Durham, who is in constant ill health, has lately been dangerously ill, but through the mercy of the Lord is now recovered.

The excellent Bishop Jewel, of Salisbury, (the jewel and singular ornament of the Church, as his name implies,) we lost, or rather I should say, sent before us, about the beginning of October[1] last.

It is not, as I am well aware, from a feeling of curiosity, but, as you say, from other most important reasons, that you are anxious for information concerning our affairs; just as we are desirous of hearing about yours, whatever they may be: for we are members of the same body. I hope therefore that, as our affairs are now settled, I shall in future write to your reverence twice at least in every year, and as usual at each of the Frankfort fairs. Matters here are at present, through the great mercy of God, tolerably quiet: however, at the end of last summer, no one suspecting anything of the kind, we were in the greatest danger, as you may probably conjecture from a document inclosed in this letter, and both published in our language in the form of a letter, and translated into Latin. The daughter of the Guises, who calls herself the queen of Scotland, is now consigned to closer custody[2]. Thomas duke of

[1 He died Sept. 23, 1571.]

[2 She was removed from Tutbury to Sheffield castle in August 1569. The following document, copied from the original in the Cottonian Library, will shew the nature of the restrictions under which she was placed.

ORDERS FOR THE QUEEN'S HOUSEHOLD.

"To the Mr. of the Scottis queene's household. First, that all your people wch. appertayneth to the queene shall depart from the queene's chamber, or chambers, to their own lodging at IX of the clock at night, winter and summer, whatever he or she, either to their lodging within the house, or without in the towne, and there to remain till the next day at VI of the clock.

"Item, that none of the queene's people shall at no time weare his sword, neither within the house nor when her grace rydeth or goeth abroade, unless the master of the household himself to weare a sword, and no more, without my special licence.

"Item, that there shall none of the queene's people carry any bow or shaftes at no tyme, neither to the field nor to the butts, unless it be foure or fyve, and no more, being in the queene's company.

"Item, that none of the queene's people shall ryde or go at no tyme abroad out of the house, or towne, without my special licence; and if he or

Norfolk was brought to trial[3] on the 16th of this month, and condemned to death for high treason: but whether the sentence will shortly be put into execution, my distance from court prevents me from knowing[4]. Other accomplices in the same conspiracy are now in custody, and will undergo a like sentence.

Scotland has been sorely distressed the whole of this year with intestine commotions. For after the death of the regent James, the grandfather[5] of the young king was elected in his room. About a year ago he made an unexpected attempt upon the well fortified castle of Dumbarton at the mouth of the Clyde, which he took in the night-time by means of scaling ladders, having first killed the sentinels; and he compelled the archbishop of St Andrew's, whom he found there, and who was a natural brother of the duke of Hamilton, to put an end to his life by hanging[6]. In revenge for this, about the beginning of last May, the Hamiltons with three hundred horse entered by night the town of Stirling, and there put to death on the spot the new regent[7], whom they seized in his chamber.

they so doth, they or he shall come no more in at the gates: neither in the towne, whatsoever he, she, or they may be.

"Item, that you, or some of the queene's chamber, when her grace will walk abroad, shall advertise the officier of my warde, who shall declare the messuage to me one houer before she goeth forth.

"Item, that none of the queene's people, whatsoever he or they be, not one at no time, to come forth of their chamber or lodging when any alarum is given by night or daie, whether they be in the queene's chambers within the house, or without in the towne; and giff he or they keep not their chambers or lodging wheresoever, that he or they shall stand at their perill for death.

At Shefeild, the 26 daie of April, 1571, per me,

SHREWSBURIE."]

[3 In Westminster Hall upon the judgment-seat sate George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, constituted Lord High Steward of England for that day. There were besides 25 peers present, by whom the duke was unanimously found guilty of the high treasons wherewith he stood arraigned. See below, note 3, p. 399; and Camden's Eliz. p. 170, &c. where is given a full account of the proceedings.]

[4 The queen was very reluctant to order the duke of Norfolk's execution. Randolph writes on March 21st, to the bishop of Durham, "I feare that the bishop of Lincoln's words in his sermone before her majestie will prove true, alleged out of Augustine, that there was *misericordia puniens, crudelitas parcens*, in consyderation whereof great evil dyd ensue." MS. Lansd. 13. 22. He was, however, at length executed on the 2nd of June, on a scaffold erected on Tower-hill. See Camden, Elizabeth, p. 177.]

[5 Matthew Stuart, earl of Lenox, and father of lord Darnley.]

[6 See note 5, p. 363.]

[7 Lord Burghley gives, in a letter to Thomas Smith, dated Sept. 8th, 1574,

The earl of Mar[1] was chosen by the king's party in his room; a good man, but not possessing much influence. The Scots therefore, divided into many factions as well public as private, are attacking each other with mutual violence. The queen's party have seized upon the town and castle of Edinburgh. The king's adherents have fortified the neighbouring harbour of Leith, and strengthened it with a garrison. The regent James had given the command of the castle of Edinburgh to one Kirkaldy[2], as being most faithful to himself and most hostile to the queen: this man, not long after, during the regent's lifetime, bribed probably with French gold, went over to the queen. This defection was the cause of all the mischief; for the queen's party would otherwise have found no safe position whence to carry on the war. However, we hope that our queen will shortly put an end to these calamities. For if matters cannot be settled by the conference and treaty of peace which is now in progress, there is no doubt but that our queen will become the enemy of that party which shall refuse to accept of such fair terms as shall be offered; in which case the other party will of necessity be forced to submit.

I wrote to Richard Hilles to send some crowns to Julius. I will bear Butler in my favourable recollection. If he will learn our language, he may some time or other become a minister in our church. I send you together with this letter a history lately published by George Buchanan, a Scotsman, respecting the virtues of the queen of Scotland[3]. May the Lord Jesus very long preserve

the following account of his death: "On monday last, two hundred and forty horsemen, a hundred footemen, all of the castle of Edenborough, stole to Sterling towne, which they entered quietly, and tooke the regente and all the lords of his present, in their beds, and when they were carrying them away, their soldyers fell to spoyle, and a power of the castle of Styrling issuing out rescued them all, and slew their takers; but in this fight the regent was hurt, and by some advertisements I hear that he is dead." MS. Cott. Calig. c. III. 227. In another letter from Burghley to the earl of Shrewsbury, dated Sept. 13, he writes, "It is true that the erle of Lenox, late regent, was slain after that he was taken, by commandment of Claud Hamilton, and he that killed hym named Calder, who hath confessed it."]

[1 "The erle of Marr is confirmed regent by parlement at Sterling, whereto the erles of Argile, Eglinton, Cassels, and Crawford, with the lords Boyd, and St. Colme, have sworne and subscribed." Burghley to lord Shrewsbury, Sept. 13, as above.]

[2 Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange. See note 7, p. 292. He was afterwards executed.]

[3 The book referred to is entitled, "De Maria regina Scotorum, totaque ejus contra regem conjuratione," &c. It was dedicated to queen Elizabeth.]

your reverence! Bishopsthorpe, near York, 25 Jan. 1752. Your most devoted in the Lord,

EDMUND YORK.

I was just about to seal this, when I received your letter and that of Gualter, in which you recommend to me your nephew, and he his son. I am far distant from our universities; I will write however to my friends that they may recommend them. I hear that the lord bishop of London has sent them to Cambridge, and supplied them with means: I too will sometimes assist them with money, which is all I can do. Salute, I pray you, master Gualter in my name, to whom I have not now leisure to reply. I suspect that the anonymous little book you sent me was written by our bishop of Salisbury of pious memory; but I have no reason for this conjecture except from the style and manner of writing. Once more farewell, my very dear and reverend brother in Christ.

EDMUND YORK.

CLX. R. ZUINGLIUS[4] TO BISHOP SANDYS. [B. 76.]

CAMBRIDGE, 26 *Jan.* 1572.

As master Shepherd[5], the most worthy master of our college, has expressed his intention of paying you a visit, I did not think, reverend father in Christ, that I could do otherwise than send a letter to your eminence, to thank your eminence for your especial kindness and extreme liberality towards me and mine; and at the same time to make known to your eminence, and that very briefly, the state of my affairs. For it is not fit that you, who are occupied with cares and engagements of far greater importance, should waste much of your labour and time in reading what I have to say. Nor indeed does my situation in life, or rather my lowness of condition, justify my detaining your eminence by a lengthened statement. To despatch the matter therefore in few words, I return you, reverend bishop, my warmest thanks for your singular good-will and favour towards me; and especially for the godly care and exertions you have bestowed upon the advancement of my studies,

[4 This Rodolph Zuinglius was Bullinger's grandson. See below, Letter CLXIII. p. 393, n. 2. He died in the June following the date of this letter.]

[5 Nicolas Shepherd, chosen master of St John's College in 1569, whom, alluding to his name, the fellows, in their letters to Cecil their patron, styled their *ποιμένα*. He was strongly recommended to Cecil by bishop Grindal, (whose letter is printed in Strype, Life of Grindal, p. 225,) but was deprived of the mastership in 1576.]

and by which you have not only provided me a place in the most flourishing university of Cambridge, but have also procured my admission into a most famous college, and among sober students: for which singular care of yours on my behalf I thank your eminence to the utmost of my power, and promise on my part, as it is my duty to do, that I will never be ungrateful or unmindful of such great benefits, and that I will evermore proclaim both to my countrymen, and especially to my parents, your exceeding liberality to me; and ever so conduct myself towards your eminence as a godly young man, and one who is descended from godly parents, should do.

In the mean time, however, I would have your eminence know, with respect to my affairs, that I have obtained, in the college where I was placed by your eminence, a situation sufficiently suitable and convenient for the furtherance of my studies; for the master has provided me, by his especial kindness, not only with comfortable rooms and sufficient commons, but with a most excellent tutor, of whose advice and assistance I most freely avail myself, both in prosecuting my studies, and procuring other things that are necessary; so that I think very little will be wanting towards the prosecution of my studies. And I rejoice, not so much on my own account, as for the sake of my studies, that I have the means and opportunity afforded me of hearing that most famous and learned man, master Antony Chevalier[1], to whom our Germany can scarce produce an equal in the knowledge of Hebrew, or one who can bear a comparison with him, except Immanuel Tremellius[2], whom I heard lecturing most ably at Heidelberg in the Palatinate, and from whose lectures, I think, I derived no small advantage; nor do I think, the Lord giving his grace, that I shall profit less by those of this professor. But whatever benefit I may derive from these or any other lectures, I ascribe all to your eminence, by whose singular liberality it has been brought to pass and provided, that I have not only the means of subsistence in the most celebrated university of Cambridge, but also the convenience and liberty afforded me of hearing the most learned professors, by whose assistance I hope to make no small progress in my studies. But in the mean time, not to proceed to an unbecoming prolixity, I commend myself to your eminence, and would entreat the continuance of your protection and patronage;

[1 See above p. 174, n. 1.]

[2 John Immanuel Tremellius was a converted Jew, and succeeded Fagius as Hebrew professor at Cambridge in 1550. He was afterwards professor at Heidelberg, and published in 1575, in concert with Francis Junius, a Latin version of the Old Testament.]

and that you will take these few lines in good part, as a slight testimony of my respect to your eminence. May our good and gracious God long keep your eminence in health and safety, and deign to preserve you to his church! Your eminence's most devoted,

RODOLPH ZUINGLIUS, of Zurich.

Cambridge, Jan. 26, 1572.

CLXI. BISHOP COX TO R. GUALTER. [A. 94.]

ELY, *Feb.* 12, 1572.

THE copy of the letter, most learned Gualter, and very dear brother in Christ, which you wrote to the bishop of Norwich, was forwarded to me very late, namely in September, 1570. It treats in a cursory manner of some ceremonies of religion in England, and of some of our brethren who disapprove of them. We are persuaded that you are one who entertain a pious and sincere regard for us, and for that pure religion of Christ which we profess. I wish indeed you had not lent so ready an ear to a few of our somewhat factious brethren. And it were to be desired that a man of your piety had not so freely given an opinion, before you had fully understood the rise and progress of our restoration of religion in England. There was formerly published by command of King Edward of pious memory, and with the advice and opinion of those excellent men, master Bucer[3], and master Peter Martyr, then residing in England, a book of common prayer[4] and sacraments for

[3 After Bucer's perusal of the book, he gave his judgment in general: "that in the description of the communion and daily prayers, he saw nothing enjoined in the book but what was agreeable to the word of God, either in word, as in the Psalms and lessons; or in sense, as the collects. Also, that the manner of their lessons and prayers, and the times of using them, were constituted very agreeable both with God's word, and the observation of the ancient churches; and therefore that that book ought to be retained and vindicated with the greatest strictness." Strype, Life of Cranmer, 300. Peter Martyr's opinions upon the Liturgy coincided in all respects with those of his friend Bucer. The particular animadversions they both made upon it may found in Soames's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. III. chap. 6. See also Bucer, Scripta Anglicana.]

[4 A committee of bishops and other learned divines, of whom Dr Cox, then dean of Christ Church, was one, was appointed in 1547, the first of King Edward VI. to compose "an uniform order of communion, according to the rules of Scripture, and the use of the primitive church." And the same persons, in the following year, being empowered by a new commission, in a

the use of the church of England. But now, as soon as our illustrious queen Elizabeth had succeeded to the kingdom, she restored this holy little book[1] to the church of England, with the highest sanction of the whole kingdom. At that time no office or function of religion was committed to us who now preside over the churches; but when we were called to the ministry of the churches, we embraced that book with open arms, and not without thanks to God who had preserved for us such a treasure, and restored it to us in safety. For we know that this book ordains nothing contrary to the word of God.

It will not be foreign to the subject to state what master Peter Martyr of pious memory wrote to us when exiles at Frankfort. "I find nothing," he says, speaking of this book, "in that book contrary to godliness. We know that some contentious men have cavilled at and calumniated it. Such persons ought rather to have remembered that our Lord is not a God of contention, but of peace." Had you been aware of these circumstances, master Gualter, you would not have been so alarmed, as you say you are, lest after the imposition of the habits some greater evil might ensue. The statements indeed, which are whispered in your ears by the contentious, are most absurd: for instance, that besides the habits many other things are to be obtruded on the church; and that there are some who make an improper use of the name of the queen; and moreover, that the ministers who refuse to subscribe to the injunctions of certain individuals, are to be turned out of the churches: just as if there were any persons in England who would dare to frame laws by their private authority, and propound them for the obedience of their brethren. But this is not only false, but

few months' time finished the whole Liturgy, which was then set forth "by the common agreement and full assent both of the parliament and convocations provincial," and is frequently called the first book of Edward VI. But about the beginning of 1551, some exceptions were taken at some things in this book, whereupon Archbishop Cranmer proposed to review it; and to this end called in the assistance of Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr, who had Latin versions prepared for them, and the book thus revised and altered was again confirmed in Parliament in 1551. It is frequently called the second book of Edward VI. and is very nearly the same with that which we now use. See Bp. Mant's Introduction to his edition of the Book of Common Prayer. Strype, Mem. II. i. 133, &c. Life of Cranmer, 381.]

[1 The differences between the Book of Prayers of King Edward and Queen Elizabeth are few and unimportant. They are stated by Soames, Hist. of Reformation, IV. 674, and Strype, Annals, I. i. 123. See also Bp. Mant's Introduction as above, p. iii. and Keeling, *Liturgiæ Britannicæ*.]

injurious both to the queen and the ministers of the word, to wit, that we humour her royal highness, and make her more decided in ordering every thing according to her own pleasure. But far be any one from suspecting any thing of the kind in so godly and religious a personage, who has always been so exceedingly scrupulous in deviating even in the slightest degree from the laws prescribed. Moreover, she is in the habit of listening with the greatest patience to bitter and sufficiently cutting discourses. Again, far be it that the ministers of the word should be said to have foully degenerated into base flattery. We indeed do not as yet know of any one who has abused either your authority, Gualter, or that of any godly fathers, in approval of the popish dress, which we seriously reject and condemn equally with themselves. Nor is it true that we have obtruded any thing upon our brethren out of the pope's kitchen. The surplice was used in the church of Christ long before the introduction of popery. But these things are proposed by us as having been sanctioned by the laws, not as the papists abused them to superstition, but only for distinction, that order and decency may be preserved in the ministry of the word and sacraments. And neither good pastors nor pious laymen are offended at these things.

You seem to take it ill that the bishops were appointed to the management of these matters. Nay, you seem to insinuate, from the parable of Christ, (Matt. xxiv. 49,) that we are perfidious, drunken, and smiters of our fellow-servants; as if we approved the figments of the superstitious courtiers, and treated the godly ministers with severity, and exhibited ourselves as the ministers of intemperate rashness. You thought that we should defend the cause of such ministers.

These imputations are very hard, and very far from the truth. Has not the management and conservation of ecclesiastical rites, from the very origin of a well-constituted church, been at all times under the especial controul of bishops? Have not the despisers and violators of such rites been rebuked and brought into order by the bishops? Let the practice of the holy church be referred to, and it will be evident that this is the truth. And it would certainly be most unjust to number those who now discharge the episcopal office, among the perfidious or the drunken. You candidly and truly confess, master Gualter, that there are some among those brethren who are a little morose; and you might add too, obstreperous, contentious, rending asunder the unity of a well-constituted church, and everywhere handing up and down among the people a form of divine

worship concocted out of their own heads; that book, in the mean time, composed by godly fathers, and set forth by lawful authority, being altogether despised and trodden under foot. In addition to this, they inveigh in their sermons, which are of too popular a character, against the popish filth and the monstrous habits, which, they exclaim, are the ministers of impiety and eternal damnation. Nothing moves them, neither the authority of the state, nor of our church, nor of her most serene majesty, nor of brotherly warning, nor of pious exhortation. Neither have they any regard to our weaker brethren, who are hitherto smoking like flax, but endeavour dangerously to inflame their minds. These our brethren will not allow us to imitate the prudence of Paul, who became all things to all men, that he might gain some. Your advice, and that especially of the reverend fathers Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr, and Henry Bullinger, can have no weight with these men. We are undeservedly branded with the accusation of not having performed our duty, because we do not defend the cause of those whom we regard as disturbers of peace and religion; and who by the vehemence of their harangues have so maddened the wretched multitude, and driven some of them to that pitch of frenzy, that they now obstinately refuse to enter our churches, either to baptize their children, or to partake of the Lord's supper, or to hear sermons. They are entirely separated both from us and from those good brethren of ours; they seek bye paths; they establish a private religion, and assemble in private houses, and there perform their sacred rites, as the Donatists of old, and the Anabaptists now; and as also our papists, who run up and down the cities, that they may somewhere or other hear mass in private. This indeed is too disgusting, to connect our queen with the pope. Let the pope be sent where he deserves. We must render an account of our function to the queen, as chief magistrate, who does not require any thing that is unreasonable, and also before God.

These few things I had, my beloved brother, to notice in your letter, that henceforth you may not believe every spirit; and that, since God has endowed you with so much learning and piety, you may have regard to your own reputation. These remarks, proceeding from a candid mind, I do not doubt but that you will take with kindness and in good part. Farewell in Christ.

From the Isle of Ely in England, Feb. 12, 1571. [1572.]

Your brother in Christ,

Richard Cox, bishop of Ely.

CLXII. BISHOP COX TO H. BULLINGER. [B. 78.]

ELY, *Febr.* 12, 1572,

YOUR letter, my beloved brother in Christ, written on the 20th of August, 1571, was brought me in the month of January last past, by the three young men of whom you make mention in that letter[1]. A letter was sent you by me last summer with some copies of a book printed in your name against the pope's bull. Your book indeed, dictated with so much ability and truth, and most correctly written, could not but be most acceptable to me and to all godly persons; and I am bound to confess that we are very much obliged to you for the gift. Moreover, the queen[2] herself has also read your book, and is much gratified. I hope you have long since received[3] both a letter from me, and the books, together with some trifling presents; so that you will fully understand what we have done as to the publishing of your book.

And now to come to your letter. With respect to your young men, you may feel quite satisfied; for the parties to whom you have given them a recommendation will carefully provide for them, with every feeling of friendship and kindly interest. And indeed the zeal, and diligence, and infinite labours of masters Zuinglius and Bullinger and Rodolph Gualter, in the propagation of true religion and the overthrow of the subtle machinations of false religion, abundantly deserve this. As to your son, since you have especially commended him to the archbishop of York, the bishop of Salisbury, and myself, we will so undertake the charge of him, as that you need not feel any anxiety about him; although the bishop of Salisbury[4] (which I cannot relate without tears, as he was the treasure of the church of England) departed this life while on the visitation of his diocese, and hath gone from hence to heaven, to his gain indeed, but to our exceeding and intolerable loss. In the mean time we will not be unmindful either of Gualter's son, or of Butler, whom you so repeatedly commend to me. But, in compliance with your wishes, your two young men are placed at the university of Cambridge, though in different colleges, and in a numerous and learned society.

Our affairs, by the great blessing of God, not to say by a

[1 These were Rodolph Zuinglius, Rodolph Gualter the younger, and Henry Butler.]

[2 See above, letter CLIV. p. 352, n. 2.]

[3 There is written in the margin of the original letter, in Bullinger's hand, *Nihil allatum est, nihil accepi, nec quicquam hujus vidi.*]

[4 Bishop Jewel.]

miracle, are in a prosperous condition. The duke of Norfolk lately entered into a secret conspiracy with the papists, and indeed with the pope himself, for the destruction of our most serene queen and her kingdom, nay, for the subversion of the holy gospel of God. But our gracious Lord is always present with his people. The duke was for a long time imprisoned upon suspicion of guilt, and his abandoned wickedness was at length detected. He was brought to trial, and, having been duly convicted, is under sentence of death. The filthy sink of the popish conspirators has at length burst forth. Blessed be the Lord God, who has opportunely brought such wickedness to light! Now, we hope, all things are settled, except that Satan does not cease to go about and roar, seeking whom he may devour. We must aid each other by our mutual prayers.

Master Gualter wrote last year (I think) a letter to my brother Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich; which, as it occasioned some excitement among the men of his way of thinking, who are always planning some innovation or other, and refuse to be subject to the ordinances established in our church, I have thought it right to admonish[1] our brother Gualter to be more cautious, lest either in ignorance or without intending it he may seem by his writings to encourage contentions. Should my expostulation appear too severe, let him consider the feeling from which it has proceeded, certainly from one of good-will and affectionate regard to him. May the Lord Jesus very long preserve you in safety to his church! From the isle of Ely, in England, Feb. 12, 1572.

I had almost omitted mention of the treatise you sent me respecting the authority of scripture and of the church. It is a truly precious book, and worthy of being well handled by all godly persons. The papists however do not cease to yelp against it: there are many propositions, they say, which rest upon the authority of the fathers and of the church, but not upon that of the scriptures; of which kind are the following.

Many things necessary to be believed, which are not in the scriptures:

The perpetual virginity of Mary.

The Father is uncreate.

The Son is consubstantial.

The Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son.

Infants are to be baptized.

One who is baptized by a heretic according to the form of the church is truly baptized.

God is three Persons.

[1 See the preceding letter.]

The apostles were baptized.
We use things strangled, and blood.
Christ descended into hell.
Water is to be mixed with wine in the cup.
Martyrdom supplies the place of baptism.
Prayers, oblations, and alms, benefit the dead.
No one may be admitted to the Lord's supper before he is baptized.

Your brother in Christ,
RICHARD COX, bishop of Ely.

CLXIII. BISHOP SANDYS TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 101.]

LONDON, *Feb.* 17, 1572.

HEALTH in Christ. That I have not replied, my very dear brother, and most reverend master, to your frequent letters, I would have you ascribe, not so much to my want of gratitude, as to most troublesome hindrances of various kinds. For to pass over many other things which have prevented this intercourse of regard and accustomed correspondence, the first and most afflictive is this, the extreme violence and extent of my late attack of illness, by which the Lord exercised me so painfully and for so long a time, that I had altogether given up thinking upon these matters. To this must be added a constant accession of business, which the station in which I am now placed daily occasions me, and by which I am almost so overwhelmed, that I have no opportunity either for personal relaxation or correspondence with others. In fine, even if sufficient time and leisure were afforded, such is the present unsettled state of affairs, that nothing can be transmitted from us to you; especially since there is so close a blockade both by land and sea, that it is not safe to send letters.

I received your last letter at the end of December, and when I had read it, endeavoured, as diligently as I could, to comply with your request In recommending your grandson[2] and those other

[2 Rodolph Zuinglius, whose father married Bullinger's daughter. He came over to England with a son of Rodolph Gualter, by whom they were recommended to bishop Parkhurst. With him they were in the beginning of December at Ludham, where, says Strype, he treated them with oysters, which the young men wondered to see him eat. But however young Gualter *ventured at last upon them;* for so the bishop merrily wrote to his father: but as for Zuinglius, as the bishop went on, he dared not *cum vivis animalibus congredi.* Strype, Annals, II. i. 336.]

friends of yours to the bishop of Norwich, you lighted upon the very man who, while he had the greatest desire to serve you, yet possessed at the same time no means whatever of doing so. For[1] having lately entrusted with too great confidence the management of his affairs to men of dishonest character, it has come to pass by their means that he is so overwhelmed with debt, as to be unable to extricate himself from these misfortunes, much less to afford any assistance to others. As to me, however, moved partly by the remembrance of your kindness, and partly because I considered I should be acting acceptably to God, and especially to yourself, I took upon myself the charge of assisting them[2]. I speedily therefore took care to send them to the university of Cambridge; and that they might have a better opportunity of learning both our language and others, I thought it best to place them in different colleges, lest their frequent intercourse should prevent their application in learning a foreign language. Though indeed I am much distressed by difficulties concerning my income and expenditure, I have nevertheless presented each of them with twenty crowns out my own purse, to diminish the unpleasantness of living in a strange place. In all other respects, as far as my means will permit, I promise that I will not be wanting to them, that they may engage with greater freedom in those studies which may some time or other be of advantage to the church of Christ. For I have always thought it a most excellent thing to *sow* a benefit which the flock of Christ may *reap* in due season. I have sent you their own letters in testimony, not indeed of very great liberality on my part, yet of my good inclination and regard, that you may learn what I have done more fully from their letters than from my own. I entreat you again and again to salute my friend and very dear brother in Christ, master Rodolph Gualter. May the Lord Jesus

[1] The bishop had the misfortune to entrust one [George Thymelthorp] with the collection of the tenths of his diocese, who took the sums that he had received of the clergy, and converted them to his own use, instead of paying them into the exchequer. So that at length a heavy debt fell on the poor bishop, for two or three years' arrears of the tenths, that almost broke his back, and drove him to great necessity. For the revenues of his bishopric were obliged to make good his debt to the queen. Which was the reason he was fain to absent from Norwich, and live more privately at Ludham, a country seat belonging to the see. Strype, Annals, II. i. 330.]

[2] From the bishop [of Norwich] they took their journey to London with their letters, and waited upon bishop Sandys there, who received them very obligingly, for their relations' and country's sake; and assigned each of them £5 against their going to Cambridge. Strype, Annals, II. i. 336.]

Christ prosper you, and the labours which you undergo for the furtherance of the gospel of Christ! Dated London in England, 17 Feb. 1572.

Your very dear brother in Christ,
EDWIN SANDYS, bishop of London.

CLXIV. R. HILLES TO H. BULLINGER [B. 79.]

LONDON, *Feb.* 18, 1572.

MUCH health. Your letter, my much respected friend, written to me on the 23rd of last August, I received two months since by your grandson Rodolph Zuinglius, who, as I understand, is now studying [at Cambridge]. Rodolph Gualter is also pursuing his studies there: they were both of them here in London on the 15th of last December, not long after they had landed in England at Norwich from Embden in East Friesland. The letters you mention they had taken care to deliver in person to some of our very reverend bishops; that is to say, they first gave master John Parkhurst's letter to himself at Norwich, then the one to the bishop of London, and they afterwards took care that all the rest should be delivered to the bishops to whom you addressed them. But whether your Rodolph has visited the bishop of Ely, and presented your letter to him, I do not know. Moreover on the sixteenth day of December aforesaid your Rodolph and Rodolph Gualter borrowed from me to the amount of eleven florins and eleven batzen, German money, reckoning a florin at fifteen batzen, for their current expenses here in London, to be repaid by your friend master Christopher Froschover at the next Frankfort fair. My son too, Gerson Hilles, who travelled with them from Frankfort as far as Embden, lent them thirty florins and [3] — batzen of German money, which sum they promised should be repaid at the aforesaid Lent fair to my son Barnabas Hilles, or my servant Robert Mascall, by the same master Froschover; of which payment (as also of that of the before-mentioned eleven florins and eleven batzen) I entertain no doubt. But yet, as you might understand from the last letter you received from me in October, (as I learn from the letter of master Rodolph Gualter, written to me from Zurich on the sixteenth of the same month,) I wrote to your piety, that it would be more for your interest, (I mean yours and master Gualter's) if you would

[3 The word is omitted in the MS.]

cause to be paid beforehand at Frankfort the money which you wish to be credited to the two young men here in England, that I may afterwards pay them the amount in this country.

I have received that most delightful treatise you sent me on the authority of scripture and of the church, and I thank your kindness for it. Salute, I pray you, in my name master Rodolph Gualter the elder, and tell him that I am obliged to him for having written to me about the appearance in the sun, which was seen by you [at Zurich] on the 29th of September: it may be, as he himself supposes, that no ordinary example of divine vengeance will at length pursue a guilty and unrepenting world. I am sorry to hear that master Rodolph Gualter was attacked last summer by an acute and burning fever, which brought him so low, that he began to doubt of his recovery. But I rejoice that God has so had compassion on him, as to restore him to health and to the church at the same time; so that he can truly say with the holy prophet David after his sickness, *I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord.* Nor do I at all doubt but that whatever money I have now advanced to his aforesaid son Rodolph, to the aforesaid amount, namely, of eleven florins and as many batzen, he will faithfully cause to be repaid to me at the next Frankfort fair[1]. And I entreat you, master Bullinger, by the Lord, not to be offended at my thus writing to yourself and master Gualter a joint letter, and not separately to each of you. For it is now-a-days (and I am certainly much ashamed of it) very troublesome to me to write letters in Latin, as I write them so very slowly; so that I can scarcely now write as many letters in two hours as I could finish, when I was a young man, in half an hour. But blessed be the Lord my God in all things and at all times; at all times and evermore, whether in prosperity or adversity! Amen.

It would certainly be just that some part at least of their father's property should go to the lawful heirs of John Butler. But as he himself sold all his patrimony in this country, and, according to law and common right of the realm of England,

[1 Gualter's son acknowledged a subsequent loan from R. Hilles in the following terms: Chirographa acceptæ pecuniæ. Ego Rodolphus Gualterus Tigurinus hoc meo chirographo testor me a D. Ricardo Hilles mercatore Londinensi mutuo accepisse summam tredecim florenorum et quinque batzionum Germanicorum, quam quidem summam polliceor me prædicti Ricardi Hilles filio Barnabæ Hilles aut famulo Simoni redditurum, aut reddi curaturum, in nundinis autumnalibus Francofordianis proxime futuris, per D. Christophorum Froschoverum typographum Tigurinum; in cujus rei gratiam hæc propria manu scripsi et subscripsi. Londini 28 Apr. 1573.]

granted and confirmed the same to a native purchaser and his heirs; or (as our jurisconsults or lawyers are wont barbarously to speak) he assured, and gave seisin, that is, lawful possession; no hope remains that the heirs of the said John Butler (and especially those born out of England, and of a mother not an Englishwoman) can recover, as our lawyers say, or repossess by the English law the inheritance that is sold, or any part of it, at least so far as I can learn or understand. Henry Butler must therefore have patience, and in this matter not hope against hope.

Since I last wrote to you in the month of August, I have not received any letters either for yourself or master Rodolph Gualter from the reverend the bishops, nor, as I remember, from any other learned men. But if they now wish to write to you by my above-named servant Robert, who is about to sail, God willing, in this present month of February, from hence to Hamburgh, I hope that my son Barnabas will be able safely to convey such letters from Hamburgh for you to the aforesaid master Froschover at Frankfort.

I suppose you have heard that our countryman, the duke of Norfolk, has lately been accused of treason; and on the 16th of January he was publickly condemned to death by the peers of the realm of England, according to the custom of the same realm in taking cognizance of offences of this kind. Among other crimes which I hear he was guilty of, this was one of many, that he sent a large sum of money to one of the two earls[2] who, two years since, was a rebel, and took arms against our most serene queen in the north of England. He will shortly, it is said, be beheaded[3] here in London, as he deserves. May God give him grace heartily to repent of his ingratitude and great iniquity that he has committed both against Almighty God and against the queen's majesty! Two men[4] were lately executed here for their impious crimes, who,

[2 The truth of this accusation was proved by the countess of Northumberland's letters, wherein she thanked the duke for the money wherewith he had supplied her husband and her. Camden's Elizabeth, pp. 171, 175.]

[3 The duke was beheaded on Tower Hill, on June 2nd. He was attended on the scaffold by Dr Nowel, dean of St Paul's, and Foxe the martyrologist.]

[4 The names of these men were Mather and Berners, who were hired by Borgest, the Spanish ambassador's secretary, to murder Cecil, and the queen also. They were apprehended at the instance of one Herle, their associate, who saved his life by becoming informer, and were executed in February. See Strype, Ann. II. i. p. 123. Camden, p. 176. For an account of the conspiracies against Cecil at this period, see Nares's Memoirs of Lord Burghley, Vol. II. ch. 10, 12.]

among other atrocities, plotted together for the destruction of the Lord William Cecil, baron of Burghley, her majesty's chief secretary; as one of them confessed at the gallows. God by his providence brought the whole matter to light, before that abominable wickedness was carried into effect. Farewell, and may Almighty God very long preserve you to the advancement of his glory and the edifying of his church! London, Feb. 18, 1572.

Yours, you know who, HILLES, merchant.

CLXV. BISHOP PARKHURST TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 102.]

LUDHAM, *March* 10, 1572.

YOUR most learned refutation of the pope's bull is in the hands of every one; for it is translated into English, and is printed at London. You have done well in replying with so much diligence to the stupid and furious Testament of Brentius.

Those three[1] troublesome preachers in the Dutch Church [at Norwich] have been silenced, and two others appointed in their stead. Seventeen members of the same church were banished from our city on the first of November, for the disgraceful vice of drunkenness. About the middle of December the Spanish ambassador[2] was ordered to depart from England within three days, on pain of losing his head. This intelligence some friend wrote to me from London; but I know not whether it is correct. At all events he has left the kingdom; *abiit, excessit, evasit.*

The duke of Norfolk pleaded his own cause in Westminster Hall, on the 16th January, from seven in the morning till night. There are many charges of treason against him, which he refuted as well as he could. The entire cognizance and jurisdiction in this

[1 Their names were Antonius, Theophilus, and Isbrand Balkius. The last was soon afterwards appointed minister of the strangers' church at Stamford. Strype, Parker, II. 84, 149.]

[2 This proceeding was occasioned by the discovery of some letters of the queen of Scots, importing that "she gave herself, and her son, now king of Scotland, into the hands of the king of Spain, to be governed and ruled only by him; and to assure him, that if he would send any power, the young king should be delivered into his hands." She added, that "the king of Spain, in setting her up, would not only govern both these realms, but should also set up, in both, the catholic religion again." See Strype, Annals, II. i. 74, 177; in which latter passage he mistakenly confounds the date of this letter of Parkhurst's with that of the banishment of the ambassador.]

cause is referred to nine earls, one viscount, and fifteen barons[3]. All these unanimously declared him guilty, and so he is at last condemned to death. He is still living however, between hope and fear, in the Tower of London[4].

The snow last year melted towards the beginning of February. This year it only began to fall at that time, and did not leave us till about the beginning of March.

We are on good terms with the French, but the Spaniards are knitting their brows. I thank you very much for the very elegant little book on the Authority of Scripture and of the Church. Whoever wrote it is certainly a learned and pious man. If your Zuinglius[5] require my assistance, he shall not be disappointed of it: I wish both you and himself to be fully persuaded of this: for I shall certainly never falsify your good opinion of me. I cannot write more, for I am overwhelmed by numerous and important engagements. Farewell, my Bullinger. Salute all my friends. My wife salutes you all. In haste. Ludham, 10th March, 1572.

Your JOHN PARKHURST, [bishop] of Norwich.

CLXVI. R. GUALTER, JUN. TO HIS FATHER. [B. 82.]

LONDON, *June* 5, 1572.

GREETING. Should I omit any thing, honoured father, in this present letter, you must attribute it, not to myself, but to my sorrowful and distressed state of mind. For a most painful event

[3 These were, George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, Reginald Grey, earl of Kent, Thomas Radcliffe, earl of Sussex, Henry Hastings, earl of Huntingdon, Francis Russell, earl of Bedford, Henry Herbert, earl of Pembroke, Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, Walter Devereux, viscount Hereford, Edward lord Clinton, William lord Howard of Effingham, William Cecil, lord Burghley, Arthur lord Grey of Wilton, James Blount, lord Mountjoy, William lord Sands, Thomas lord Wentworth, William lord Burroughs, Lewis lord Mordaunt, John Powlet, lord Saint-John of Basing, Robert lord Rich, Roger lord North, Edmund Bruges lord Chandos, Oliver lord Saint-John of Bletshoe, Thomas Sackvill lord Buckhurst, William West lord Delaware. See Camden's Elizabeth, p. 170. Strype, however, adds William earl of Worcester to the number of peers present, according, as he says, to a MS. in the Cottonian Library.]

[4 See note 4, p. 383.]

[5 Bullinger's grandson. See note 2, p. 393.]

has befallen us, which though it is very distressing to me to relate to you, it is nevertheless necessary for me to do so, as it especially concerns you to be informed of it. But I think that both yourself and master Bullinger, by reason of your great firmness of mind, will bear with composure this occurrence, by which my most amiable cousin Rodolph Zuinglius has been summoned by Almighty God from this mortal state and the miseries of this world to a heavenly life. But as this requires a more lengthened detail than I can now enter upon in so short a time, as Hilles's son is setting off in haste for Hamburgh, and the whole charge of arranging Zuinglius's funeral has devolved upon myself, I will only state a few particulars respecting him, reserving a further account for master Bullinger at the ensuing fair.

When we were at Cambridge on the 12th of May, Henry Butler was desirous of going to London upon business; and our Zuinglius wished to accompany him, to see if he could procure some money there from the bishops, or from any other quarter, by means of Hilles, as he was in great want of money at that time. I had it in my mind to stay at Cambridge, partly because I had not any business of consequence, and partly because I could transact by letter all that I had to do. At last, however, they brought me over to their purpose, so that I readily undertook a journey which was neither inconvenient, nor yet very convenient to me. Our chief inducement was, that we might see the general assembly of the nobles and bishops of her most serene majesty in parliament. We set off therefore on the 12th of May, during an exceedingly high wind, so that we could not go on, but were obliged so to struggle against it, that in the whole of that day we scarcely completed twelve English miles, which are equivalent to two of ours. It was then a fast-day (according to the English custom), so that we could procure nothing in the inns except salt fish and other provisions of the like kind. On the following day, which was the 13th, we completed thirty-two English miles, and arrived in London, which is only forty-four miles distant from Cambridge. The heat was intolerable. Rodolph never complained during the journey, until we were about eight miles from London; and still he went on briskly, so that we reached our wished-for lodging about eight o'clock. On that and the three following days he ate scarcely any thing. When therefore we dined at the bishop of Ely's on the 17th, he was taken ill immediately after dinner, and continued so for nearly eight days, complaining of internal heat, which however could neither be discovered from his water nor from the pulse.

Doctors Turner[1] and Penny[2] attended him, the latter of whom is considered by the English as the most skilful physician in all England; but they could not discover any symptoms by which to detect the nature of the disease. They had some suspicion that melancholic humours had flowed into the vessels of the diaphragm, and excited thirst and occasioned an increase of fever. At last there came a disorder and pain of the left side, which they relieved by blisters, &c.; so that within the ninth or tenth day he began to recover. But on the day immediately following he relapsed into his old complaint, namely, an inextinguishable heat, which could not be abated either by three successive bleedings or by any cooling draughts. Noises too, evidently not made by any living creature, were heard above his chamber; they seemed rather to resemble the falling down of trees, or of men of large stature; and these things, when I reflected on others of the like nature, took away from me all expectation of his recovery. At last, when there was no hope of his getting better, the bishop of Ely and his wife[3], Turner's mother, desired to remove him from the public hostel into his own house. But as he was unable either to walk or ride on horseback, and we could not contrive any means of getting him there by reason of his weakness, we kept him in the inn till the 4th of June, on which day, by the advice of Turner and Penny, and at the particular desire of the bishop of Ely, he was carried to his house in a litter. But I had long before this fancied that I saw the image of death in his countenance; and therefore with earnest prayers to Almighty God for his blessing, when he arrived at the bishop's residence, we advised him to try to go to sleep, not dissembling in the mean time (as I should wish also to be done in my own case) his danger, and that the physicians had almost given him over, and exhorting him to place his confidence in God. As Butler had been sitting up with me on the preceding nights, he began to fall asleep in the first watch of the night, which was assigned to myself: but when I perceived our patient breathing hard, I was afraid lest he should be choked for want of assistance, and called up the bishop's servant, who exhorting and praying with him bade him trust in God. About the middle

[1 Doctor Turner was son of the celebrated physician of that name, of whom see above, Letter CVIII. p. 230.]

[2 This seems to be the Dr Penny "who was once a preacher, but then was turned a physician, and still enjoyed a good prebend in Paul's." Strype, Parker, II. 241.]

[3 See above, Letter CLI. p. 346.]

of the night, when I was alone with him, he began twice to draw so long a breath, and turn his eyes inwards, as that he seemed on the very point of departure: I therefore loudly shouted in his ears that he must commit his soul to God; and this more than once, though my sobbings impeded my utterance. I sprinkled rose-water and vinegar on his face and lips, for the purpose of making him come to himself, which he did; and taking up a book of prayers, I began with a loud voice to call upon God with him; and the servant being again called in, together with Butler, we were expecting his last breath every moment. Meanwhile he called upon God so heartily, and with so much earnestness, as to excite our admiration. Five times did he appear to be giving up his spirit, and five times we revived him when just expiring. About three o'clock in the morning he began no longer to recognise us, and in some measure to be delirious: but at length, from four to five, he became more composed, and offered up most ardent prayers to God; and about half-past five he neither heard nor saw us, nor was aware of our being present, and it was only by his breathing that we knew him to be alive. This, however, began to be more confined, and by six o'clock to cease altogether; when at last stretching out his hands to heaven in token of his great stedfastness, while we were calling to him in the words of Christ, *God, receive my spirit,* and reciting in his ear the Lord's Prayer, he expired, and exchanged this mortal life for the immortal and unspeakable happiness of a heavenly one.

Respecting other particulars I will write to Bullinger at the ensuing fair; namely, how he inveighed against the ubiquitarians, &c.: for I have no time now, partly because I am wearied out from having been almost without sleep for four or five nights together, and partly too because the funeral preparations must be attended to within these two hours. He will be buried in the church of St Andrew's, in London, opposite the bishop of Ely's house, in the street called Holborn. Every thing is conducted in a handsome manner. I received during his illness from the bishop of Durham (who is prevented by sickness from attending parliament) twelve angels to be equally divided between us: the bishop of Winchester too had given us an angel apiece, and Parkhurst one, for all of which I will account next fair. Not much less than five angels are owing to the apothecaries, if indeed that will be sufficient for injections, decoctions, medicines, blisters, and numberless other expenses of the like kind. I will take charge of all his furniture as soon as I return to Cambridge, and will transmit you an inventory; for I think it will be most convenient for it to be sent from

England together with my own luggage, if God, as I hope, shall allow me to return to you. But his will be done. If the money [of Zuinglius] should not be sufficient for his funeral, I will add some of my own, and will give you an account of every thing very shortly: I will too, at the same time, reply to your letter, which I have received here, together with four books, which I have forwarded and delivered. Jewel is dead, as you are doubtless aware. Were I to write more, I should both neglect the funeral and also this letter: you will therefore be content with this, and give an account of every thing to master Bullinger. Farewell my father, and regard me, who am residing here almost against my will, with paternal love, that I may have some consolation. Again farewell. Dated at London, June 5th, on the day that Zuinglius died, 1572. We shall return to Cambridge in three days.

Your most dutiful son, RODOLPH GUALTER.

CLXVII. BISHOP COX TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 103.]

LONDON, ELY HOUSE, *June* 6, 1572.

MUCH health in Christ, my brother. Your letter, which was on many accounts most gratifying to me, and which you state to have been written on the 12th of March, came to hand about the end of May; from which I understand that you have not yet received those books printed in this country, which you most learnedly and piously composed against the pope's bull. I sent, however, to the autumn fair at Frankfort both a letter and four books, together with a little money for the use of yourself and our friend Julius. The money I hear arrived safe; but I am told that the letter and books are still loitering on the road. I therefore again send you a few copies for you to make use of, in case you should not receive the others.

As to the news about which you write, may the great and good God turn all things to our good and the glory of his name! It is a great satisfaction to us that your churches are at peace, and not without an accession of other churches to the sincere profession of the christian religion. When I have an opportunity of obtaining an audience from the queen's majesty, I will not forget to acquaint her with how great zeal and good will you espouse her cause. She was exceedingly delighted with your book against that *bulled*[1] non-

[1 *Bullatas nugas*, the pope's bull against queen Elizabeth. See note 4, p. 351.]

sense, and read it with the greatest eagerness, as I informed you in my last letter, which you have not yet received.

Respecting the Turkish war I shall only say thus much, that

When the next house begins to burn,
'Tis like to prove your own concern[1].

Hitherto the *pope* has been antichrist. Should it please God to raise up another, even the *Turk*, it is only what our sins deserve. Our own affairs are in this condition. The duke of Norfolk[2], who most wickedly contrived a plot against our queen, has met with the punishment he deserved. Mary, the late queen of Scots, is publicly declared the enemy of our kingdom and queen, and is strictly kept in custody. She was meditating indeed both the destruction of our kingdom, the death of our queen, and the overthrow of our religion, by all possible means.

Respecting your grandson Zuinglius I had rather say little, than much with grief. The affairs of mankind are not governed by our will, but by divine providence. His condition, however, is most blessed, although our earthly affections would foolishly have it otherwise. In fine, we must endure, and not find fault with that which cannot be avoided. May the Lord Jesus Christ, my esteemed brother, long, very long preserve you to us in safety! London. From my house in Holborn, June 6, 1572.

Your most attached RICHARD COX, bishop of Ely.

I intended to send you the books; but this messenger of mine will only take charge of a letter, and not of a parcel. The books must be sent, if possible, by another conveyance to the next Frankfort fair.

CLXVIII. R. GUALTER TO BISHOP COX. [A. App. 7.[3]]

ZURICH, *June* 9, 1572.

HEALTH. I have received, reverend father in Christ, your letter, in which you reply to the one which, six years ago, namely, in the year 1566, I had written to my old friend, master Parkhurst. And as I displayed some degree of vehemence in writing, so do you also with no less warmth refute my assertions. But

[1] "Tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet."

[2] He was executed on Tower-hill, June 2nd. See note 4, p. 383, and Camden, Eliz. p. 177, who gives a full account of the proceedings.]

[3] The original of this letter is printed in Strype, Parker, III. 193. For bishop Cox's reply, see below, Letter CLXXIII.]

you must know that I am so far from being offended by your freedom, that I rather regard your admonition, or, if you choose, your reproof, in the light of the greatest benefit. For I learn from it that I am loved by one, whom I was before wont to venerate, (though personally unknown to me,) for the erudition and piety of which Peter Martyr, of blessed memory, has often borne witness to me, and of which I now behold an evident proof in your letter. For I know it is the office of piety, to defend the commonweal against any adversaries; but free admonition is an evidence of love, by which is laid open the error of a brother imposed upon by others, to the end that he may learn to entertain a more correct opinion. And since you have exhibited both these qualities with no less erudition than truth, I duly venerate your piety, and hope that the disagreement which had arisen between us, will prove the occasion of an indissoluble friendship. For I promise myself thus much from your courtesy, that you will readily pardon this my fault, when you consider at what time, from what motives, and to whom I wrote what I did. That time abounded in sore contentions, and letters on both sides were sent to us almost every day, while that unhappy controversy about the habits was agitated among you. We then advised your adversaries not to stir up a contention in the church for a matter of no importance, and we thought that the whole affair had been laid at rest. But lo! contrary to all expectation, two Englishmen [4] arrive at Geneva, bringing with them a letter from master Beza, whose ears they had filled with calumnies and false accusations, in which he entreated us to do our endeavour to help the most afflicted state of England, and further exhorted me to make a journey to you for that purpose.

To this was added the account of those two men, who told us the same story that they had done at Geneva, and that with so much assurance and affectation of piety, that they set down in writing a great many errors and superstitious abuses, which, as they asserted, were now maintained in England; and that all such as would not consent thereunto were cast out of their ministry. They added, that their most grievous cause of complaint was this, namely, that most of the bishops had become the willing executors of those things which were daily coined at court by superstitious and ambitious courtiers.

[4 One of these Strype suspects to be George Withers, whom he elsewhere states to be a man of good learning, preacher at Bury St Edmund's. Life of Parker, I. 374. The other was probably Perceval Wiburn. See above, Letters CXII. and CXXV.]

Who would suspect that any persons could be so barefaced, as to dare to lie with such assurance on matters of such notoriety, and the truth of which could not long be concealed? The account given by these men certainly troubled us not a little; and I acknowledge, that on the impulse of the moment I composed and sent that letter to master Parkhurst, with whom I thought myself at liberty to act more freely on account of our ancient friendship, which commenced five and thirty years ago at Oxford, and was afterwards so confirmed by his being entertained for four years at my house, that I desire him to possess all influence with me, and I can promise myself in return the same from him.

Nothing was further from my thoughts than that he would publish my letter abroad. For I rather desired to hear his opinion, though indeed he had never written any thing upon the subject. The thing which moved me not a little was, that shortly after master Abel, a most worthy man, and a friend of us both, wrote to me concerning this matter, and acquitted all of you from any blame. I was not therefore at all anxious about that letter of mine, which I had written solely to my friend Parkhurst, of whose regard for me I neither can nor ought to doubt. But as I am at length given to understand that it has been published far and wide, this certainly distresses me exceedingly. And I own, my reverend father, that I am deeply indebted to your excellence for having made me acquainted with this circumstance, though after so long an interval. And as you tell me that you entertain no doubt of the candour and sincerity of my mind, I reverently ask your kindness to make my excuse also to others, into whose hands that letter happened to come. Since that time we have certainly had nothing to do with those vain brawlers, who neither at any time wrote to us, nor had it in their power to boast of any letters from us.

For not long after it appeared more evidently what were their designs, when, under the pretence of ecclesiastical discipline, (the principal part whereof they make to consist in excommunication,) they were the chief authors of those changes in the Palatinate, which have inflicted such a blow upon the churches in that quarter. I once more, therefore, entreat your excellence, reverend father in Christ, not to have any sinister suspicion of Gualter, who bears a singular affection to the English name. For I will take care, if the Lord will, that a public testimony[1] shall appear of my opinion of

[1 The *public testimony* which Gualter here promised to set forth, was his Epistle before his Homilies on the first epistle to the Corinthians, in which

all of you who are the servants of Christ in that kingdom. And indeed, unless I had truly persuaded myself of our agreement, I should certainly never have sent my son[2], the only son of my departed Zuinglia, the remembrance of whom is so precious to me, into England. Whom if you are surprised that I have not hitherto commended to your excellence, you must suppose that I have omitted to do so for no other reason, than that there has heretofore been no intercourse between us by letter; and I should be ashamed to trouble a person of your station, and known to me only by name, with a letter of business on my private affairs. The reports that are rife among us you will learn from master Sandys, the bishop of London: I am unable to repeat them in this letter on account of the haste of the bearer, whom I have met with contrary to my expectation. May Christ Jesus preserve your excellence, and guide you by his Spirit! Amen. Zurich, June 9, 1572.

Your excellence's most devoted, RODOLPH GUALTER.

CLXIX. R. HILLES TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 104.]

LONDON, *July* 10, 1572.

MUCH health. In March last I sent my letter, dated on the 18th of the preceding February, to my son Barnabas, that it might be delivered to the care of Christopher Froschover at the Frankfort spring fair; and I hope you have received it from him. At the same time I received two very long and friendly letters from you, the first written on the 20th of December, and the other on the 12th of last March, together with a slip of paper inclosed in them, in which you write me word what you have heard from Venice respecting the defeat[3] of the Turks, and what you can learn respecting the state of Germany and the cessation of the persecution, &c. For these letters and this intelligence I sincerely thank you.

At the time of the same fair I received from you some other letters to certain of our bishops, which I gave in charge with all diligence to Rodolph Gualter and Henry Butler, who had other matters of their own to transact with the bishops, (who are now

his argument ran chiefly of the unity of the church; wherein he shewed that none ought rashly to depart from its society for the vices of any that lived in it. Strype, Life of Parker, II. 112, 113. See below, p. 416. n. 2.]

[2 See above, p. 385.]

[3 Namely, at the battle of Lepanto, gained by Don John of Austria in 1571.]

engaged at the public assembly, which we call the [1]Parliament,) that they might deliver them to each, as they write me word they have done, except the one which you wrote to Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, which, as he is dead, I handed over, according to your desire, to Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich. But what do you think? How it has happened, I know not; but neither then, nor at any time since, have I received the books you mention, written concerning Exhortation, neither in Latin, nor in German; so that I know not what answer to make respecting them. I have however to thank you in the mean time for those two copies in German, and one in Latin, which you ordered to be sent to me here. Moreover, the above-named Rodolph and Henry have no certain intelligence respecting those books. I have received, however, the books published in Latin by Rodolph's father, together with those which the said persons have distributed to those to whom Rodolph's father wished them to be sent: thank him, I pray you, in my name, for the book which he sent me, and the very friendly letter which he wrote to me on the 10th of March last.

As for the thirty-two pieces of gold about which you write, my son Gerson paid sixteen of them at the last winter fair at Frankfort to Christopher Froschover, for those ten crowns of the right reverend the bishop of Winchester which you mention. The other sixteen were for those other ten crowns which the bishop of Ely paid here to the aforesaid Gerson, to repay to you. My son added, moreover, that he paid over to the said Froschover at the same time ten pieces of gold for Julius Sancterentianus, which the right reverend the bishop of Ely had before placed here to be paid to the said Julius. As to your writing me word to this effect, that "it was without doubt through a mistake at the spring fair, that the twenty-seven dollars," &c.[2] I know not how to set you at ease, because you do not mention whether my son Barnabas, who was present at that Frankfort fair, paid over those twenty-seven dollars to Froschover.

Your grandson[3] Zuinglius departed from this most corrupt generation to God, here at London, in June last, and is added to the assembly of the saints, among whom he sings praises to God his Redeemer. But Rodolph Gualter[4], together with Henry Butler,

[1 This parliament began May the 8th. Strype, Annals, II. i. 183.]

[2 The MS. is here unintelligible.] [3 See Lett. CLXVI.]

[4 Bishop Parkhurst maintained him, first at Cambridge, and then at Oxford, (in fellows' commons at Magdalen college,) and gave him a *viaticum* to bear his charges when he returned home. Strype, Annals, II. i. 508.]

are now returned to Cambridge, whence they came hither at the opening of parliament with the bishop of Norwich, whom I hear to be the especial patron of Henry Butler; to whose mother or friends I will thank you to write, to say that he has received no remittances from them since he came to England. Wherefore, when he was ill at Cambridge, and also a short time before, I lent him two pounds ten shillings of English money, worth in German money thirteen florins and five batzen[5]; which I will beg of you to receive from her, and retain for yourself out of them twelve florins and twelve batzen for the eight French crowns which the reverend the bishop of Norwich sent me, with the paper which I have inclosed in this letter. The remaining eight batzen I would have you present to some poor student. It is but just (as I told you before) that those who send their sons to England, should rather deposit their money at Frankfort beforehand, than require others to advance it for them here in England, and then to have to demand payment at Frankfort. Henry Butler's mother, as he informed me, is living at Lindau.

On the second of this[6] month the duke of Norfolk was beheaded, having been long since condemned for high treason. I am glad to hear from you that you are by the blessing of God in tolerable health and peace; but grieve much to hear that you are distressed by the dearth of provisions and all other things. I hope however, that after the supplication appointed by public authority, God will in mercy look upon you, and again remove that fatherly correction with which he is wont for the most part to punish those whom he loves. I am also very sorry that you had been so ill with a severe cough for three weeks before you wrote. But you well know that God often visits those whom he loves. I pray that he may grant you patience, and, as you express yourself, deal with you in mercy according to his good pleasure. My wife salutes you very much, and entreats you to commend her to God in your prayers, as she is greatly afflicted with a contraction of the muscles and nerves, which we call spasms, and also with the gravel.

A treaty[7] has been entered upon this year between our most

[5 A batzen is here considered equivalent to three pence of our money; a florin to three shillings and ninepence; and a French crown to six shillings.]

[6 The duke was beheaded on Monday the second of June, having been condemned five months before. Strype, Annals, II. i. 191, and Camden's Elizabeth, p. 177.]

[7 In this league the French obliged themselves not to assist the Scottish queen; being content to make no mention of her, or of being her friend

serene queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the king of France, a solemn engagement having been entered into by both parties on Sunday the 15th of June[1] last in the cathedral church of St Peter in Westminster.

On the 25th of June I first received your letter, dated Zurich, October 1st, 1571, and sent by Frederick Conders, a gentleman whom you commended to me. And if I can serve him in any thing, without inconvenience or trouble to myself, I will, as you request, most willingly do so. I add this moreover, to let you know the news that I have received from the Netherlands, which are now under the authority of king Philip; namely, that towards the end of last March, a Dutch[2] gentleman, named Mons. Lumell [Lumey] attacked a certain seaport in Holland, called the Brill, and took it by force from the dominion of king Philip. I have heard too, that afterwards a thousand Spaniards and Walloons, subjects, I mean, of king Philip who speak the French language, entered the town of Middleberg, and in their progress laid waste a certain village of Zeeland called Armuyden. There is also a large body of troops collected in Flushing from France and England and other neighbouring countries; but I hear that nothing of any consequence has been done by the Spaniards against those who are at the Brill, or in Flushing above mentioned, except what I shall afterwards state. But a very short address was lately brought hither from Flanders, printed both in French and Dutch, in which the prince of Orange adopts the same titles of honour and authority as he did in the Netherlands before his exile[3]; and he exhorts the Dutch, who have already been resisting the Spaniards, either now or never to

and ally; but gave her over to the queen's majesty, whatsoever demands they had made for her before. The league was afterwards confirmed and signed by very honourable ambassadors sent over on both sides: viz. Montmorency from France, and the lord admiral from England. Strype, Annals, II. i. 211, 214. For all the articles of this treaty see Camden, Eliz. p. 185.]

[1 The treaty was confirmed on May 15th at Westminster. Camden, as above.]

[2 William Vandermarke, lord of Lumey. See Camden, Eliz. p. 184.]

[3 William, prince of Orange, had opposed, by all regular and dutiful means, the progress of the Spanish usurpations; and when Alva conducted his army into the Netherlands, and assumed the government, this prince, well acquainted with the violent character of the man, and the tyrannical spirit of the court of Madrid, wisely fled from the danger which threatened him, and retired to his paternal estate and dominions in Germany. He was cited to appear before Alva's tribunal, was condemned in absence, was declared a rebel, and his ample possessions in the low countries were confiscated. Hume.]

shew themselves men against the tyranny and unjust exactions of that people, and against the bishops of those parts, and the clergy their companions; and he assures them, that if they will but shew themselves men, they can easily shake off the heavy yoke of bondage, which the duke of Alva with the Spaniards and bishops aforesaid has most iniquitously imposed upon them, not only against the common weal or public good of that country, but also against the honour and good faith of king Philip. Moreover, in the month of March last, part of the city of Valenciennes, in the province of Hainault, in French Flanders, revolted from the government of the aforesaid duke of Alva, and drove out the Spaniards and leading authorities of the place; and allowed the count Lewis, brother of the prince of Orange, with eight hundred or a thousand armed soldiers (of whom the greater part are French,) to enter and garrison the city for the service of king Philip, as they pretended, though they reject the authority of the duke of Alva and his party. But from that time, because the said troops neglected to occupy the fortress of Valenciennes, they were forced again to retreat, and leave the city to the duke and his soldiers, who very lately arrived there in great numbers.

We have next heard for a fact that a city called Venlo, the least city in Guelderland, has also sent back his messenger to the duke of Alva; and that, like Brill and Flushing, many other cities in the Netherlands have revolted and fallen away from the duke of Alva, on account of the tyranny which he has of late years exercised among them. Besides this, it is related to me as a certain fact, that two small vessels coming from Flushing have arrived in the Thames, in which letters are brought conveying the intelligence to some Dutch residents in this country, that a great sea-fight took place last week on the sea-coast of Flanders, not far from Sluys. The citizens of Flushing, whose strength and power seem now to be composed of foreigners, took at the same time, midway between Flanders and Flushing, fifteen or sixteen vessels laden with spices and rich merchandise, besides some specie; which ships had come from Spain and Portugal, and were on their way to Antwerp, together with thirty or forty ships of war and transports which conveyed the duke of Medina Celi with twelve hundred Spanish soldiers who accompanied him, and landed in the Netherlands. For king Philip has appointed this duke of Medina Celi his vice-roy in Flanders, because the said king, as it is reported, has determined that the duke of Alva shall go back to Spain.

Then again, it is stated, and this too as a certain fact, that the

same citizens of Flushing drove upon the shallows two or three other of the ships which they took, and there wrecked them; besides which they set on fire and destroyed two or three more. But, as many persons here assert, these two or three ships last mentioned as being burnt, were laden with Spanish wool on their way to Bruges, and were included in the thirty or forty ships which came from Spain under the care and convoy of the said duke of Medina Celi; and not of the number of the fifteen or sixteen vessels which were going to Antwerp, and which were taken in sight of Flushing and Middleberg: but it seems to me very lamentable that the merchants of Antwerp, (who without doubt are not more favourably inclined to that impious and cruel duke of Alva than those who are now at the Brill and Flushing,) and the merchants of Spain and Portugal, should be plundered in this way of their goods and merchandise, and perhaps the greater part of their crews slain, drowned, or hung; so that there is reason to fear, that in the countries subject to king Philip there will be for some years to come as little business and traffic, as it is called, and as great and extensive civil wars as have within these few years taken place in France, unless it should please Almighty God to turn aside his indignation from the Netherlands, as we must pray him to do according to his mercy. Farewell; and may Almighty God very long preserve you to the advancement of his glory and the edification of his church! London, July 10, 1572.

Your Richard Hilles.

CLXX. LORD BURGHLEY TO J. STURMIUS. [B. 85.]

Woodstock [1], *Sept.* 15, 1572.

Your letters have been delivered to me, most accomplished Sturmius, both that which you wrote privately to myself, and that written to the queen's majesty; in which you inform us of the death of master Mont, a man who by reason of his extreme diligence and fidelity in watching over the interests of this kingdom, as attested by the experience of many years, was most highly esteemed by her majesty and by every one of us. We are not

[1 Lord Burghley was then attending queen Elizabeth on a progress, in which she visited Havering Bower, Theobalds, Gorhambury, Dunstable, Woburn, Warwick, Kenilworth, Compton, Berkeley Castle, and Woodstock, at which latter place she is said to have received the intelligence of the massacre of Paris.]

however more affected by his loss, than we are comforted by the expression of your good-will and duty, which is, as it were, a just counterbalance. And this indeed falls out very opportunely, by reason of our opinion of your religion, wisdom, and integrity; especially in these times, when there is need of great prudence and fidelity in exposing the designs and doings of men, on account of the recent calamities in France[2], and the disturbed state of almost all Europe. Her majesty therefore accepts, as is fitting, the homage of your duty so diligently and readily offered, and will willingly appoint you in the place of Mont, and with the same salary; which, though it be little in proportion to your accomplishments and abilities, we think you will be disposed to estimate rather by the dignity and good-will of her majesty herself, than by its intrinsic value; and that, whatever deficiency there may be in this respect, you will entirely rely upon her favour and beneficence. I would have sent you this stipend, according to the queen's wish, with a letter from her majesty, if I either thought this messenger sufficiently suitable, or felt disposed to entrust him on this journey (which on account of these new perils both of places and times and circumstances seems likely to be a very difficult one) with any thing besides this letter expressive of her majesty's favourable inclination, and also of my personal good-will towards you. Wherefore you will not in the mean time expect any thing more from us, who are exceedingly busied in keeping from our borders the flame of the fires that are burning so near us. When their fury shall have been extinguished or allayed by the divine goodness, you will then find a more convenient way both of transmitting your letters to us, and of receiving this stipend for yourself. Farewell. Dated at Woodstock, Sept. 15, 1572.

Your exceeding well-wisher, WILLIAM CECIL, baron of Burghley.

CLXXI. BISHOP HORN TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 105.]

FARNHAM CASTLE, *Jan.* 10, 1573.

GRACE and peace in Christ! Though you truly describe me, my Bullinger, beloved in Christ, as one who is for the most part distracted by numerous and important engagements, as well by those of a private nature as by the public affairs both of church

[2 Namely, the massacre of St Bartholomew's three weeks before. See the next letter, note 1, and the authorities there quoted.]

and state; yet, however I may be occupied, I have always leisure both for reading and answering your letters. For as your conversation, when present, was always delightful to me, so now your letters in your absence are most pleasant and agreeable; by which alone, when I am *here*, I seem to myself to be listening, to my great and incredible comfort, to one whom, when I was *there*, I never beheld without great and peculiar pleasure. But to come to that part of your letter which is of the greatest importance, and wherein you make so earnest and positive a request, that you may learn from me what is the present posture of affairs both in church and state, in this and the neighbouring countries.

Respecting France first of all, you have doubtless heard long since, and not without the greatest concern, the wretched and calamitous condition of the churches in those quarters; how that unhappy country, still dripping (as it were) with a horrible and bloody slaughter[1], is foully dyed in the blood of the saints. In which we have this solitary but yet certain comfort, that, as the blood of Christians is the seed of the gospel, so, in proportion as they shall have sown the seed more abundantly, we may expect a more abundant harvest.

Respecting the Belgic affairs I have hardly any thing to communicate. The Prince [of Orange], resting the whole of this winter season in Holland, has done nothing worthy of notice that I know of. It does not yet appear what he will do when the spring comes on. But as the alliance with France is now at an end, I am afraid lest all things should become worse.

Scotland, under her present circumstances, is quiet, and desires peace. For the majority have gone over to the king's party, who reigns by almost universal consent. But what will be the issue of this peace, in this uncertain state of affairs in general, we are unable to determine; we hope indeed, as we also wish, for the best.

Our England, having secured tranquillity at home and peace abroad, is sailing as it were with full sails and a prosperous breeze. The church, however, is vehemently agitated, and not without danger; not so much from the opposition of the papists, who are daily restrained by severe laws, as by the stumbling-blocks occasioned by false brethren, who seem to be sliding into anabaptism. May the Lord Jesus at length, by his coming down from heaven,

[1 Namely, the massacre of St Bartholomew's, Aug. 24, 1572; for the particulars of which the reader is referred to Davila's History of the Civil Wars, Sully's Memoirs, Mezeray's History of France, Wraxall's History of the House of Valois, Thuanus, &c.]

extinguish all the flames of this tumultuous world, and so take away the sorrows of the militant church, that all tears may be wiped away from our eyes, and we may all triumph together with him for ever in the heavenly and new Jerusalem!

Farewell in Christ Jesus. From my castle at Farnham, Jan. 10, 1572. [1573.]

Yours wholly in Christ, ROBERT WINTON.

CLXXII. BISHOP PARKHURST TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 106.]

LUDHAM, *Jan.* 20, 1573.

I RECEIVED on the 23rd of May your most beautiful and pious address, together with your letters to myself and Jewel. Jewel's letter I retained in my possession, as he had departed this life before its arrival.

The queen of Scotland still remains among us. She was in great alarm for herself last parliament[2], and not without reason; for had not the extreme clemency of our queen prevented it, it would have been all over with her. What will be done respecting her in the next parliament, I cannot tell. She has certainly very few friends in this country. And what wonder, when she has been hankering after this kingdom, and is defiled and almost overwhelmed with so many and great crimes?

Since those three quarrelsome preachers[3] have been sent away from hence, the greatest quiet and unanimity is prevailing in the Dutch church. Your reply to the Bavarian articles is translated

[2 A few days after the parliament met, the lord keeper sent for the lower house, and declared to them, that it was the queen's pleasure, that a certain number of the upper house, and of the lower, should the next morning meet together in the star-chamber, to consult and debate upon the queen of Scots' matters. A committee accordingly was appointed of commoners, to meet with the lords, to consider how to proceed in that great cause. And after the conference, Mr Attorney of the court of wards made report of that conference. And at length it was resolved, for the better safety and preservation of the queen, and the present state, to proceed against the Scottish queen in the highest degree of treason. And therein to touch her, as well in life, as in title and dignity; and that of necessity, with all possible speed, by the voice of the house. The queen however, for certain respects by herself conceived, thought good for this time to defer, but not to reject, that course of proceeding. Strype, Annals, II. i. 196, 197.]

[3 See above, p. 362. n. 4.]

into English, and is in every one's hands. I received another letter from you on December 10th, in which you write that a great disturbance had arisen in the Grisons. The pope, who is the author of this, and every thing else that is bad, is going on in his old way. But it is well that it is put an end to by the death of that most popish vagabond, who endeavoured to restore popery. On the first of April will commence our famous sittings of parliament. The frost and snow have continued these eight weeks, and almost without intermission during the whole time. But praised be God! they have at length left us.

Farewell, my excellent Bullinger. Salute in my name all your family, male and female, and all my Zurich friends. My wife, who is now ill of the gout, salutes you all. In haste. Ludham, 20 Jan. 1573.

Yours most sincerely, JOHN PARKHURST, [bishop] of Norwich.

CLXXIII. BISHOP COX TO R. GUALTER. [A. 107.]

ELY, *Feb.* 4, 1573.

YOUR two letters, Rodolph, dearly beloved in Christ, were brought to me last summer, and received not without great satisfaction. The[1] first exhibited the exceeding ingenuousness of a pious breast: for you will rarely meet with persons endowed with such sincerity of mind, as to take in good part the advice of a friend; but the grace of the Holy Spirit has enlightened and embued you with that charity, that you hope all things, and believe all things, and interpret all things for the best. But your last letter most clearly manifested a true brotherly affection to our church, as well as towards myself and some of my episcopal brethren; since, namely, you vouchsafed to do us the honour of dedicating to us your exposition of the epistles of St Paul to the Corinthians[2]. This exposition indeed is so learned, pious, and perspicuous, that it

[1 See above, Letter CLXVIII.]

[2 About the autumn of 1572 did Gualter publish ninety-five homilies upon the former epistle to the Corinthians, which he dedicated to bishops Grindal, Sandys, Horn, Cox, Parkhurst, and Pilkington. In his prefatory epistle to them, his argument ran chiefly of the unity of the church; wherein he shewed that none ought rashly to depart from its society for the vices of any that lived in it. See Strype, Life of Parker, II. 113. Annals, II. i. 462.]

needs no commendation of mine, which is but of little value. By your having subjoined an admonition to brotherly unity, you manifestly evince that you entertain the greatest affection towards our church, and desire that we should serve the Lord our God without hinderance and distraction of mind. For it is in this way that the glory of God and the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ may be promoted with the greatest success, although there must needs be heresies in the mean time for the trying of the elect. You make use of many arguments in your preface, and those most powerful ones; but I dare not decide what weight they will have with our innovators. Meanwhile, however, I will not doubt but that the word of the Lord will bring forth its fruit in due season.

I return you my best thanks for the book you sent me. If I am unable fully to return your kindness, I will not in the mean time cease from taking care of and providing for your son of excellent promise, so long as he shall sojourn among us. And as far as he is concerned, I must desire you to shut both your ears; for you would deservedly think me most ungrateful, if I did not shew you some little kindness. When I had entirely gone over your preface, I was exceedingly sorry that it had been published before you had been fully acquainted with the absurdities of our people. For they have lately broken down, by their abusive writings, the barriers of all the order of our church. But that you may partly understand their design, I send you some heads of articles, which they have printed, and taken upon themselves to maintain. I could wish that you, together with my very dear brother in Christ, master Bullinger, would consider and decide upon them; and if it is not too much trouble, that you would send me your opinion respecting them.

Articles drawn up by certain Englishmen, now disturbers of the state of the Anglican church:

I. The names and functions of archbishops, bishops, and other officials, ought to be abolished altogether.

II. The election of the ministers of the word and sacraments should be restored to the people, as not belonging to the episcopal office.

III. No one ought to be confined to set forms of prayer.

IV. No sacrament ought to be administered without being preceded by a sermon, preached, and not read.

V. The father alone ought to answer for his child in baptism, without any other sponsors.

VI. All the ministers of the church ought to be equal, not one superior to another.

VII. They condemn the order of confirmation, in which the bishops lay their hands upon the children on their repeating the catechism, and pray the Lord that he may vouchsafe to increase in them the knowledge of his word and godliness.

VIII. They cannot endure the sermons which are preached at the burial of the dead.

IX. They cannot endure the reading of the holy scriptures in the church.

There are, moreover, other things really too absurd, with which I am unwilling to take up your time, and weary you with my too troublesome importunity. Satan is envious of our prosperity. It is not enough to have the papists our enemies, without stirring up men of their opinion who are labouring to bring about a revolution in the church. One thing I had almost forgotten to mention. There came out last summer an immense volume by one Nicolas Saunders, who is, they say, a countryman of ours; the title of which is "The Monarchy of the Church[1]." He appears to have been a mercenary employed by certain cardinals, aided by the assistance of others, and decked out like Æsop's jackdaw. The tempest is violent, and would seem to demolish all our pretensions at one blast. It takes away from christian magistrates the right of deciding in matters of religion, and claims it entirely for the pope and his officers, as the supreme governor of the church. Our friend Jewel is dead, and has left among us but few equal to him. It is therefore your concern and mine, to cut off the heads of this hydra. I have your book respecting the pope being antichrist, which this man takes much pains to refute. You will not, I hope, allow him to triumph. May the great and good God preserve you many years for the safety of his church!

From the Isle of Ely in England. Feb. 4, 1572, according to the English computation.

I send you a remembrance, though a very small one, of five English crowns. Your most attached brother in Christ,

RICHARD ELY, bishop in England.

[1 The title in Latin is, *De visibili monarchia.* It was answered by Dr Bartholomew Clerk, of King's College, Cambridge, (in a book entitled *Fidelis servi subdito infideli responsio, cum examine errorum N. Sanders in libro de visibili monarchia,*) and also by Dr Ackworth. Strype, Life of Parker, II. 181.]

CLXXIV. BISHOP COX TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 108.]

[Without date.][2]

Your letter, reverend brother in Christ, cannot be otherwise than agreeable to me, breathing as it does so much piety and kindness. I heartily congratulate you on the possession of those bodily powers which you mention, and which by the grace of God will enable you to perform your office. May our gracious Lord preserve them to you for many years, to the glory of his name and the edifying of the church!

I glory in the Lord together with you, that having reached through his bounty my seventy-fourth year, I am not so deprived of strength as to be unable to do credit, in some measure at least, to the situation in which I am placed; excepting only that a trembling of my hands in some degree hinders the use of my pen. I only entreat my Lord that I may never become indolent in my office, but that I may grow more and more active even unto the last act of the drama. I am sorry that you are without a copy of your books. I gave directions to our printer to forward you some, which I hear from him that he will faithfully undertake to do, unless all the copies should be dispersed.

As to what you write respecting the Turks, and those who side with them, I must confess that we live in an evil age, and are fallen upon most perilous times. And when this circumstance comes into the minds of pious persons, they admire even to amazement the inscrutable judgments of God, as to what will become of the godly, when so many christian kingdoms are invaded and laid waste by the Turk; when he is even now hanging over our heads; when the religion of Christians is thrust into a corner, and distracted and torn in pieces by innumerable disputes and contentions; and lastly, when it is every where harassed and oppressed by the most cruel persecutions of the papists. *For three transgressions and for four the Lord will not turn.* [Amos i. 3.] I greatly fear also, what will be the consequence of these most obstinate contentions of ours, and of those principles of ungodly men so entirely opposed to christian love. I wish, indeed, they would follow the advice of that book which you lately published concerning the agreement of ministers; but this is rather to be desired than hoped for. You may obtain some information about these disputes from our excellent friend, master Gualter. Our people are still

[2 This letter seems to have been sent at the same time with the preceding one, and is therefore arranged accordingly.]

persisting in making innovations. They find fault with that prayer wherein we pray God that we may be delivered from all adversities[1]. We use in our prayers the song of the blessed Virgin, of John the Baptist[2], and of the aged Simeon. This they cannot endure. We use also to repeat at the end of each psalm, when they are said before the people, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost." This they call vain repetition. But I will desist from troubling you any farther with these vanities; we ask of God a remedy for them. Meanwhile, however, we do not cease to oppose evils of this kind, as far as the Lord may vouchsafe to afford us strength.

I have not yet received your book on the persecutions of the church. I desire, my esteemed brother in Christ, that you may live in safety many years, and that you may use your exertions for the restoration of the church of God, even to the end. I have sent six crowns of this country to my friend Julius.

Your most attached brother in Christ,
The bishop and servant of the church of Ely,
RICHARD COX, bishop of Ely.

CLXXV. BISHOP COX TO R. GUALTER. [A. 109.]

ELY, *June* 12, 1573.

I RECEIVED your letter, Gualter, dearly beloved brother in Christ, in this present month of June, 1573. I am surprised that the letters have not yet reached you, which I wrote at the beginning of last spring both to yourself and to my reverend father and brother, master Bullinger. It would have been far more gratifying and agreeable to me for you to have learned from the letter I then wrote, with how much delight your discourses were received, together with your letter noticing with so much prudence, learning, and piety, some points now controverted among us. You would have learned moreover from that letter of mine, what confusion has been occasioned in our not ill-constituted church, by some factious

[1 "Exceptions were taken to prayer against tempest, when none seems at hand; to the Magnificat, and other scriptural hymns, introduced for no conceivable purpose but to honour the Virgin, the Baptist, or similar personages, therefore profanations of scripture." Soames's Elizabethan Hist. p. 167.]

[2 i. e. the Benedictus, uttered at the birth of John the Baptist. Luke i. 68, &c.]

and heady men, who in their writings[3] and sermons, and private conversation, condemn and pull in pieces the whole economy of our church, and bring all the bishops and other ministers of the word into incredible disfavour with the people, and also with the magistrates and nobility. Nay, they even reject this order as being of no use to the church of Christ, and are striving by every means in their power that it may be altogether abolished. But the Lord God has imbued our most religious queen and some of her principal ministers with that discretion and piety, that these men, as I hope, will strive to no purpose. Their object is to revive the ancient presbytery of the primitive church, and to establish such an equality among all ministers, that they may be despised and rejected even by the church itself; so that it is to be feared lest Christ himself should be banished by little and little.

As to your son having sent a letter in the way you mention, he has ingenuously performed the part of a well principled young man. If he would come and see me more frequently, or address me by letter, he should not have to repent the performance of so trifling a courtesy. You must not be grieved, my Gualter, that the sectaries are shewing themselves to be mischievous and wicked interpreters of your most just opinion. For it cannot be otherwise, but that tares must grow in the Lord's field, and that in no small quantity. Of this kind are the Anabaptists, Donatists, Arians, papists, and all the good-for-nothing tribe of the sectaries. But our solid comfort is from Christ: "Blessed are ye when men shall speak evil of you falsely, for my sake." Your remarks about observing moderation in external matters, provided that the truth of Christ and faith is maintained inviolate, proceed from sincere piety and most solid judgment. With respect to their estimation of your character, they are indeed contemptible, who desist not from attacking the character of all good men: they are unable however to injure either your reputation or mine by their revilings. For it is not to them, but to the Lord, that we stand and fall.

I hope you have received before this time my former letters sent to master Bullinger and yourself. I took care that they

[3 The bishop seems to refer to the celebrated admonition to the parliament, for an account of which see Strype, Life of Whitgift, I. 54, &c. and Soames's Elizabethan History, p. 163, &c. The latter writer states, that "its authors, ostensibly, and perhaps principally, were John Field and Thomas Wilcox, two puritanical clergymen of great note among the Londoners of their party." To these "Gilbye, Sampson, Lever, are added by Abp. Bancroft, in his Survey of the pretended Holy discipline."]

should be delivered, together with twenty-five gulden[1], as they call them, by Richard Hilles, a merchant of this country, to your friend Froschover, to be forwarded to you. May the Lord Jesus very long preserve you in safety to us, for the very great advantage of his church! Salute in my name that pillar of the church of Christ, master Henry Bullinger. From my episcopal house in the isle of Ely, in England, June 12, 1573.

Your most loving friend in Christ,

Richard Cox, bishop of Ely.

CLXXVI. R. GUALTER TO THE EARL OF BEDFORD. [B. 88.]

Zurich, *July* 17, 1573.

Health. Had I not already experienced, most illustrious prince, your kindness and pious zeal in favour of good men, I should be afraid that my letters, wherein I now commend one, and now another individual, would be troublesome to your clemency.

And yet such, occasionally, are the circumstances of my most intimate friends, that I cannot refuse them this service, which is an act of kindness in itself, and may be productive of some benefit to them. And I would have this especially understood in reference to the bearer of this letter. He is the son of a noble and excellent man, the baron of Alt-Sax[2], a youth[3] of good disposition and the greatest hope, who after having resided some time at Heidelberg, proceeded from thence to the most illustrious duke of Magdeburg. But he is now, by his father's desire, coming to England, to obtain an appointment at the court of her most serene majesty, suitable to his birth. I hear that he is recommended to the queen by the most illustrious prince, the elector palatine, whose recommendation will, I doubt not, have so much weight, as that this of mine will seem altogether superfluous. But as the father of the young man wished him also to be introduced to my friends, I could not refuse his request. For he is a most godly man, a distinguished worshipper of God, and no less persevering than diligent in advancing the kingdom of Christ. For, a few years since, he banished all

[1 A gulden is about half-a-crown of English money.]

[2 Alt-Sax, and Forsteck mentioned below, are in the valley of the Rhine, near Appenzell.]

[3 There are many letters from this youth at Zurich and Zoffingen, some of which are from England, but none concerning English affairs. All shew that he was, as Gualter states him to have been, a young man of excellent disposition. He was a friend and fellow-student of Gualter's son at Oxford.]

unlawful worship from his territory, which is surrounded by papists on all sides; restored the purer teaching of the word, and established the right administration of the sacraments, together with a moral discipline worthy of christian men. He has by this procedure excited against him the hatred of many, and has for some time had powerful enemies, who have left no means untried for his destruction. But Almighty God has preserved him, so that now Christ is preached in his territory, the whole of which had been before occupied by popish superstition. He has many sons, whom he wishes to be brought up and educated in the courts of christian princes, that they may maintain the dignity of his family, (which is of great antiquity and rank among us,) and at the same time acquire such knowledge as may be an honour to themselves, and bring some advantage to their common country. It is fitting too, that christian princes should forward the wishes of this excellent and most godly nobleman; which I think your clemency will do the more readily, as having heretofore experienced in your own person[4], what labours and what dangers must be encountered by those, who, having embraced Christ Jesus with true faith, endeavour to promote his glory. You will therefore do, most illustrious prince, as you have often done already, and aid this excellent young nobleman in obtaining a situation worthy of his family and parentage, either with her most serene majesty, or with some other illustrious prince. Which if your clemency will accomplish, you will do an act most acceptable to God, and will perpetually bind to you a most godly nobleman, and will especially commend yourself to my countrymen by this new instance of your beneficence. May Almighty God graciously preserve your clemency, and direct you by his Spirit to the glory of his name! Amen. Zurich, July 17, 1573. R. GUALTER.

TESTIMONIAL OF THE BARON OF ALT-SAX.

To all the faithful in Christ, to whom these present letters testimonial shall come, Laurence Humfrey, vice-chancellor, or commissary of the most noble the earl of Leicester in the fair university of Oxford, wishes health in the Author of salvation.

[4 The earl of Bedford, when lord Russell, had been committed to the Fleet at the accession of queen Mary. The martyr, Bradford, addressed two letters to him, "being then in trouble for the verity of God's gospel." He afterwards went abroad, and stayed some time at Zurich. See his character described by Whetstone, in the Mirror, &c. of Francis Earl of Bedford, printed in Parke's Heliconia. London, 1815.]

Whereas a few months since the noble and illustrious lord John Philip of Alt-Sax, free baron of Saxony and Forsteck, &c. in Switzerland, &c. arrived in this university; and, having had familiar intercourse with the most learned men in this university for four months, has exhibited many proofs of his rare and singular attainments; so that he may be regarded as truly noble, not only on account of his illustrious family, but by reason of his erudition and excellent endowments of understanding; it hath seemed good to our university, in testimony not only of its love towards him, but of its judgment respecting him, on this 18th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1574, to distinguish and adorn the same with the title of master in arts, to the end that he may not hereafter forget our good-will towards him, and that we may perpetually enjoy the remembrance of our knowledge of him. And whereas he is at length desirous of visiting his native country, we, out of our affection towards him, have not thought fit that he should depart without our testimony. All and each of these things therefore we duly signify to you by these presents, confirmed under the seal of office of the chancellorship of Oxford, in testimony of all and singular the premises. Dated July 30th, in the year of our Lord 1574.

CLXXVII. BISHOP PILKINGTON TO R. GUALTER. [A. 110.]

July 20, 1573.

Jesus. Much health. If the same proportion of leisure and health were afforded me to read what you with unwearied labour have committed to the press, as there has been time and strength allotted you to write, I should indeed think myself a happy man; but since I am prevented from being able to do so by my frequent infirmities, and, besides the daily care of the churches and public business, am perpetually struggling with disease and death, I congratulate the church of God, in the defence of which you are so great and so active a labourer, (though in this old age of the world and my own declining years I grieve for myself, as one who can scarcely hope to enjoy the agreeable fruits of your exertions;) and I wish you the years of Nestor, that you may be enabled the more successfully to complete what you have so successfully begun. How many are greatly delighted with your most learned commentaries, and especially your last upon both the epistles to the Corinthians, (for which also I return you individually my warmest

thanks,) I am unwilling now to tell you by recounting them; neither will I declare how highly I think of them, lest I should seem rather to be a vain flatterer than one who sincerely praises you to your face. Go on as you have begun. Exalt the Lord God in your writings; edify the church by explaining her mysteries, instruct the unlearned, excite the learned to exertion; exhort, advise, rebuke each; and you will have the Lord, who is the universal inspector of all mankind, as the most ample approver and rewarder of the labours you have bestowed in the dressing of his vineyard.

But here, I pray you, pause awhile with me, and mourn over this our church at this time so miserably divided, not to say, wholly rent in pieces. Commend her to the Lord your God, and entreat him that, having compassion upon us, he may very soon provide some godly remedy for the healing of her wounds, that she may not be utterly destroyed. Your prudence has heard, I well know, and that often enough to weary you, of that unhappy dispute among some of our friends respecting the affair of the habits and the dress of the clergy, and how great a disturbance it had excited; but it has now so broken out afresh, nay more, that which heretofore lurked in dissimulation has now so openly discovered itself, that not only the habits, but our whole ecclesiastical polity, discipline, the revenues of the bishops, ceremonies or public forms of worship, liturgies, vocation of ministers, or the ministration of the sacraments,—all these things are now openly attacked from the press, and it is contended with the greatest bitterness, that they are not to be endured in the church of Christ. The doctrine alone they leave untouched: as to every thing else, by whatever name you call it, they are clamorous for its removal. The godly mourn, the papists exult, that we are now fighting against each other, who were heretofore wont to attack them with our united forces; the weak know not what or whom to believe; the godless are altogether insensible to any danger; the Romish priesthood are gaping for the prey, and are like bellows carefully blowing up the flame, that the mischief may increase. It is lamentable to behold, and dreadful to hear of such things taking place among those who profess the same religion; and yet the entire blame is laid upon the bishops, as if they alone, if they chose, were able to eradicate all these evils. We endure, I must confess, many things against our inclinations, and groan under them, which if we wished ever so much, no entreaty can remove. We are under authority, and cannot make any innovation without the sanction of the queen, or abrogate any thing without the authority of the laws; and the only alterna-

tive now allowed us is, whether we will bear with these things or disturb the peace of the church. I wish all parties would understand and follow your wholesome advice in your preface to the Epistle to the Corinthians, respecting the variety of rites and discipline in individual churches. But these men are crying out that nothing is to be endured in the rites of the church, which is later than the times of the apostles, and that all our discipline must be derived from thence, and this at the peril of the soul and our eternal salvation.

Accept, I pray you, in good part these few crowns in token of my regard for you and for your sound doctrine. I would have offered more, but we are making a collection for the poor French[1] [protestants], who, exiled and plundered of their property, have taken refuge partly at Geneva, and partly in this country.

You will learn from the accompanying verses all that has been done in Scotland. I salute in the Lord all your brethren in the ministry, and especially the reverend master Bullinger, to whom I beg my excuses for not have written to him individually; and I pray, that since you are both but one, you will be satisfied with this one letter. Communicate it, if you please, to him, that he may sympathise and condole in our misfortunes. May the Lord Jesus long preserve happy Zurich in her ancient peace and the fear of God! Farewell in the Lord, my very dear brother in Christ. July 20, 1573. The great admirer of your learning and piety,

JAMES PILKINGTON, Dunelm.

CLXXVIII. R. GUALTER, JUN. TO J. SIMLER. [B. 90.]

OXFORD, *July* 20, 1573.

HEALTH. Your letter, my honoured relative, was delivered to me by master William Barlow, with whom I had been long since very intimate at Heidelberg. I understood from it that you

[1 The case of the French Church in London had been before recommended by the queen to the archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops in 1569, on the breaking out of the third civil war in France between the papists and the confederate protestants. The archbishop recommended the case to the dean and chapter of Canterbury, in whose register this order is extant: "Anno 1569, June 8, agreed, that there shall be, at the contemplation of the lord archbishop his grace's letters, given out of the church treasury to the poor [afflicted] French Church in London, towards their relief, six pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence." Strype, Annals, I. ii. 290.]

had been disturbed, and not without reason, by the calumnies of some sciolists here, who, most illiterate as they are themselves, will give liking unto nothing that is not ornamented, and polished, and perfect in every respect. But since it is impossible to satisfy them all, we ought to consider ourselves as having sufficiently performed our duty by commending our endeavours and anxiety for the advancement of learning to the approbation of those who are most worthy. Among the Oxford men, to whom I joined myself in the month of June, there are fewer of this class; partly because they are more simple, and partly because the university abounds with papists, and but few persons devote themselves to the purer faith; so that they will not even look into the writings of our countrymen, for which reason every ground and handle for this particular way of calumniating is cut off from them.

But I have dwelt too much upon this, and especially with you, my most learned relative, whom I know, both in this place and every where else, to be very dear to all good men. A few days afterwards your other letter was brought me, in which you accuse me of negligence, for neither having bought the cloth, nor sent you any letter. As to the last charge, I know that I am very easily accused of neglect, especially when I am innocent. But I suppose you have by this time received my letter by Chevalier, who was prevented by bad weather from coming over to you sooner. As to the first charge, when I first arrived in England, I could do but little with Hilles, who, as he has always this maxim in his mouth, *that money is to the merchant what the plough is to the farmer*, will do nothing without ready money. And as in your later letters to me you made no mention of the subject, I thought you had changed your mind, and that the cloth was no longer wanted. However, when master William Barlow passed through this place on his way back, he took the whole charge upon himself, and promised that he would manage the matter with some merchants in London of his acquaintance. Had I had an opportunity of going to London myself, I would willingly have executed this commission for you. But as Barlow has undertaken it, I do not consider there is any occasion for my assistance.

With respect to my situation at Magdalene college, of which Humphrey is president, I am living at Oxford very comfortably. For there is both an abundance of learned men, and I acknowledge myself very much indebted to them for their singular regard to me. But the especial kindness of masters Humphrey[2] and Cole, to whom

[2 See below, Letter CLXXXI. p. 432, n. 3.]

I was recommended by master Parkhurst, outshines all the rest. And because this university is more agreeable to me than Cambridge, with the view of living here more comfortably, and with greater honour, I have solicited the degree of master of arts, which was conferred upon me on the 6th of July, with the unanimous consent of the senate of the university; and for the completion of this degree, I am next week to hold public lectures, both in moral and natural philosophy. May God prosper my undertaking and direct all my endeavours to the glory of his name! But I am now desirous of staying here longer than I had intended, partly on account of my degree, and partly by reason of its great convenience. For master Parkhurst has so recommended me to Humphrey, that he has taken upon himself the charge of all my expenses, which he is to receive from him again; so that I shall be able from henceforth to reside here without any cost to my father, which I have hitherto been unable to do by reason of the uncertainty of my expenses. But I request you, my honoured relative, (for it will be of great use to me in my studies,) always to persuade and advise (my father) against my being recalled home sooner than is expedient. For should I be recalled sooner than I expect, my father might probably complain of my want of obedience in that respect. But I well know that both my father and yourself, and all of you will so manage these things, that I have no need to give myself any trouble about them. I will not, therefore, write more, especially at present; and I beg you will be satisfied with this, and love me, as you do. May Almighty God long preserve you in safety with your wife and children! Dated at Oxford, from Magdalene college, July 20, 1573.

Your most attached relative,

Rodolph Gualter, the younger.

TESTIMONIAL OF RODOLPH GUALTER THE YOUNGER.

To all the faithful in Christ, to whom these presents shall come. Laurence Humphrey, vice-chancellor, or commissary of the most illustrious earl of Leicester in the fair university of Oxford, wishes perpetual health in the Lord.

As nothing is more agreeable to justice and equity than to bear testimony to the truth, for the lack of which the innocence of individuals is for the most part attacked and weakened by false accusations through the injuries of calumniators; hence it is that, moved by the request of our beloved brother in Christ, Rodolph Gualter of Zurich, we bring to the knowledge of your university,

and desire to make known to you by these presents, that the aforesaid Rodolph Gualter has been a scholar of our university for two entire years last past, and has devoted himself to learning in Magdalene college with no less success than diligence, laudably conducting himself in the mean while. Whence, in acknowledgement of his merits, this young man, amiable for his candour, and respectable in station, as bearing and representing not only the name, but the virtuous example of his most accomplished and exemplary father, master Rodolph Gualter, professor at Zurich, was created master of arts at our famous commemoration, on the 12th of October, 1573. And forasmuch as he is now desirous of visiting his father and his country, we, in manifestation of our regard for him, would not allow him to leave us without our testimonial. All and singular which we signify to you faithfully by these presents, under the official seal of the chancellorship of Oxford, in testimony of all and each of the premises. Dated July 30, A.D. 1574.

CLXXIX. SIR J. WOLLEY[1] TO J. STURMIUS. [B. 91.]

ORPINGTON, *July* 24, 1573.

I HAVE been induced, accomplished Sturmius, to write to you at this present time at the desire of my singular good patron, the earl of Leicester; who, as he himself was writing to you about other matters, wished me also to open the way to your friendship and correspondence by a letter of my own. And this I do with the greatest readiness.

For as I have succeeded your friend Ascham in his office about the queen's majesty, so am I exceedingly anxious to be the inheritor also of his friendships and intimacies, and especially with yourself. Receive me therefore in Ascham's place; for though I am far inferior to him in ability and learning, yet I will endeavour to excel him in his love and respect for you. The noble earl has wished me to write to you at this time (although we are now booted and just setting out on a journey) about a matter of no

[1 Sir John Wolley was secretary in the French and Latin tongues to queen Elizabeth, in the latter of which offices he succeeded Roger Ascham. The queen was now on a progress through Kent. She set out from Greenwich, July 14th; thence to Croydon, to the archbishop's house, where she stayed seven days: thence to Orpington, the house of Sir Perceval Hart, from whence this letter was written, the original of which is preserved at Strasburgh. See Strype, Ann. II. i. 465.]

great importance, but which, however, is exciting great disturbances among us.

A great question has for a long time, as I think you are aware, been moved among us, whether ministers and preachers of the word ought to be bound by public authority to use a certain kind of habit, especially such an one as the mass-priests used in the papacy: which dispute is so agitated among us, that many parties have chosen to relinquish the preaching of the gospel, and are relinquishing it every day, rather than be obliged to adopt that kind of habit. This affair has certainly occasioned great disorders among us, and the contest has hitherto increased by debate.

The most noble earl therefore is anxiously desirous that you should propose some method of allaying this dispute, which is now so rife, by procuring the opinions of the most learned divines of Germany, especially Beza, Gualter, and others of great note, upon this matter, to be written to our universities. On this subject I will write more at another time: now the departure of the queen from this place is so full of hurry, as scarcely to have allowed me to write even thus much. You will excuse the haste of this letter, which I have written at the command of the earl, and reckon me among your most loving friends. And this I earnestly and repeatedly request of you. Farewell, most accomplished sir. Dated at Orpington, a village in the county of Kent. July 24, 1573.

Your most devoted, JOHN WOLLEY.

CLXXX. W. COLE TO R. GUALTER. [B. 92.]

OXFORD, *July* 26, 1573.

THE kindness, most honoured sir, which I experienced from you beyond all others at Zurich, can never escape from my memory; wherefore I wish you to believe, that, although I am very far removed from you in person, in mind and inclination I shall always be a Zuricher. And if all persons ought to be had in the highest esteem by me from the very circumstance of their belonging to Zurich, much more is your son to be regarded with the greatest affection. For besides his being a Zuricher, the piety and friendship of his father makes him more acceptable to me, as the learning of his father does to all godly persons. For as often as your works are placed before the eyes of the godly for perusal, so often is the son of such a father held up to commendation. In the year now passed, when your son was present at our commemora-

tion, I could not refrain from doing you some little kindness. For as soon as I saw him, there came into my mind, I know not how, the various favours you bestowed on us Englishmen now many years ago. Wherefore I now plainly perceive it impossible that such great obligations can ever be forgotten by me; so fresh and grateful was the recollection of them. The bishop of Norwich, a man on all accounts to be honoured by me, has written to me; and I learn from his letter how much your son is beloved by him; so that I dare affirm, that, though you are absent in Switzerland, the bishop of Norwich will no less give his assistance to your son in every respect, than if you were at hand to provide for him yourself. You must understand therefore, in few words, that your Gualter will always be beloved by me, and that I shall never be wanting to his interests.

There is scarcely any news stirring among us. I hear that a city in Holland, called Haerlem[1], has at length, after a long blockade, in spite of the opposition of the Spaniards, introduced some reinforcements from England and Scotland, and that by this means ample provision is made for the inhabitants in respect of the necessaries of life. And this took place some days since, not without some slaughter on both sides. Some of our nobility[2] are making preparations for a great expedition into Ireland, and are all now on their journey thither. There is a great union of opinion between us and the Scots; and the protestants of that country, with our assistance, have this summer reduced the well-fortified castle of Edinburgh[3]. Their queen is in this country with a certain nobleman[4], to whose faithful custody she is committed, so as not to be

[1 The siege of Haerlem lasted ten months; the townsmen, before they capitulated, being reduced to eat the vilest animals, and even leather and grass.]

[2 Namely, the earl of Essex, the lords Darcy and Rich, and others. They went on an expedition into Ireland against Brian Mac Phelim, who had raised a rebellion in Ulster. They arrived at Knockfergus towards the end of August. See Camden's Elizabeth, p. 201.]

[3 Edinburgh castle was taken on the 28th of May, after having held out against the English upwards of a month, by Sir W. Drury with fifteen hundred men, and the Scottish auxiliary forces. See Camden's Elizabeth, p. 197.]

[4 The queen of Scots was at this time at Sheffield castle, under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury, who in a letter to lord Burghley, dated Sept. 24, 1572, says, "This queen remains still within these four walls in sure keeping. She is much offended at my restraint from her walking without this castle; but for all her anger, I will not suffer her to pass one of these gates until I have contrary commandment expressly from the queen's majesty.

able to go abroad without his permission, and without a sufficient guard. I have nothing to write respecting the French affairs. Every thing at Rochelle[1] is as yet in a state of uncertainty. I pray you, sir, to salute very much in my name the venerable father, master Bullinger, and the rest of your fellow-ministers. May Christ preserve you! July 26, 1573.

Your most devoted, WILLIAM COLE.

CLXXXI. L. HUMPHREY TO R. GUALTER. [A. 111.]

OXFORD, *July* 28, 1573.

IMMANUEL. Your son Gualter, together with your letter, came to me at Oxford. He is the very image of yourself, and a true Zuinglian[2]. He is living in Magdalene college, agreeable to myself, acceptable to my friends, and welcome to the university. The Earl of Bedford, and Parkhurst, your friend and our bishop, reverenced by me on many accounts, have given him letters of introduction; so that both for your sake and at the request of these distinguished men, I have admitted him to my friendship and to my college, congratulating myself that I have such an inmate[3].

And though I was fully persuaded that my number of soldiers was sufficient for her safe keeping, yet have I thought good this time to increase the same with thirty soldiers more. See Lodge, I. 550, and above, Letter CLIX. p. 382, n. 2.]

[1 The town of Rochelle was the principal rendezvous of the French Protestants, who established themselves there after the massacres of the preceding year. The duke of Anjou besieged it early in the spring, and after some months' investment by the best troops and chief nobility of France, the loss of forty thousand by disease and casualty, and a ruinous expenditure both of stores and money, he was forced to compromise, the announcement of his election to the throne of Poland permitting a negotiation, without the shame of acknowledging a defeat: a treaty was therefore concluded towards the end of June, which secured to all protestants liberty of conscience, but freedom of worship was confined to Rochelle, Nismes, and Montauban. For an account of the siege see Smedley's Hist. of the Reformation in France, Vol. II. ch. xii. and the authorities there referred to; also Browning's Hist. of the Huguenots, p. 102.]

[2 His mother was the daughter of Zuinglius. See p. 39, n. 4.]

[3 Parkhurst wrote to Gualter himself, being upon his departure to Oxford; "When you come to Oxford, you shall be provided with all things. If any thing be wanting at any time, I have written now once again to Dr Umphrey and Mr Cole, to provide the same for you. And at one of their hands you shall receive what you have need of; and I will see the same discharged." He concluded his letter with his counsel: "If you apply yourself

Parkhurst most fully promises to supply him with every thing necessary, and I willingly offer my aid and assistance to contribute in any way to the benefit of so excellent a youth. For I both love the ingenuous manners and frank disposition of the man, and confess that I owe every thing to such a father, who has employed so many days and nights in raising up children of the gospel, and in planting a nursery of the christian church. Persevere in employing yourself in that holy work; that while time is afforded us, we may still defend the purity of religion, and illustrate that truth which has hitherto, through ignorance or malice, been hidden in the dark den of the Romanists. For it is most delightful to continue singing even unto grey hairs; and hence the voice of the aged, like the descant of the swan, is sweetest and most solemn. For this it is that a talent is bestowed on you by the Lord; for this, peace and leisure and retirement are afforded you; for this, the convenience of a most excellent press, that in this abundance of every thing, and with this best of opportunities, you may be of use to us Britons, divided as we are from all the world, and standing in need of almost all these means of assistance. However, by the blessing of God, all things are now at peace among us, notwithstanding our neighbour's house is on fire. For the torch of civil war in France and Flanders is not yet put out, although a conference is being held respecting some honourable conditions of peace.

In Scotland, the virgin castle of Edinburgh[4], (for so the Scots called it,) albeit hitherto unconquered, is at last reduced and taken. Our queen[5] subdued it, not for herself, but for the young king.

to your studies, and do well, you shall want nothing, but shall find me, not a friend only, but another father unto you. God keep you, and give you grace to do that becometh you, to his glory, and all your friends' comfort." See Strype, Ann. II. i. 337.]

[4 The castle surrendered on the 28th of May, being the 33rd day of the siege; for an account of which see Camden's Elizabeth, p. 197.]

[5 Sir Thomas Smith was earnest with the queen, to send aid to reduce the rebels in Scotland, who had fortified Edinburgh Castle against the king and regent; and for that purpose he let the queen understand from Mr Killigrew her ambassador in Scotland, how dangerously things stood there, and therefore that it was his desire that the *peace-makers* (as he phrased it) might shortly be transported thither; to whom, when the queen asked, "who be they?" "Marry," said he, "your majesty's cannons; they must do it, and make a final conclusion." "Then," said the queen, "I warrant you, and that shortly." Strype, Life of Smith, 129. See Smith's Letter to Lord Burghley, MS. Harl. 6991, 14.]

Their queen, therefore, being kept in custody in this country, and all the conspirators having either surrendered or been destroyed, not only a mutual alliance is taking place among us, but the same religion received by universal consent is prospering in that kingdom. May the Lord Jesus preserve, and load with every blessing, both yourself and your friends, masters Bullinger, Simler, Lavater, &c. and the whole church! In haste, in the midst of our Magdalene commemoration. Oxford, July 28, 1573.

Your most devoted, LAURENCE HUMPHREY.

CLXXXII. ARCHBISHOP GRINDAL TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 112.]

YORK, *July* 31, 1573.

HEALTH in Christ! About the end of December last, my dearest master Bullinger, I received your letter written on the 24th of August; on which day, by a savage and unheard of cruelty, the Admiral[1] with other nobility, and the greatest part of the faithful, were massacred at Paris. These are the fruits of that egregious treaty with France, from which we expected so much advantage! The Sicilian Vespers[2] indeed were infamous of old; but these French Matins, if I may so call them, leave them far behind. The Lord beholds these things, and will make inquisition. Many exiles[3] from France have sought refuge in London, and among them many ministers of the churches, who are there kindly received with hospitality, and supported by the alms of the godly.

Our affairs, after the settlement of the controversy respecting ceremonies, were for some time very quiet: when some virulent pamphlets[4] came forth, privately printed, contrary to law, in which

[1 Viz. Coligni. "De Thou, perhaps, falls short rather than exceeds in his computation, when he fixes the whole number of Huguenots who perished, at little below thirty thousand: of that number at least one-third may be allotted to Paris." See Smedley's Hist. of the Reformed Religion in France, Vol. II. p. 34, and the testimonies there cited.]

[2 The massacre of the French in Sicily on Easter Monday, March 30, 1282.]

[3 See p. 426, n. 1.]

[4 The admonition to the Parliament, soon after the publishing of it, was backed with three other pamphlets, sent to Dr Whitgift, as it were a challenge; which he briefly answered towards the end of his answer to the admonition. The first was a preface to the other two. The second was called, *An Exhortation to the Bishops to deal brotherly with their brethren.* The third, *An Exhortation to the Bishops and their Clergy to answer a little Book*

almost the whole external polity of our church was attacked. For they maintain that archbishops and bishops should altogether be reduced to the ranks; that the ministers of the church ought to be elected solely by the people; that they ought all to be placed upon an equality; that in every city, town, parish, or village, a consistory should be established, consisting of the minister and elders of the place, who alone are to decide upon all ecclesiastical affairs: (they state) that the church of England has scarcely the appearance of a christian church,—that no set form of prayer ought to be prescribed, but that in the holy assemblies each minister should pray as the Holy Ghost may dictate; that the infants of popish recusants, as far as the use of baptism is concerned, are unclean, (I use their own words,) but yet that they are not on that account to be excluded from the election of God. I pass over many things which it would be tedious to recount. But a royal edict was lately published, in which libels of this sort are forbidden to be circulated for the future; which circumstance, as I hope, will retard their endeavours. They are young men who disseminate these opinions, and they have their supporters, especially from among those who are gaping for ecclesiastical property: but yet I am glad to say, that Humphrey, and Sampson, and some others, who heretofore moved the question about ceremonies, are entirely opposed to this party.

The castle of Edinburgh in Scotland, about which I before wrote, having been battered for twenty successive days by our English cannon, was at length forced to surrender on the 28th of May last. The chief rebels[5] were punished; so that at this time the whole of Scotland is reduced to obedience under the young king, and is altogether alienated from the French, both on account of the difference of religion, and the cruelty which was last year exercised towards the faithful; but most devoted to our queen (who has so often defended the liberties of the Scots,) as you may easily see by the inclosed verses, printed at Edinburgh.

The affairs of France are sufficiently known to you. In Holland and Zealand the prince of Orange is superior in his navy,

that came forth the last Parliament; and to the other brethren, to judge of it by God's word, until they see it answered; and not be carried away with any respect of men. See Strype, Life of Whitgift, Vol. I. p. 80, &c. who gives a full account of the above writings.]

[5 "Grange and his brother, with eleven Scots goldsmiths, were hanged at Edinburgh." Lord Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury, in Lodge, Vol. II. p. 33.]

but on land the contest is always doubtful. May the Lord take compassion on his church, and at length put an end to these evils, that we may with one mouth glorify him, whom I pray very long to preserve your piety in safety to his church! York, the last day of July, 1573.

Your most devoted in the Lord, EDMUND YORK.

P. S. It was my intention, God willing, to have sent you at the spring fair some little remembrance of me, which however was not ready at that time through the neglect of the workman.

CLXXXIII. ARCHBISHOP GRINDAL TO R. GUALTER. [A. 113.]

YORK, *July* 31, 1573.

HEALTH in Christ, my very dear master Gualter! Your desire that your lately published Homilies on the first Epistle to the Corinthians should appear under my name and that of some other very dear brethren and fellow-labourers, was very gratifying to me; and on that account, as far as concerns myself, (and I hope the others will do the same,) I return your piety my best thanks. Your son sent me two copies bound, one of which I forwarded to the lord bishop of Durham, to whom, as he writes me word, the present was most acceptable; the other I retain myself. There is no reason why you should be so careful to apologize for your freedom in writing to me. For although you are not personally known to me, you are well known to me by your writings, abounding as they do in singular erudition and learning; and on account of the excellent piety which they breathe, and I will add too, on account of our most close agreement in the true doctrine of Christ, you are most dear to me.

As I am myself far distant from Cambridge, I have earnestly recommended your son to Dr John Whitgift, the master of his college[1]; whom I have also requested to shew himself a sufficiently severe censor of his morals, should there be any occasion for his doing so. But I hope there will be no occasion for this; for I hear that your son is very studious and modest, and far removed from all levity of conduct.

I wrote a few lines to Bullinger respecting our affairs, which he doubtless will communicate to you. I wrote likewise to Richard Hilles, a merchant of London, that he should take care to transmit

[1 i. e. Trinity College.]

to you, at the next Frankfort fair, fifty French crowns; namely, thirty from myself, and the remaining twenty[2] from the bishop of Durham, whose letter you will receive at the same time with this. We pray you to take in good part this little present. Farewell in Christ, my very dear brother in the Lord. York, the last day of July, 1573. Yours in Christ, EDMUND YORK.

CLXXXIV. R. COOCH[3] TO R. GUALTER. [B. 95.]

Queen's Palace, *Aug.* 13, 1573.

I AM compelled by the force of conscience to declare my sentiments, and that upon a most important matter and singular mystery. My remarks relate to the last supper of Christ; in the administration of which a mistake is made now-a-days, and ever has been made, almost from the time of St Paul; since he placed before the Corinthians a supper to be eaten, we only a morsel of bread in mockery of a supper. They used a variety and abundance of meat and drink, so as to depart satisfied; we return home hungry. And as Paul blames too dainty a table, so also does he a too sparing and scanty one. Moderation is best. Neither did our forefathers, who lived before the birth of Christ, practise that abstinence, which is rather a fast than a dinner or a supper; inasmuch as they partook of the [paschal] lamb. It is not to be believed, that Christ would take such pains to have a supper prepared in the guest-chamber at Jerusalem, and invite so many guests, and yet place nothing before them but a most minute morsel of bread and three drops of wine. It is your part, who have brought forth into the light and view of mankind so many excellent works, to wipe away, or altogether remove these blemishes of error and superstition. And this you have admirably effected in your explanation of those epistles in which Paul addressed the Corinthians; in which you have chastised the arrogance of the popes, and the thunders of the papists, and the extraordinary excommunication and separation of the Calvinists.

[2 See p. 426.]

[3 Robert Cooch, or Cooke, had been keeper of the wine-cellar to Edward VI. He denied the propriety of infant-baptism, in defence of which Peter Martyr wrote a long letter to him. Martyr, Ep. 34. Dr Turner also wrote a book against him, in which he confuted his opinion respecting original sin. He was among the exiles under queen Mary, when he became acquainted with Rodolph Gualter. He was now, 1573, one of the gentlemen of the queen's chapel. See Strype, Mem. II. 1. 111.]

As I will stand or fall by your opinion as to the manner and method of the supper and the table, so I very much dissent from Beza and others as to the day when Christ took supper with his disciples. For they assign the supper to the fourteenth day, I to the thirteenth, in which, according to the law, the old passover was not to be sacrificed[1]. Christ therefore instituted a new passover in remembrance of his death, and did not eat any other that night with his disciples. I have written some pages upon these subjects, which I intend to print; but I anxiously desire the interposition of your opinion beforehand. And, indeed, nothing can be printed here in England without the licence of the bishops. Wherefore I request you, if possible, to write in return, and let me know what you think it would be best for me to do. Farewell. From the queen's palace. Aug. 13, 1573.

Your very loving ROBERT COOCH.

CLXXXV. BISHOP SANDYS TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 114.]

LONDON, *Aug.* 15, 1573.

ON many accounts, most esteemed sir, I am greatly in your debt; both because you have always regarded me with the greatest kindness and affection, and because you have condescended to write to me so diligently and so frequently. For all which things, though I cannot make an equal return, yet I will thank you as much as I can, and shall at all times readily acknowledge myself very much indebted to you for your peculiar kindness.

You must not impute it to neglect that I so seldom write to you, but to the infrequency of the means of communication between us, especially in these most turbulent times, when war and tumults and slaughter are every where rife. For there is no one to whom I should write with greater pleasure than to master Bullinger, whom, as I have always loved him exceedingly for his great

[1 Gualter in his reply says, of the question concerning the day of Easter, *hanc difficultatem curiosam potius quam utilem esse;* "this difficulty is more curious than useful." He disagrees with him also on the other point, and says, *Nimis argutum est, quod ad Hebraismum confugis, et sub panis vocabulo omne genus ciborum intelligi debere dicis:* "Your having recourse to an Hebraism, and saying that under the term *bread* all kinds of food ought to be comprehended, savours of too great nicety." The letter is very long, and entirely occupied in arguing these points. MS. note by Rev. Steuart A. Pears.]

courtesy, so have I also much venerated for his singular erudition, and rare piety, and other excellent qualities. For when I call to my remembrance, as I very often do, with how much favour and regard I was entertained by you, how like a brother and a friend you treated me when an exile, and the comfort in which I seemed to myself to live among you, I wish for nothing more than that, relieved from those cares and anxieties with which I am now overwhelmed, I might pass the remainder of my life at Zurich as a sojourner and private person. Thoughts of this kind are continually occurring to me; nor is there any thing that I should wish for more. But I perceive that this cannot be. I am not born for myself: our church, which is most sadly tossed about in these evil times, and is in a most wretched state of confusion, vehemently demands all my exertions; I dare not desert the spouse of Christ in her danger; for conscience would cry out against me, and convict me of having betrayed her. New orators are rising up from among us, foolish young men, who while they despise authority, and admit of no superior, are seeking the complete overthrow and rooting up of our whole ecclesiastical polity, so piously constituted and confirmed, and established by the entire consent of most excellent men; and are striving to shape out for us, I know not what new platform of a church. And you would not imagine with what approbation this new face of things is regarded, as well by the people as the nobility. The people are fond of change, and seek after liberty; the nobility [seek for] what is useful. These good folks promise both, and that in abundance. But that you may be better acquainted with the whole matter, accept this summary of the question at issue reduced under certain heads:

1. The civil magistrate has no authority in ecclesiastical matters. He is only a member of the church, the government of which ought to be committed to the clergy.

2. The church of Christ admits of no other government than that by presbyteries; viz. by the minister, elders, and deacon.

3. The names and authority of archbishops, archdeacons, deans, chancellors, commissaries, and other titles and dignities of the like kind, should be altogether removed from the church of Christ.

4. Each parish should have its own presbytery.

5. The choice of ministers of necessity belongs to the people.

6. The goods, possessions, lands, revenues, titles, honours, authorities, and all other things relating either to bishops or cathe-

drals, and which now of right belong to them, should be taken away forthwith and for ever.

7. No one should be allowed to preach who is not a pastor of some congregation; and he ought to preach to his own flock exclusively, and no where else.

8. The infants of papists are not to be baptized.

9. The judicial laws of Moses are binding upon christian princes, and they ought not in the slightest degree to depart from them.

There are many other things of the same kind, not less absurd, and which I shall not mention; none of which, as far as I can judge, will make for the advantage and peace of the church, but for her ruin and confusion. Take away authority, and the people will rush headlong into every thing that is bad. Take away the patrimony of the church, and you will by the same means take away not only sound learning, but religion itself. But I seem perhaps to prejudge the matter. I anxiously desire, most learned sir, to hear your opinion, and those of masters Gualter, Simler, and the rest of the brethren, respecting these things; which for my own part I shall willingly follow, as being sound and agreeable to the word of God. For if the whole matter in controversy were left to your arbitration, it would doubtless much contribute to the peace of our church. These good men are crying out that they have all the reformed churches on their side.

I say nothing of the state of our commonwealth: every thing is quiet hitherto, but it is to be feared that these intestine dissensions may tend at length to the ruin of the country.

I send your reverence as much English cloth as will make you a gown. Make use of it, I pray you, and accept it with your wonted kindness. Farewell, most esteemed sir, and commend me, I pray you, to God in your prayers. In haste. London, England, Aug. 15, 1573.

Your brother in Christ, EDWIN SANDYS, bishop of London.

CLXXXVI. R. GUALTER TO BISHOP COX. [B. 94.]

ZURICH, *Aug.* 26, 1573.

HEALTH. It is with great pleasure, reverend father in Christ, that I have learned both from your letter[1] and those of others, that the mark of respect by which I gave public attestation of my

[1 See above, Letter CLXXV. p. 420.]

regard for yourselves and the Anglican churches in the dedication of my homilies[2] on the first epistle to the Corinthians, was acceptable to you and to your colleagues. I have learned it too, by a letter from my son, who is most earnest in his praises of your liberality towards himself; for which, as also for the remembrance[3] which you write word you have sent me, I return my thanks to your reverence, not such as you deserve, or as I wish, but such as I can; and at the same time I pray Almighty God to afford me some opportunity of shewing that I am not unmindful of the favours which you have conferred upon me and upon my son. He will remain among you till the spring, and it is necessary that he should do so, since the letter in which I inform him of my wishes, will scarcely reach him before November, after the [autumn] fair [at Frankfort]; at which season a sea voyage is far from agreeable, and not altogether safe. But at the beginning of spring, should nothing happen to prevent it, he will cross over into Denmark, where I have recommended him to my particular friend, master Erasmus Lætus, a divine of the university of Copenhagen, who lately passed through this place from Venice, and promised me his services in entertaining him and sending him on to Rostock; from whence, after having also visited the Saxon universities, namely, Wittemberg and Leipsic, he will, if it so please God, return home to me. Meanwhile, I request you will proceed as you have hitherto done, and keep an eye to him and his studies, that he may not idly lose his time, nor be corrupted by evil habits.

But to return to your letter, in which also you mention that of mine[4], in which I gave you the reason of my having written to master Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, on the subject of your controversies; it distresses me exceedingly to be thus brought as it were upon the stage through your quarrels, by the publication of my letters to both parties. It was certainly very wrong and uncourteous in your opponents, to print that letter, which I had written to an old friend in all the freedom of friendship and familiar correspondence. It ought to have been enough for them, after abusing my credulity, to have extorted from me that somewhat sharp admonition. I could more easily bear that master Whitgift[5]

[2 See Letter CLXXIII. p. 416, n. 2.]

[3 Namely, twenty-five gulden, or about three pounds of our money. See Letter CLXXV. p. 422.]

[4 See above, Letter CLXVIII. p. 404.]

[5 Dr Whitgift made an end of his confutation of the Admonition to Parliament in Sept. 1572. In this he inserted the letter here mentioned,

should insert, in his reply to your opponents, the other letter that I wrote to you on the same subject, since the necessity of the case required it: but it is painful to me to hear them seeking from it a new occasion of complaint, or even of calumniating, as though I had now recanted in your favour what I had before stated to their satisfaction. I am comforted, however, by conscious integrity, and I hope that all considerate persons will perceive that I am very far from incurring the imputation of inconsistency. For they will see that I did not complain to my most intimate friend, without reason, of those parties who, if they acted as I am told they did, deserved a yet more severe rebuke. But when I hear that I have been imposed upon, why should I not stand up in my own defence? I am certainly unwilling to be alienated from excellent and friendly men by the fickleness and peevishness of others: but as far as I can guess from your letter, they have now begun a new web[1], so that I am less surprised at being dragged on the stage by them. You ask me to reply to those nine articles, by the insisting upon which they give you so much trouble. But if these are the only matters in dispute between you, they are scarcely deserving, in my opinion, that any divine should be occupied in the refutation of them; as they savour of nothing but a longing after innovation, and I wish they were not sprinkled with the bitterness of envy or blind emulation.

I. They require the names of archbishops, bishops, and other officials, to be entirely abolished. But I wish they would act with greater modesty, and that in altering the constitution of state or church they would not assume to themselves greater piety than they possess. I by no means deny that in all governments there are many things which might be more conveniently established according to the rule of antiquity and apostolic simplicity. But since it is the misfortune of our age, that not even those princes, who have opened their doors to the gospel of Christ, will allow all things to be altered and corrected; and as many hindrances also arise from other quarters, it appears to me better to bear with patience the imperfections of the kingdoms of this world, so long as purity of doctrine and liberty of conscience remain inviolate, than by dis-

stating, that forasmuch as the authors of the admonition, for their better credit, had set down in print the epistles of Master Beza and Master Gualter, so he thought good to set down an epistle of Master Gualter, revoking the same upon better information; also another of Master Bullinger, chief minister of Zurich, concerning the same cause. Strype, Whitgift, I. 86.]

[1 Gualter refers to Saunders's book, "The Monarchy of the Church." See above, Letter CLXXIII. p. 418.]

puting about the external government of the church to bring the whole into danger. And I wonder that they entertain such an aversion to the name of bishops, which they cannot but know was in use in the time of the apostles, and always too retained in the churches in after times: we know too, that archbishops existed of old, whom they called by another name *patriarchs*[2]. And if in later times they have occasioned so much offence, by reason of their tyranny and ambition, that these titles are, not without reason, become odious to the godly; I do not yet see what is to hinder, that, on the removal of the abuse, those persons may be bishops, and called such, who, placed over a certain number of churches, have the management of such things as appertain to the purity of religion and doctrine. I cannot however dissemble upon this subject, that there are found every where out of England pious and excellent men, yea, even some of the nobility, who blame many things in the manners and pomp of your bishops. And those who have lately come over from England (as I understand by the letters of my friends) have complained, that many harsh proceedings have been adopted there against godly and learned ministers of the word, who heretofore preached Christ not without some excellent fruit; but who now, with the connivance, yea, even with the concurrence of the bishops, are thrust into prison upon the most trifling grounds, and almost without an indictment, or at least such an one as is recognized by law. Whether there be any truth in this report concerning you, I do not know; we certainly promise ourselves better things of you all. But if any thing of this kind should take place, I would again entreat you to consider how cautious you should be, lest, in opposition to the precept of St Peter[3] you exercise dominion over the clergy, or be of the number of those who cruelly beat their fellow-servants. You will forgive me, reverend father, this freedom of speech, for which I have no other motive but that I love you, yea, revere and respect you, and am most anxious at the same time for the honour of your reputation and for the English churches. I hope also that you will not decline any of those measures which shall seem to make for an improved

[2 The name patriarch was first given to a bishop by any public authority at the council of Chalcedon (A. D. 451), which mentions the most holy patriarchs of every diocese, ὁσιώτατοι πατριάρχαι διοικήσεως ἑκάστης. The power itself, it is agreed on all hands, existed much earlier, and was probably confirmed at the council of Nice, A. D. 325. See Bingham's Antiquities, B. II. ch. xvii. § 6, 7.]

[3 1 Pet. v. 3.]

state of the church. And if I well know the greater part of you, I think that you would rather, if it were possible, lay down that burden which you sustain with so great labour, and so much envy of many parties, than stand in the way of a more perfect reformation. But if the most serene queen and the nobles of the realm will not have the existing form of the church altered, I should wish that those other brethren of ours would bear it with patience, and not occasion you any trouble; and that you should in your turn unite modesty and humility to your episcopal dignity, and not contemptuously look down upon those who are labouring in the same vineyard of Christ with yourselves.

II. They contend that the election of the ministers of the word ought to be restored to the people, and not to be in the hands of the bishops. But in this case also I think there is great need of prudence and moderation, lest, while we are urging an extreme right, many persons may have occasion of complaining that we have done them injustice. I confess, indeed, that in the time of the apostles teachers were elected by the public consent of the whole church, and not without fasting and prayer; as is evident in the election of Matthias, as also in the ordination of Paul and Barnabas to the gentiles. And that this method was still in use in the time of St Augustine, is testified by that letter[1] of his, in which he describes the election of his successor Evodius. But then also it appears, that the more powerful party was that of those who were superior to the rest, either in the dignity of the apostolic name, or by reason of their office and the prerogative of their honours. And what was done by Paul is well known, who for this cause left Titus in Crete[2], that he might ordain elders and teachers in every city. The same apostle, too, commands that all things be done decently and in order; and I do not see how this can be the case without a certain distinction of ecclesiastical offices. But the whole order of the church has in these latter times been disturbed by the tyranny of antichrist, which the superstition of kings and princes has confirmed. For when these, not properly instructed in the faith of

[1 The following is the passage referred to, as given by Bingham, Antiquities, B. IV. ch. ii. § 6. *A notariis ecclesiæ, sicut cernitis, excipiuntur quæ dicimus, excipiuntur quæ dicitis, et meus sermo et vestræ acclamationes in terram non cadunt.....Hoc ad ultimum rogo, ut gestis istis dignemini subscribere qui potestis.* He first ordered the notaries of the church to take the acclamations of the people in writing, and then required all that could write to subscribe the instrument themselves. August. Ep. 110. (213.)]

[2 See Tit. i. 5.]

Christ, imagined that their sins could be expiated by external ceremonies and the purchased prayers of others, they presently began to found convents of mass-priests, monks, and nuns, and to enrich them with the revenues arising from yearly produce and from tithes. By which means it came to pass, that, together with the tithes and other revenues of the parishes (as they call them) the right of election (which they called patronage) devolved upon the priors of convents, bishops, and abbots, and lastly, even upon abbesses; not now to speak of others who obtained it by other means. Among us at least (to bring forward this by way of example), who by the singular mercy of God have now for fifty whole years enjoyed the free preaching of the gospel, the election of ministers in many of the parishes rests with the bishop of Constance, and the popish abbots, who from the donation of former sovereigns possess the tithes and largest revenues in the canton of Zurich. And should we seek to deprive them of their right and possession, which has now been established by long prescription, what disturbances should we occasion! what danger should we bring upon our churches! It seems to us also more advisable, that they should enjoy their right [of presentation] together with the tithes, and allow us peace and freedom of religion, and suffer themselves to be so far controlled by our most noble senate, as not to appoint any incumbent to the churches, who has not been brought up in our church, and approved by a lawful examination. I may add too, that there is no church in the city and canton of Zurich, which has retained the right of electing their ministers, except only that of St Peter's, of which it has pleased God that I should be the minister, and by which I was chosen thirty-one years since by the unanimous consent of the whole people, when I had not yet completed the twenty-third year of my age. And it is almost miraculous, that under the cruel tyranny of the papacy, when partly the bishop of Constance and the canons of the high church, and partly the abbess of the lower college and the other abbots, had dominion over all the churches, and drew the tithes to themselves from every quarter, yet to this church its liberty has remained entire; in which circumstance I recognise the special care of God, by which I have more than once felt myself exceedingly strengthened. In the mean time there is no one who by this example turbulently arrogates the like liberty to himself; nor do I, for my part, disparage the ministers of other churches, as being unlawfully appointed, because a different mode of election has been adopted in their case, which does not come so near to the practice of apostolic times. For

why should they be blamed for the iniquity of former times, and which has brought things to such a pass that they cannot be restored without tumult and public danger? We think it better to bear with such things as may be borne consistently with godliness, and without the loss of eternal salvation, but which cannot be altered without peril and disturbance. And if your people will carefully observe this rule, they will afford less room for contention, and you will shortly, as I hope, enjoy the peace you wish for.

III. When they say that no one ought to be tied down to set forms of prayer, I know not in what sense they make the assertion. If they mean this, that we are not superstitiously to attach any virtue to preconceived words of prayer, or to certain forms of praying, I am also of the same opinion; for this rather belongs to exorcists and conjurors. But if they condemn certain forms of public prayer in the church, I should say that they are mad with their wits about them, and that, blinded with an excessive desire of innovation, they look upon every thing with envious eyes, for the purpose of finding out some occasion of calumniating. For that such prayers have been in use in all ages, no one can deny; and it is more than necessary that they should be retained, forasmuch as most persons are either so unfitted, or even perplexed in their minds, in dangers and temptations, that they can scarce conceive their prayers in their thoughts, much less in words. And this is the reason that the Holy Ghost has caused many prayers of the servants of God to be written out and embodied in the sacred volume. And Christ himself has delivered to us a distinct form of prayer, as John the Baptist had also done before him. But yet this does not prevent individuals from offering their prayers in private for themselves, and according to the nature of their afflictions, nor from using such words as the Spirit may suggest: and ministers also may subjoin, at the close of their sermons, prayers suitable to the subject they have been treating of; which, however, I should wish to be done in such a way, as not to neglect and pass over such prayers as are, as it were, peculiar to, and established by long use, in particular churches.

IV. No man in his senses will say that the sacraments may be administered without the word of God; since, unless the word and element go together, there will be no sacrament, as Augustine [1] has taught us long since. And I do not think that the Lord's

[1 Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum, etiam ipsum tanquam visibile verbum. August. Tract. 80. in Joh. Tom. IX. col. 445. Basil. 1541.]

supper, which is a public act of the whole church, appointed as a memorial and setting forth of the death of Christ, can be rightly administered without being preceded by a godly discourse, in which the congregation are admonished both of the benefit derived from Christ, and also of their corresponding obligations. The case of baptism, however, is different, since by means of it even infants are received into the communion of the church, and as such, it is evident, are not yet capable of instruction, although they are comprehended in God's covenant, and are inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. The reading of scripture then and prayers may suffice at that time, by which the sponsors may be reminded of their duty, and the grace of God obtained. Meanwhile, I by no means find fault with the practice of those churches, in which a certain day in every week is appointed for baptism, and a sermon preached, after which as many infants as have been born during that week are baptized in due order. And in our canton infants are baptized for the most part on those days on which stated sermons are preached. But as this is not suitable or convenient in all places, I would not rashly create any difficulty, whereby each church should be prevented the enjoyment of its own liberty without offence.

V. They desire, moreover, that the father alone should answer for his child in baptism, and that no other sponsors be allowed; in which they again betray a useless and over-busy fondness for innovation. For what religion prevents other persons at the invitation of the parents from undertaking this office for their infants, which in former times, when persecutions were yet raging every where, was no less necessary than useful; and which serves at the present day to conciliate friendship, and lastly, is often of great advantage to them when they are grown up, seeing they are admonished and reproved with greater freedom by those who have pledged their faith for them to the church?

VI. There is no need of reviewing what they add concerning the equality of ministers, as I have above spoken upon that subject. We also ourselves condemn that primacy which is connected with ambition and a desire of domination; but the apostle has also taught us that there is a certain order among the ministers of the church, when he says that *some are appointed apostles; some, prophets; some, pastors and teachers;* and as he makes a distinction of gifts and abilities, so does he also of administrations. And I wonder that these men do not look to the construction of their own body, and the arrangement of their own members, which might instruct them how to think upon this subject, and which

similitude the apostle makes use of in this argument. Meanwhile, however, let those bear in mind, to whom a higher station is allotted, that they will only properly have pre-eminence over others, when (as Christ has taught us) they are the servants of all.

VII. With respect to Confirmation, I do not suppose you approve of that theatrical display which the papists have admitted among their sacraments. But if those who are rightly instructed in the catechism, are admitted to the Lord's supper with public testimony and imposition of hands (which we know that Christ also practised in the case of young children), I do not see what occasion there is for any one to quarrel about it.

VIII. Funeral sermons are not usual among us; and since men are naturally inclined to superstitions, and those especially, which are thought to aid the salvation of the deceased, it is better either to abstain from them altogether, or so to conduct them, as that all may understand, that whatever takes place upon such occasions is done for the sake of the living who are present as hearers, and not for the sake of the departed; of the salvation of whom, if indeed they died in the faith, and calling upon the name of God through Christ, we ought to be so certainly persuaded, that no occasion should be afforded to any one to doubt about it. From sermons of this kind, which we know to have been religiously instituted by godly fathers of old time, has arisen in later times, in the papacy, that most lucrative traffic in the fire of purgatory, masses, and the pomp of funerals; and it is well known what is wont to take place in some reformed churches, where these practices are still retained. For there are not wanting those, who, to gratify noble families, or even to obtain gifts and presents of greater value, take up almost the whole of their sermons with the commendations of the departed, which are for the most part false, or at least very doubtful, and therefore occasions of offence. But yet, if any person can preach funeral sermons, without danger of superstition, or any view to his private emolument, to the edification of the hearers, I should be loth to deprive them of such a liberty. But to speak plainly, this matter seems to me to be fraught with danger, partly on account of the propensity of the vulgar to superstition, and partly by reason of the desire of gain inherent in most people, and which I think should be called forth on the fewest possible occasions; lest, when the ministers become greedy of gain, they render all their teaching, together with religion itself, liable to suspicion. And I am influenced too by this consideration, that as God did not of old ordain any ceremonies for

the dead, so he kept away the priests from funerals, lest by being occupied about them they should be defiled.

IX. What reading of the scriptures is in use among you, I know not. But I hear that the lessons were appointed through lack of ministers at the beginning of the reformation revived by her most serene majesty; and we know too, that in former times all the books of holy scripture were read in order to the christian people. Nor do I see what inconvenience can ensue, if any persons take pleasure in readings of this kind; provided only that the office of preaching be not neglected, which it is fitting that all bishops and ministers of churches should frequently perform, that the word of God be not only read by the bye, but rightly divided, as Paul admonishes, and adapted to the instruction, consolation, and edification of all.

I have thought fit to make these brief remarks upon the articles of your adversaries; not that I imagine you have any need of my animadversions, but because, reverend father in Christ, you require my opinion upon these points. And if through ignorance any thing should have fallen from me incorrectly stated, I desire to be told of it. But I wish that all who profess the christian name would make for peace, and exercise themselves with united efforts for the advancement of the kingdom of God, and bear with patience one another's burdens. They would then see that they would never have so much leisure, as that, intermeddling with things that do not belong to them, they could raise disputes about things either unnecessary, or even injurious, to the great offence of the people. For I am greatly afraid that those very persons who now treat with harshness the ministers of Christ, and cannot bear those bishops who are the patrons of purer doctrine, will find out, some time or other, that there are wolves on both sides, who will harass them with new contests, and horribly oppress the church. For thus does God avenge the dissensions of ministers, and the distractions of his church.

I have not seen the book of Nicolas Saunders about monarchy[1]: should I see it, and think it deserving of an answer, I will do as the Lord shall enable me; whom I pray, reverend father in Christ, to preserve, and bless in your most godly pursuits, yourself and your colleagues, and all among you who are diligently doing the work of Christ. Amen. Zurich, Aug. 26, 1573.

Your dignity's most devoted, RODOLPH GUALTER.

[1 See above, p. 418.]

CLXXXVII. R. GUALTER TO BISHOP SANDYS. [B. 96.]

ZURICH, *Oct.* 8, 1573.

YOUR letter, reverend father in Christ, has been delivered to me, and was on many accounts most gratifying to me; both as coming from yourself, and as informing me that my lucubrations on Paul's epistles to the Corinthians were approved of by you, to whose opinion I have always paid much regard, as to that also of the others your colleagues; and as they testify that they are of the same judgment with yourself, I very little care about the opinions of others, who will, I know, be satisfied with nothing less than my approval of all their ordinances and customs; which indeed I wish I could approve, and would do so most willingly, if I knew them to agree in all respects with scripture. Many parties now-a-days are insisting upon, I know not what plan of church government, under the plausible name of ecclesiastical discipline; and they tell us that no churches can exist without it. But I am greatly afraid, lest they should give birth to an aristocracy, which will shortly degenerate into an oligarchy, and be the beginning of a new papacy. For they are every where exerting themselves for the establishment of a simple presbytery; into which some good and pious men are elected from the congregation at large, but in such a way, as that the power of making any law rests almost entirely with the ministers, by whose decision it becomes valid and must be ratified, although they may be beaten by a majority of votes. It was lately enacted at Heidelberg, that no one should be admitted to the [Lord's] supper without having first presented himself to his pastor; for St Paul's rule, that every man should examine himself, is not sufficient for them. The elders of the church did not agree to this enactment; which, however, notwithstanding is obtruded upon all in the name of the entire presbytery, nay, of the whole church. What, in fine, is to hinder the chief authority from devolving upon some individual, who is superior to the others in wealth or influence, and upon whose favour the rest may be dependent? And indeed an example of this new tyranny was exhibited there not long since, which ought, with good reason, to alarm all who wish well to the liberty of the church. There is a certain Swiss there, the principal of the college of St Denys, than whom, as all do testify, no one ever conducted himself there (let not this declaration be thought invidious) in a more innocent and godly manner. Nevertheless Olevianus[1], who is the pastor there,

[1 Gasper Olevianus was the son of a baker at Treves. He studied theology at Geneva, and afterwards became minister at Heidelberg, where he died in 1587.]

denounced him in the name of all the elders, that he should not come to the Lord's supper. He added as a reason, that he could not admit him without doing violence to his feelings. The man bore the insult with indignation, as it was natural he should do; and desired to know what crime he had committed deserving of so great a punishment. But they make no reply, farther than that they persist in their resolution. So he presents a petition to the most illustrious prince elector, that he may compel them to speak openly, and state his crime, if he has been guilty of any. But he has not been able to extort any thing from them up to this day. This now is their goodly order in those parts, this their discipline; so that I perceive you must be on your guard in good earnest, lest new heads should break forth from the wounds of the Roman hydra yet scarcely subdued. But more upon this subject at another time.

[The remainder is wanting.]

CLXXXVIII. J. STURMIUS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH. [B. 97.]

STRASBURGH, *Nov.* 16, 1573.

MOST serene queen, and most benign mistress: Christopher Lansclade is the most illustrious individual in the whole empire of Germany, and on terms of favour and intimacy with almost all the princes, having been diligently and actively employed for more than forty years in the councils of the counts Palatine. He is moreover a man of discretion and piety, and most favourable to and zealous for pure religion.

Without any suggestion on my part, but of his own voluntary motion and affection towards your majesty, he is anxious to be one of the paid agents of your majesty. The duchess of Suffolk[2] is acquainted with his virtues and integrity, and especially with his hospitality and temperance and moderation. As I know him to be exceedingly well qualified for the business and service of your majesty, I do not hesitate both to recommend and praise him. By his aid and influence we may easily ascertain what is going on in the empire, both of a public and private character; and, moreover, gain access to all the princes.

[2 This lady was Catharine, baroness Willoughby d'Eresby, fourth wife of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, and brother-in-law to king Henry VIII. She married, secondly, Richard Bertie, Esq. with whom she went into exile for religion in the time of queen Mary. See the narrative of their escape in Foxe's Acts and Monuments. She died in 1580.]

If he did not of himself solicit an appointment from your majesty, I should nevertheless think it right to conciliate and gain him over: but he does solicit it, as your majesty will understand by the letter which he has written to me upon this subject. Whatever your majesty may determine respecting this honourable and upright man, I pray God it may be happy and profitable to your majesty and to the kingdom of England. Dated at Strasburgh. Nov. 16, 1573. Your most serene majesty's constant and faithful servant and subject,

JOHN STURMIUS.

CLXXXIX. BISHOP COX TO R. GUALTER. [A. 115.]

ELY, *Feb.* 3, 1574.

I RETURN you my best thanks, my dear brother in Christ, for having sent me a most courteous letter, which I received in December, and in which you clearly manifest your anxiety for the church of Christ, though at so great a distance from you. This indeed ought to be the chief solicitude of every pastor in the church, but of those more especially, who in the endowments of learning and judgment and piety are superior to the rest. When Dr Whitgift, the most vehement enemy of the schismatics, and the chief instrument against them in our church, had perceived these unruly men to have burst by their reckless attacks the barriers of law and of religion, which had been so well and so peacefully established; and that they had openly distributed infamous pamphlets[1] which had been privately committed to the press; and also that from your letter[2] to our friend Parkhurst, which they had

[1 One book here referred to is called, *An Admonition to the Parliament*, by Thomas Cartwright. It had been printed and reprinted privately no less than four times, notwithstanding the diligence of the bishops to suppress it. Strype, Parker, II. 110. See note 4, p. 434.]

[2 The discontented brethren, in 1565 or 1566, thought it convenient to certify the foreign churches of the transactions then against them. And for that intent they dispatched two of their party to Geneva and Helvetia; who, when they were come to Zurich, declared unto Gualter and the other ministers there the same that they had done at Geneva, (filling his ears with grievous accusations of the bishops' dealings with the ministers.) Gualter hastily composed and sent a letter to his old friend bishop Parkhurst, who had sojourned four years at his house at Zurich; and therein he sharply blamed him, and the rest of the bishops, for pressing such indifferent things, and punishing so heavily those who complied not with them. Of this letter,

communicated to many persons, they had already obtained a handle for confirming their errors, he thought that the publication of your letter to me would tend very much to the defence of the truth. Your first letter was extorted from you by those who falsely accused us; but the simple truth brought the second to light. And there is no reason why you should be disturbed about the publication of what has procured credit and reputation to yourself, inasmuch as it espouses the cause of truth, of which no one ought to be ashamed.

I acquainted you with some of the errors of our men, in the questions I proposed to you; and you have gratified me most exceedingly by the candid and sincere declaration of your sentiments: for the opinions of masters Bullinger and Gualter are of no little weight in our church. But these disputants of ours are so shuffling and so tenacious of their own opinion, that they will give way to no one who opposes their judgment; and they are striving to draw all your writings over to their side by a perverted interpretation of them. To give you an instance of their candour, they are zealously endeavouring to overthrow the entire order of our Anglican church. Night and day do they importune both the people and the nobility, and stir them up to abhorrence of those persons who, on the abolition of popery, are faithfully discharging the duties of the ministry; and they busy themselves in everywhere weakening and diminishing their credit. And that they may effect this with greater ease and plausibility, they bawl out to those harpies who are greedily hankering after plunder and spoil, that the property and revenues of the cathedral churches ought to be diverted to I know not what other uses. Nor will they allow bishops to take any other precedence than as individual pastors in their respective parishes, whose highest authority they wish to be that of governing, together with their presbytery, the rest of the parishioners. And in this way they set up and establish the equality they speak of. Besides this, they will not acknowledge any government in the church. They propose moreover, that the estates and houses of the bishops should be appropriated to pious uses; but, more blind than moles, they do not perceive that they will soon be swallowed up by the devouring wolves. There are in this country twenty-three bishopricks, the endowments of some of which are

(for bishop Cox's reply to which see Letter CLXI.) several copies were taken, so that falling into the hands of the Puritans, they printed it with one of Beza's in the said book, called *The Admonition*, in justification of themselves. See Strype, Parker, II. 111.]

little enough; others have moderate ones, and others more abundant. But all are within the bounds of moderation. None of the bishops interfere in any matters but the ministry of the word and sacraments, except when the law requires them, or at the command of the sovereign. Nor in these things, as far as I am aware, do they deal harshly with the brethren, but temper what is severe with surprising lenity. Our opponents, however, would complain most grievously, were our jurisdiction transferred to the laity, as they call them: they would soon find out that the gold had been exchanged for brass. But how true are the insinuations which they have whispered against us in the ears of the godly, time will shew. And "our rejoicing is the testimony of our conscience." I wish they would acquiesce in your wholesome and prudent counsel, namely, to put up with what cannot be amended without great danger. At first they attacked only things of little consequence; but now they turn every thing, both great and small, up and down, and throw all things into confusion; and would bring the church into very great danger, were not our most pious queen most faithful to her principles, and did she not dread and restrain the vanity and inconsistency of these frivolous men. But because we do not decline to execute the orders of the government, whenever it commands us to interfere, in bridling in these our tumultuous brethren, on this ground an undue severity, not to say cruelty, is most unjustly laid to our charge. But we have this one comfort, that the religion of Christ is ever accompanied by the cross, which he will, by his Holy Spirit, enable us willingly to bear.

Your son, a youth of excellent promise, has only this fault, that he rarely comes to see me. But I am now obliged to excuse him, because he is residing in our other university, I mean Oxford, which is a great way off. But I hope that he will take leave of me before he goes away. You have acted prudently in so carefully providing for your son, that like Ulysses, he may see the customs and cities of many people, and like the industrious bee, extract piety from all the churches. May God bring him back to be a blessing to his father! May Christ Jesus very long preserve you to us in safety! From the Isle of Ely in England, Feb. 3, 1573, according to the English computation. Your most loving friend in Christ, RICHARD COX, pastor and servant of the church at Ely,

RICHARD ELY.

CXC. BISHOP PARKHURST TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 116.]

LUDHAM, *Feb.* 6, 1574.

HAIL, most agreeable master Bullinger! Your letter of the 27th of August I received on the 21st of November, at which time[1] new and severe proclamations were set forth against those who either despise our ceremonies, or refuse to observe them. May God direct it for the best, and have compassion upon all the churches of Christ! God grant that there be not a snake in the grass! I thank you very much for your most learned treatise on the persecutions of the church, translated into Latin by our friend Simler, and which I have just now received. The German [original] never came to hand.

You write me word that you are a *septuagenarian:* I wish that you may at length become a *centenarian,* were it only for the sake of the church herself. For my own part I have almost completed my sixty-third year, namely, my climacteric. My wife is, according to her own account, sixty-seven years old and more. I rejoice that all is quiet in Switzerland. I am not sorry that the business about the hired troops turned out so unhappily. The harvest with us here in Norfolk did not begin before the feast of Bartholomew[2], and was very wet and showery. There was scarce a fine day during the whole harvest, so that no small quantity of grain was lost, though the greatest portion was saved by the unwearied diligence of the labourers. The dearth not only of wheat, but of every thing else, is very great among us. Do you ask, whence proceeds this *carity?* It is because our *charity* is growing cold among us[3]. Before the feast of the Purification[4] we had no snow in these parts, and scarcely felt the cold. We have now plenty of both.

Salute, I pray you, in my name all my friends, and Julius himself not among the last of them. Woe betide that worst of all collectors, Thymelthorp[5], who will not allow me to collect any thing

[1 Oct. 20, a proclamation was published against the despisers and breakers of the orders prescribed in the book of common prayer. See Strype, Parker, II. 320.]

[2 Namely, the 24th of August.]

[3 This remark is borrowed from a Homily of Basil's, written on occasion of a great famine and dearth.]

[4 Namely, the 2nd of February.]

[5 See note 1, p. 394. This man was imprisoned for his defalcation, and during his imprisonment obtained leave of the council to go for a while into Norfolk, where he was twice at Ludham with the bishop, and there, holding

for my friends! But I hope better things. May God preserve you, and all my Zurich friends! Amen. In haste. London, February 6, 1574. My wife salutes you and yours. Farewell.

Yours, JOHN PARKHURST, [bishop] of Norwich.

CXCI. BISHOP PARKHURST TO J. SIMLER. [A. 117.]

LUDHAM, *Feb.* 7, 1574.

ON the 20th of August I received your letter of the 22nd of February, 1573. That youth William Barlow, to whom you gave it, was never, as far as I am aware, known to, or seen by me. That ubiquitarian James Andreas, who threatens to write against the divines of Wittemberg[1] and my Zurich friends, will lose his labour and betray his folly to every one. So far are we English from defending either the ubiquitarian or any other monstrous opinions, that we cannot endure them. We only dispute about ceremonies and habits, and things of no importance. O that these skirmishes and contentions may at length be laid to rest and buried in oblivion! The papists are certainly cherishing, I know not what expectations; but I hope without reason. May the Lord grant an end (*finem*) to these things, and a halter (*funem*) to the papists! I hope our friend Magdalen has many months since recovered from the ague.

May the Lord release from the gout both you and my wife! Amen. Ludham, February 7, 1574. Salute your wife and all my friends. My wife salutes you all. Yours,

JOHN PARKHURST, [bishop] of Norwich.

up his hands and falling on his knees, beseeched him that he would pardon him the injury. To whom the bishop christianly answered, that he would pardon the injury done him, but the payment of money due to him and the queen he could not pardon. Strype, Annals, II. i. 336.]

[1 Among whom was Peucer, son-in-law to Melancthon, and head of the university of Wittemberg. He aimed at nothing less than abolishing the doctrine of Luther concerning the eucharist and the person of Christ, with a design to substitute the sentiments of Calvin in its place. For these principles he was imprisoned from 1574, after the convocation of Thorgau, till 1585. See Mosheim, and also Casparis Peuceri Historia carcerum et liberationis divinæ. By Christopher Pezelius, Tiguri, 1605.]

CXCII. H. BULLINGER TO BISHOP SANDYS. [B. 98.]

ZURICH, *March* 10, 1574.

HEALTH. I return you, my honoured master and very dear brother, the warmest thanks in my power for that letter[2] of yours, written at London on the 15th of August last year, and abounding in all kindness, and love, and especial regard to me. Nor have you any reason to doubt of equal love and affection towards you on my part. Let us continue so to love each other in the Lord, as it is certain that brotherly love, and the especial union of brethren, is particularly pleasing to God; and that nothing is more useful, or necessary to his church. For we perceive at this present day that nothing occasions greater disturbance in the churches of God than the discord of those who teach. For at this very time the separation of some morose, haughty, and obstinate Lutherans, by which, having torn themselves from us, they are maintaining and endeavouring to obtrude upon every one else some of their own superficial opinions, makes many of the churches in Germany not to know what they are following after; and in the mean time the course of the gospel is impeded in many quarters, and dissensions are fomented and increased, while our common enemies in the mean time are laughing in their sleeves. I wish we may not be compelled to see some time or other these odious contests draw along with them many parties to destruction! Wherefore it grieves me in no common degree to learn from your letter that contentions of this kind are also prevalent in England. These things are doubtless owing to the wiles of Satan, who, when he perceives that he is unable to destroy the churches by threatenings, violence, and persecutions, from without, has recourse to other artifices, and meditates the overthrow of the church by domestic broils and the mutual attacks of brethren upon each other. May the Lord beat down Satan under the feet of the saints, and compose these destructive contests with holy harmony and peace!

The young orators, however, whom you describe to me, as busying themselves in changing the whole face of your church, and putting on it a new shape, with the confiscation too of all ecclesiastical property, seem to me to imitate those seditious Roman tribunes, who gave away the public possessions by the Agrarian[3] laws, that they might obtain wealth and honour to themselves as individuals; that is, that when we are turned out, they may come into our place,

[2 See above, Letter CLXXXV. p. 438.]

[3 See Cicero's three orations against Rullus.]

&c. But these parties are endeavouring to erect a church, which they will never raise to the height they wish; nor if they should erect it, will they be able to maintain it. I have seen the heads of their fabric as delineated by you, with respect to which I have long since declared my sentiments. The first proposition, that the civil magistrate has no authority in ecclesiastical matters; and also the second, that the church admits of no other government than that of presbyters, or the presbytery; these two, I say, they hold in common with the papists, who also displace the magistrate from the government of the church, and substitute themselves alone in his place. Whose opinion I have confuted in my refutation of the pope's bull, and in my defence of the queen of England and her noble realm, &c., which I sent you two years since. I wish that there were no lust of dominion in the originators of this presbytery! Nay, I think the greatest caution is necessary that the supreme power be not placed in this presbytery, much more that it be not an exclusive government. Perhaps this presbytery may be admitted in one or two churches, but not in all; upon which much might be said. But time will bring to light many things that now are hidden.

Of the names and authority of bishops, and also of the election of ministers, our friend Gualter[1] has fully written to the reverend lord bishop of Ely, master Cox. You may, if you choose, ask him for the letter.

The abuse of ecclesiastical property I think should be removed, lest it should be made subservient to idolatry and superstition. But the use of it may be good, if it be applied to schools, the ministry, the edifices of the church, and the support of the poor. Upon this subject I have treated in my Decades, near the end of the work[2]. The church cannot possibly exist without means; and if they are not at hand, they must certainly be collected from the faithful. What madness is it then, to throw away what is already provided, or to yield it up to others who have no claim upon it, and collect entirely new revenues, to the great inconvenience of the faithful! I cannot see what these men are driving at. I fear they have some other object than the ostensible one, &c. And if no one is allowed to preach in any congregation but the minister alone, what is to be done if he should be taken ill, or by reason of other engagements should be unable to preach? Must the church

[1 See above, Letter CLXXXVI. p. 440 .]

[2 "Fifty Godly and Licensed Sermons." Lond. 1577. Dec. v. Serm. 10. foll. 1118, &c.]

in the mean time be without its assemblies? I know that Chrysostom sharply reproved Epiphanius for usurping to himself authority in another man's church; but that was a different matter altogether. With us the gospel would not have been so widely propagated, if ministers had confined themselves to preaching only in their own churches.

I also am unwilling that the infants of papists should be baptized against the wishes of their parents. But those who reject them when presented to the church, seem to resemble the apostles, who forbade little children to be brought to the Lord Christ; for which he severely rebuked them.

Concerning the judicial laws of Moses I have treated in my third Decade, the seventh and eighth discourse. These men indeed seem to be inordinately desirous of novelty. I wish they would look beyond their own partialities. May the Lord grant them the spirit of peace and quietness!

No cloth has been brought hither. Our friend Froschover indeed mentioned that he had heard something about some cloth, but that none had been given to him; nor has any been sent hither by any body. Nevertheless I most exceedingly thank your kindness for this your generous beneficence. It has possibly loitered somewhere on the road. But I must request you not to put yourself to any expense on my account in future. I have seen a letter written by these innovators, in which it is said that the bishops send presents to learned men, to draw them over to their side. Presently too they would say that we are Balaams. I know indeed that good men may accept from their friends honorary and friendly presents; but you know what moved Paul not to receive the wages that were due to him. "All things," he said, "are lawful, but all things are not expedient." I had rather that men who are so ready to speak evil and calumniate, should not have the least occasion of detracting from me and my ministry. Take, I pray you, these my sentiments, such as they are, in good part, and continue to love me in return who have such affection for yourself. May the Lord bless you, and preserve you from all evil! Zurich, March 10, 1574.

Be pleased to salute, I pray you, in my name the reverend master Horn, bishop of Winchester, and wish on my behalf every happiness to him and his wife, and make my excuse for not having written at this time a separate letter to himself. I will write at another time when I have more leisure.

Your reverence's most devoted, H. BULLINGER.

CXCIII. H. BULLINGER TO ARCHBISHOP GRINDAL. [B. 99.]

ZURICH, *March* 10, 1574.

GREETING. Reverend and right worshipful master, I received in the month of October your letter[1], dated on the last day of July in the past year. But in proportion as it gratified me, from having been so long and so anxiously expected, the more grievously it distressed me, as I understood by it that the contests among you had been revived by certain disorderly young men, who are endeavouring to do away with the whole ecclesiastical system, arranged with so much labour by most excellent men, and to introduce a new one formed after their own pleasure. Idlers of this stamp are to be met with all over the world, who, notwithstanding they are unable to carry their plans into effect, yet in the mean time by these their endeavours disturb and harass many good men, are a stumbling-block to the more simple, excite the hopes of the papists, and grievously impede the progress of the gospel. The reverend bishop[2] of Ely complained to our friend Gualter upon this very subject last year, as did also the reverend bishop[3] of London to myself. He thereupon made answer to some enquiries of his, as I also have now[4] made some few remarks in reply to those of the bishop of London. We are plagued also throughout all Germany by characters of this kind. Nor can I suggest any more wholesome advice in this matter, than that we should turn to the Lord, and earnestly pray him graciously to confound these disorderly tempers, so ready for innovations, and to preserve the churches in peace. I would advise, in the next place, that they be brought back into the right way by friendly conferences or colloquies; and that those who from arrogance and obstinacy will not endure to retrace their steps, may be so depicted in their true colours, as that they may acquire less influence with right-minded persons, and so be rendered less mischievous. But there is no need for me to instruct you upon this subject, as you have long since learned by constant experience, and the hitherto prosperous government of the churches, what ought to be done in this case, or left undone.

There are persons in Germany who pride themselves upon being Lutherans, but who are in reality most shameless brawlers, railers, and calumniators. They never cease to attack our churches,

[1 See above, Letter CLXXXII. p. 434.]
[2 See above, Letter CLXXIII. p. 416.]
[3 See above, Letter CLXXXV. p. 438.]
[4 See the preceding Letter.]

ourselves, and our doctrine respecting the Lord's supper[5], which they invidiously disparage among themselves by the name of Zuinglianism. And they have lately sent forth afresh against us and our friends at Heidelberg books, which if we should omit to notice, we should appear betrayers both of sound doctrine and our holy churches. My beloved son-in-law, therefore, master Josiah Simler, professor of theology in our college, divided with myself the labour or trouble of writing an answer; so that he was to reply in Latin and somewhat more at length to the arguments of our opponents, while I wrote in German briefly, and in a popular style, suited to the apprehension of the ordinary reader. I send you copies of each book, and request you to receive them with kindness from your most loving friend, and to read them at your leisure. You are aware that Brentius[6] (with whom, while he lived, I had a long and tedious dispute, as our published books bear witness), from his zeal and anxiety for strife and conquest, intermixed with the controversy respecting the [Lord's] supper many articles of faith, about which his scholars still continue to dispute, and obscure them, and to raise doubts concerning the greater portion of them; as for instance, the doctrine respecting one person and two natures in Christ, the omnipotence and omnipresence (as they say) of the humanity of Christ, his ascension to the heavens, and [his presence] in heaven, &c. We were obliged therefore to reply to those heads: but it will be the part of yourself and other godly men to form a judgment upon these our answers. I pray God that we may have treated upon these points to the great benefit of the church. We replied principally to things, not persons, abstaining from reproachful language, lest we should be made like unto them. In all other respects, by the blessing of God, every thing is quiet in our churches. Our adversaries perceive that the better part of the people are every where joining themselves to our doctrine (which is Christ's), and to the church; they are therefore raging, &c. May the Lord restrain them! Besides, we are con-

[5 For a statement of the respective opinions of Luther and Zuinglius upon this subject, see Coverdale's translation of Calvin's treatise on the Sacrament, Parker Soc. Ed. p. 463.]

[6 In 1561, Bullinger published a book, wherein he shewed that Jesus Christ, as to his human nature, is no where but in heaven, at the right hand of God. This was answered by Brentius, the advocate of the Ubiquitarian doctrine; and this contest lasted two years. In 1571, Bullinger wrote against the testament of Brentius, which he published at Wittemberg to forewarn all states not to allow the Zuinglians a toleration. See above, Letter CLIII. p. 350, n. 2.]

tinually harassed, at the instigation of the pope, by our allies and neighbours who adhere to him; for he is greatly annoyed that the doctrine of Christ is preached in the neighbourhood of Italy, and is making greater progress than he wishes. He is therefore trying to set us at war with each other. May the Lord preserve us from evil!

Persons who have come from Italy say, that the Venetians are uncertain as to the peace made with the emperor of Turkey, and that they have therefore sent a naval force to Crete, and ships are being refitted, and troops levied. Meanwhile they have an ambassador with the Turk, whose last tidings were that he did not altogether despair; but that it would be useful for the Venetian republic, if they regard their own interest, to take care that they may not be attacked unprepared, in case the expectation of peace should come to nothing. It is moreover certain that no sovereign of Turkey was ever better prepared both by land and sea than this Selim[1]; and it is certain that at this season of spring he will bring forth all his forces against Spain and her allies. The Maltese therefore are crowding in haste to Melita or Malta from all parts of Germany. They are arming too in Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, &c. What will be the event, the Lord knows, whom I heartily pray to have compassion upon us. There is also being levied an army both of cavalry and infantry in Germany, below Mayence and above Cologne, which it is said will be marched into Lorraine, though some think into Flanders, and others say into France, under the command of Christopher Count Palatine and Lewis of Nassau. But this is at present uncertain.

The duke of Anjou[2] has passed through Germany into Poland. The murder of the lord admiral and of the Huguenots was cast in

[1 Selim II.]

[2 The duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III., quitted France in November, 1573, on his election to the throne of Poland. During the journey he stopped at Heidelberg, where the elector Palatine omitted nothing which could remind him of the massacre of St Bartholomew. In his picture gallery he shewed him a portrait of Coligny, and pointing to it said, "You know this man; you have killed in him the greatest captain in all Christendom. And you ought not to have done so, for he has done the king and yourself great services." Henry attempted an excuse upon the ground of the conspiracy, to which the elector answered, "We know the whole history of that," and quitted the room. This was not the only mortification of the kind which Henry experienced on his journey. See Smedley's Hist. of Ref. in France, II. 91; Browning, Hist. of Huguenots, 104, and the authorities there quoted.]

his teeth throughout the whole journey. He was magnificently received by the Poles. We have no farther intelligence on this subject. And a rumour is now prevalent, that the king of France is about to ask for two regiments from his Swiss allies. But I can say nothing certain on this matter. I entreat your excellency to communicate these things, if you please, to master Pilkington, bishop of Durham, and make my excuse for not having written a separate letter to himself. I desire that he may be safe and well in the Lord. Certainly, were I not aware of the great intimacy that exists between you, I should have sent him a letter, notwithstanding my numerous and overwhelming engagements. He will have also, in addition to this, a copy of Josiah Simler's reply "on the presence," &c. For I have ordered my friend Froschover to send you two copies, that you might present one to the bishop of Durham. The German copy I have sent only to yourself, and not to him, because I know that he is not able to read German.

At the end[3] of your letter you make mention of sending me a remembrance. But I must request you not to put yourself to any expense on my account. Any kindness that I have heretofore conferred, or do confer upon you, is entirely voluntary on my part, and not for the sake of any return. Meanwhile any remembrances of our brethren and friends are not without their gratification, as testimonies of mutual friendship, just as I have hitherto laid before you my own labours, in testimony that I am yours, and that I desire to serve and oblige you by every means in my power, and that I love you sincerely. Your friendship in return is quite sufficient for me, if you will also sometimes write to me when you have leisure, as you are wont to do. I know too that friends are fond of contending with each other in sending presents, and that gifts of this kind may be received by good men without impropriety: but I have seen a letter of your innovators, in which they state that the English bishops send presents to learned men, to draw them back to their party. These men forsooth (such is their virulence) would be able to throw disgrace both upon us and our ministry. So that I say with the apostle, "All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient." He might himself have accepted a return for his labours, but would not accept it by reason of his adversaries. Nevertheless I return you the warmest thanks in my power for that your beneficence; and I thank your kindness also for the verses you sent me upon the deliverance of Scotland from civil war by the means of the most serene queen of England. I

[3 See above, Letter CLXXXII. p. 436.]

was much pleased with them. I pray the Lord to strengthen and preserve the queen. May he likewise bless you and all yours, and preserve you from evil! Zurich, March 10, 1574. I commend to you our friend Julius. Your reverence's most devoted,

HENRY BULLINGER.

CXCIV. R. GUALTER TO BISHOP COX. [B. 100.]

ZURICH, *March* 16, 1574.

THE letter[1] you wrote to me on the 12th of June, reverend father in Christ, I received only at the beginning of October by our townsmen, on their return from the Frankfort fair. And I perceive that you were then anxious about the former letter[2], which you had sent at the beginning of spring, together with some articles maintained by your opponents. But I hope you are now relieved from all that anxiety by a letter[3] of mine written in the month of August, and wherein I declared my judgment respecting those articles, according to the grace given me by the Lord. I should wonder at the unreasonableness of those men, did I not know that it is the condition of the church, either to have open enemies, who endeavour by violence and open warfare to overthrow the doctrine of truth; or to be assailed by the treachery of false brethren; or to be harassed with superfluous or unprofitable questions by those who, though they may entertain right notions as to the chief points of doctrine, stir up unnecessary disturbances about external rites and ceremonies. You have long ago endured the violence of most cruel enemies, who have endeavoured to satiate their rage among you with the innocent blood of numerous martyrs[4]; and the arts also of false brethren were detected at the same time: and since, by the blessing of God, you have overcome all these things with admirable courage and constancy of mind, I hope that in this also God will have pity upon your England; so that you may be able at length to enjoy the wished for peace, and to apply your endeavours with unanimous consent to the edifying of the church; which it appears to me absolutely necessary that we should

[1 See above, Letter CLXXV. p. 420.]

[2 See above, Letter CLXXIII. p. 416.]

[3 See above, Letter CLXXXVI. p. 440.]

[4 It is calculated that two hundred and eighty-eight persons were burned for religion in queen Mary's reign, besides those that died of famine and sickness in sundry prisons. See Strype, Mem. III. ii. 554.]

all diligently aim at, whom the Lord has chosen to be ministers of his church. For it is sufficiently evident that the Roman antichrist is employing all his power and exertions towards this object, namely, that the carrying into effect the council of Trent may at length produce its intended result. Your neighbours make no secret of this; and though they are restrained by ancient treaties with our nation, and the terms of a general peace, in which provision is made that no one shall give any trouble to another on account of diversity of religion, yet they are making many attempts, by which it plainly appears that they are seeking an occasion of disturbance.

From the kings of Spain and France nothing of a pacific character can be expected; since the latter is neither moved by the ruin of his country, nor by so many horrible slaughters of the most excellent persons, to establish a firm peace among his subjects; while the former would rather see that most flourishing and heretofore most productive province of Belgium utterly destroyed by intestine war, than give admission there to Christ and his gospel. The bishops of Germany too, strengthened by I know not what promises, are not a little furious; and those among the popish princes, who have hitherto been acting with some degree of moderation, are now themselves beginning to foam with hostility, and to punish with severity the worshippers of Christ who are dispersed throughout their territories. And it has happened most agreeably to the wishes of them all, that the brother[5] of the king of France, who has been from his childhood accustomed to the blood of the saints, has been raised to the throne of Poland. Nor do I think that the Roman pontiff would have supported his cause so actively, had he not wished to make use of his assistance in oppressing the churches of the neighbouring nation of Germany, to the end that they may more easily be overpowered in other places also. And when such dangers are talked about so generally, it is fitting that we should be roused by them, and with united energies take up the cause of Christ; and not give encouragement to those promoters of disorder, whom either ambitious emulation or even ignorance has so beguiled, that they are unable to see what makes for the preservation of our common church. They wish to revive, as you tell me, that ancient presbytery which existed in the primi-

[5 Henry, duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. of France, defeated the Huguenots in the battles of Jarnac and Montcontour, in 1569; and commanded at the siege of Rochelle, when the news arrived of his election to the crown of Poland in 1573. See above, p. 432, n. 1.]

tive church: but I wish they would think about reviving that simplicity of faith and purity of morals, which formerly flourished, and not attack the commonwealth, the ancient rights and constitution of which Christ does not change! The church of old had need of a government of its own, when it was subject to heathen sovereigns, who not only made light of, but even persecuted the christian religion, and the moral discipline connected with it. But what is that to those, to whom God (as he promised by Isaiah) has given kings for nursing fathers, and queens for nursing mothers; who, in fine, have magistrates well affected towards religion, who are enabled to establish and maintain moral discipline with far greater authority, and consequently more abundant benefit, than if they appointed ten presbyteries in every church? But sovereigns, say they, do not always do their duty. I admit it; but is it lawful for them on this account to appoint a new magistracy? Saul did not do his duty; but Samuel did not therefore appoint a new senate, nay, nor even David, who, notwithstanding he knew that he was anointed king by God, yet would not make any alteration in the commonwealth, but waited for the time when it pleased God to remove the tyrant, and change the form of the government. The same thing may be said of all the prophets, whom we do not read ever to have attempted any thing of this kind under wicked, or at least most negligent, sovereigns.

I greatly fear there is lying concealed under the presbytery an affectation of oligarchy, which may at length degenerate into monarchy, or even into open tyranny. Nor do I fear this without reason. For I know (to give one instance out of many) a city[1] of some importance, in which, after this form of discipline had been introduced, within the space of three years were exhibited such instances of tyranny as would put the Romanists to shame. For last year they warned a most excellent man, and one of approved piety, by the public minister of their presbytery, not to present himself at the Lord's supper, because they could not admit him without grievous offence. Surprised at this unexpected edict, he came before these Areopagites, and asked them what he had been guilty of? Then they began to shrink back, and cause delays, and to weave one excuse after another. But he, conscious of his innocence, presented a petition to the chief magistrate of the place, praying him to compel them by his authority to bring the matter to a trial. But not even the prince could obtain this from these great maintainers of ecclesiastical discipline. And when at length

[1 Heidelberg. See Letter CLXXXVII. p. 450.]

they were pressed on all sides, they had recourse to falsehood, and persuaded the prince that the party had abstained of his own accord from coming to the Lord's supper, and that he now wanted to extort from them the reasons of his voluntary staying away. Many other things of this kind have taken place, which it would be tedious to relate. But if they afford such samples, when they have not yet come into full possession of this new kingdom, what must we expect them to do, if they acquire an absolute dominion? Zuinglius, the apostle of our nation, perceived these things long ago; and when Œcolampadius with a good and holy zeal was desirous of bringing back into the church the power of excommunication, he warmly opposed it. But when Œcolampadius would not listen to his advice, and had obtained at Basle what he wished, he was compelled, not long after, to relinquish the scheme he had scarcely begun; and learned by the result that he had been attempting a work of more trouble than profit. I cannot therefore blame those, who oppose themselves to the designs of those parties who are now-a-days agitating this subject with so much asperity. But that they may not have any plausible ground of calumniating, it will be necessary to establish by the authority of the chief magistrate a truly christian moral discipline, by which may be restrained both the ministers of churches, should they live disorderly, and the too great licentiousness of the nobility and the corrupt morals of the people. For should this be effected, they will have no cause of complaint, unless they mean avowedly to aspire to the sovereign authority.

As to myself, it was indeed very annoying to me to be dragged upon the stage before those whom I had always loved and reverenced as my intimate friends and honoured masters. But as I hear that this liberty of publishing any thing at their pleasure has been restrained by her most serene majesty's proclamation[2], the temerity of these men does not much trouble me. Yet I perceive that more grievous contests will arise for me in other quarters, unless God shall remove this stumbling-block. For there are parties both in Germany and in a certain other place, who maintain that, unless that form of discipline which they have framed themselves be every where received, the kingdom of Christ cannot possibly hold together. I refrain myself hitherto, lest I should be said to have begun the contest. But if they sound an attack, I cannot but

[2 The queen issued out a proclamation against the Admonition to Parliament, and all other books made for the defence of it or agreeable therewith, on June 11, 1573. Strype, Parker, II. 257.]

stand forth for the truth of doctrine and the liberty of the churches; and I hope that there will not be wanting those who will defend this cause together with myself.

Thus, reverend father in Christ, have I thought fit to reply to your eminence, and request you will take all in good part. I desired my son[1] by letter in October, either to visit you more frequently, or to address you by letter. But I know not whether he is still in England, or whether he has crossed over into Denmark this spring, as I ordered him to do at the autumn fair. If he is still loitering in England, I know that he will be received with kindness both by yourself and my other friends and ever honoured masters. I wish him, however, to return home to me before next winter, unless some situation fall in his way to detain him; upon which subject I have written to my old friend master Parkhurst, the bishop of Norwich. But I had forgotten to state that the Ubiquitarian divines are grown more furious than ever, and are even surpassing themselves in unbridled abuse and lust of slander. For, not contented with what Luther long since wrote rather intemperately against our teachers, they now exclaim that we are all Arians, and worse than Mahomet. I know what spirit actuates them, but I will not now say what is their final object. God grant that I may be mistaken in my opinion! I pray him heartily, reverend father, to preserve you, and bless both your labours and those of your colleagues. Amen. Zurich, March 16, in the year of Christ's birth, 1574. Your eminence's most devoted,

RODOLPH GUALTER.

CXCV. BISHOP PARKHURST TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 118.]

LUDHAM, *June* 29, 1574.

MAY you be safe in Christ, my very dear Bullinger!

In my former letter, which I sent you on the 6th of February, I expressed my warmest thanks for that very learned little treatise which you sent me respecting the persecutions of the church; and I now repeat them. The Latin edition I have received; that in German I have not yet seen. Your letter of March 10th came to hand on the 26th of June, in which you state that you have now forwarded to me a certain reply to the Brentian party, and also two homilies on the 130th and 133rd Psalms. Neither of these

[1 Bishop Cox had complained to Gualter of the infrequency of his son's visits. See above, Letter CLXXV. p. 421.]

have I received. Woe betide those persons by whom so great a treasure has been taken from me!

A certain young Dutch[2] woman about seventeen or eighteen years of age, a servant of the preacher of the church at Norwich, was during a whole year miserably vexed by Satan. In all her temptations, however, and dilacerations, she continued stedfast in the faith, and withstood the adversary with more than manly fortitude. At last, by God's help, the devil being overcome left her, and almost at the same instant attacked the son of a certain senator, whom he also tormented in a most incredible manner for some weeks together. Public prayers were offered in the city by my direction, and a fast proclaimed until evening. The Lord had mercy also on the boy, and overcame the enemy. The boy was thirteen or at most fourteen years old, and, for his age, well versed in the scriptures, which, stedfast in faith, he boldly launched forth against the enemy. The Lord liveth, by whom this boy and girl, of a weak constitution in other respects, were enabled to overcome so great and terrible an adversary. To God be the praise!

That confession of true religion which you published in 1566, is now read in English, and in the hands of every one. The scarcity of all things still continues among us. Rodolph, the son of our friend Gualter, is coming back to you: he is a youth well learned, of good talents, and pious conduct. His father is displeased with him for not living more economically[3]. If he has acted improperly in this respect, we must make allowance for his youth. Do you earnestly entreat his father not to receive his returning son less favourably than that excellent parent in Luke xv.

Salute, I pray you, in my name all my friends, your sons and daughters, Dorothy especially, whom I wish it would please God to unite in marriage to my friend Rodolph. Indeed I earnestly desire this, and should rejoice most exceedingly were it to take place with your consent, and that of my friend Gualter; and you also, as I hope, will rejoice, and the Lord will bless their union. Farewell, my Bullinger, and continue to love me. My wife salutes you all. In haste. Ludham, June 29, 1574.

Yours, JOHN PARKHURST, N[orwich.]

[2 See Strype, Annals, II. i. 484, and Soames's Elizabethan History, p. 203, where are related other stories of the same kind.]

[3 He was somewhat a prodigal youth. Strype, Annals, II. i. 508.]

CXCVI. BISHOP PARKHURST TO J. SIMLER. [A. 119.]

LUDHAM, *June* 30, 1574.

HAIL, my Simler. You have no occasion to thank me so heartily on account of our friend Rodolph[1]. He is one upon whom far greater benefits might worthily be bestowed. Being summoned by his father in a letter sent to me, and persuaded by your advice, he is now hastening home. I had intended to have kept him longer in England, and supported him at the University of Oxford, and that without any expense to his father; but since it is your wish, he shall depart, not only without any opposition on my part, but with my entire consent. I will advance his interests even in his absence.

It is a marvellous occurrence that a cow should have brought forth a fawn! But the wonder is diminished, when the circumstance took place in the neighbourhood of these portentous monks.

I have neither received your little book against the Brentians, nor the Bibliotheca [of Conrad Gessner] enlarged by you[2]. Froschover has probably forgotten it; but, however it be, I thank you for your kindness. I wish you would look out for a wife for Rodolph. If you are inclined to take my advice, Dorothea, Bullinger's daughter, shall be the person: for she is pious, and, like our friend, the offspring of pious parents: so that you will do well if they should, by your means, be joined together in holy matrimony.

Fare thee well, my dearest Josiah. Greet in my name our friends Magdalen, Anna, Nobilitatula, together with their husbands. Heartily salute Haller, Lavater, Wonlichius, Wickius, Julius, Froschover, John Henry Fabricius, Michaelis, (if he is yet alive;) the

[1 Viz. Gualter's son, whom the bishop had maintained first at Cambridge, and then at Oxford, and in other places, while he was in England, at his sole expense, though he were somewhat a prodigal youth; and gave him a *viaticum*, to bear his charges when he returned home. Strype, Annals II. i. 508.]

[2 Josiah Simler published at Zurich, in 1574, an abridgement of the Bibliotheca, or Universal Dictionary of Conrad Gessner. Conrad Lycosthenes [Wolfhart], minister at Basle, had previously undertaken a compendium of this great work; but the abridgement of Simler was a much more able performance, wherein he not only avoided the defects of Wolfhart, but enriched the work with many valuable additions, which he marked with an asterisk to distinguish them from the original work. Frisius published a second edition of Simler's abridgement in 1583.]

Meyers, Cellarii, Thaddeus Betta, and all the rest. My wife salutes you all. Again farewell. In haste. Ludham, June 30, 1574.

Yours, JOHN PARKHURST, N.

CXCVII. A. CORRANUS[3] TO H. BULLINGER. [B. 101.]

LONDON, *July* 7, 1574.

I AM one of those, most learned sir, who by the aid of your writings have acquired a purer knowledge of christian doctrine. For there befel me some twenty years ago, by the providence of God, a suitable opportunity of studying your books, supplied too by the Spanish inquisitors themselves; whence as I perceive myself to have derived abundant fruit, I am compelled by the duty of gratitude to thank you, since I cannot return the obligation. The son of Rodolph Gualter, who is the bearer of this letter, will explain to you in person what countryman I am, and where I reside. I have also given him a little treatise[4] which I was desirous at this time to publish; but so many errors have crept in through the carelessness of the printer, who is unacquainted with Latin, (as are almost all the printers in this country,) that I am quite ashamed to obtrude upon men of learning this lucubration, too barren in itself, so carelessly printed. But as it is not my intention in this writing to boast of the learning that is in me, (for it is little or nothing,) but to shew to the evangelical churches my sentiments respecting the christian religion, to repel the calumnies of certain parties[5]; I could wish on this account that some other printer

[3 Antony Corranus was a native of Seville, who had fled from his own country for the profession of true religion, and became preacher to a French congregation at Antwerp, which he left in 1568, on being appointed preacher to the Spanish congregation in London. At this time, in 1574, he was divinity reader at the Temple. He afterwards read divinity at Oxford, was *censor theologicus* in Christ Church, and obtained a prebend in St Paul's. He died in 1591. Strype, Parker, I. 539. II. 402. Grindal, 185. Remains of Abp. Grindal, Parker Soc. Ed. pp. 309—313.]

[4 Corranus had written certain tables concerning the works of God, wherein he endeavoured to comprehend, as it were in propositions, the holy doctrine of both the Testaments. This work was charged with Pelagianism, for which therefore he met with much trouble, and was fain afterwards to write articles of his faith, printed by Tho. Purfoot in 1574.]

[5 The trouble experienced by Corranus both from the ministers and elders of the strangers' church in London, and also from Mr Alvey, Hooker's predecessor in the mastership of the Temple, arose from his varying from

would put this dialogue[1] to press, and that three hundred copies at most, which have been most shamefully struck off here, should be suppressed.

The articles of religion, which I have placed at the end of the book, are taken from your confession, to confute the malignity of those parties who, from the personal hatred which they bear towards me, have most impudently condemned these same articles, written out by me, and brought forward in proof of my innocence, as thinking they were my own production. You will see an instance of this malignity in a certain page printed here both in Latin and English, with the criticisms of some Aristarchus or other; so that, as they say, you may know the lion by his claws. The younger Gualter will himself give you the page, and relate many other instances of the preposterous way in which certain parties have acted towards me. Meanwhile, I pray you, most vigilant pastor, to reckon me in the number of those whom by your labours and watchings you have brought to the knowledge of Christ; and should there be any thing in this little book which you disapprove of, correct it at your pleasure and with your well known prudence, and when corrected, order it to be printed. If you will do this, you will yet more exceedingly bind me and my services to you for evermore. Farewell. London, July 7, 1574.

Your most loving and respectful, ANTONY CORRANUS.

CXCVIII. BISHOP COX TO R. GUALTER. [A. 120.]

ELY, *July* 12, 1574.

YOUR letter, written March 16th, 1574, my very dear brother in Christ, I received in the June following: it was indeed most gratifying to me, both as proceeding from so dear a friend, and as warning us that all the enemies of the truth are now every where plotting together, and preparing for the destruction of all who profess the religion of Christ. It is indeed very important that all godly persons should know this, that they may arm themselves in time with the whole armour of God. And though we may for the present seem to be safe, we see nevertheless the dangerous machinations of the papists surrounding us on every side. Nay more,

Calvin and Beza in the doctrine of *predestination* and *free-will*. Strype, Parker, II. 402.]

[1 In 1573, Corranus read upon the epistle to the Romans, and in 1574, contracted his lectures into a theological dialogue, and then printed them. Strype, ut supra.]

even from ourselves, from time to time, venomous serpents come forth, as from their dens, brandishing their poisonous stings, which by the grace of God we have hitherto escaped. But when I reflect upon the wickedness which every where overflows, and upon not only the neglect but the contempt of the word of God, I am struck with horror, and think with trembling what God is about to decree concerning us. If the psalm, *The fool hath said in his heart, &c.*, or that, *Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered, &c.*, was ever applicable, it is at this time.

You rightly judge, most learned Gualter, concerning the presbyterian system of our people, and the sounder portion of the clergy of the church of England agree with you; and these noisy disturbers now give us scarcely any trouble, except that they continue to carp at our rites, like ghosts in the dark: they have for some time past been restrained by a rather severe correction, and are now vanquished by a most learned confutation[2]. When we have so many sanguinary enemies on all sides, (besides the Turks,) namely the papists, it is indeed to be lamented that so many dissensions exist in the reformed churches, as that they seem to be destroying themselves with their own weapons. May the Lord Jesus Christ, our only physician, at length afford a remedy for these evils! I doubt not but that the force of truth is so powerful in yourself, that should she want an advocate either with us or with you, or indeed in any place whatever, you will shew yourself a soldier of Christ. We retain in some measure the moral discipline of which you make mention in your letter; but should any one seek to compel our great men to submit their necks to it, it would be much the same as shaving a lion's beard.

The absurdities of the ubiquitarians have been long since most learnedly and courageously repressed by Peter Martyr, and very lately by your countryman Josiah Simler. *But he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry,* [Heb. x. 37,] who shall bruise with his hammer and break in pieces all those who are obstinate.

Your son, a youth of excellent disposition, courteously took leave of me upon his quitting this country. I pray God that he may return to you in safety, and that as an aged parent you may have the enjoyment of a pious son. Farewell. From the Isle of Ely in England. July 12, 1574.

Your most loving brother in Christ, RICHARD COX.

[2 Namely, Dr Whitgift's reply to Cartwright's "Admonition to the Parliament," for an account of which see Strype, Life of Whitgift. I. 66, &c.]

CXCIX. BISHOP COX TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 121.]

ELY, *July* 20, 1574.

I UNDERSTAND from your letter, which, written last spring, I received in the month of June, that the letter which I wrote to you in the year 1573 had not been delivered. This circumstance might afford you reason to suspect that I had neglected writing. Such neglect, my dearly beloved brother in Christ, would certainly have been criminal, had I suffered myself so to be branded with the mark of ingratitude as to be inattentive to the letters of my friends, so pious and learned and full of kindness, and neglected to return a courteous answer. I wrote a letter to you, I hope not an ungrateful one, in the year 1573, which, with a little present[1], (trifling as it was,) I gave in charge to one Richard Hilles, by whose means it was to be delivered to you. If this has not been done, I will endeavour to ascertain without loss of time, by whose fault the failure of it has been occasioned.

I understand from your letter, that you are not labouring under such a decay of old age as to be unable to discharge without inconvenience the trust committed to you. This [blessing] you have, in my opinion, obtained, partly by habit, the teacher of all things, and partly by the pious feeling with which you have ever been actuated, so as never to have ceased to promote without intermission the interests of the gospel and of godliness; but, most of all, because, inflamed by the Spirit of Christ, you have always obeyed its motions. However it be, I heartily congratulate both yourself and the church of Christ, that after so many labours accomplished for the glory of God, you have at length arrived at a vigorous old age, and which still retains its interest in behalf of all the churches: and this indeed is evident from your writings, in which you instruct, advise, comfort, not only the church of Zurich, but the truly universal church of Christ. Your little book on persecutions is especially useful in these latter times, wicked and dangerous as they are, to confirm the godly in the patience of Christ and in the purity of religion.

You are mistaken if you suppose that I understand German. It is now about fifteen years since I had a very slight knowledge of that language; but I will take care that your Swiss sermons shall be translated into Latin, that I may peruse them with greater delight and profit. I grieve that your churches are disturbed by these unhappy controversies: how truly did Christ say that the

[1 Six crowns. See p. 422.]

enemy soweth tares! Oh, may we, all of us, at length be made good ground! Our puritan brethren are now lying in concealment, partly terrified by the authority of our queen, and partly silenced by a most able treatise written by a most learned man[2]. Meanwhile, we know not what monstrosities they are hatching in secret.

Certain of our nobility[3], pupils of the Roman pontiff, either weary of their happiness or impatient of the long continued progress of the gospel, have taken flight, some into France, some into Spain, others into different places, with the view of plotting some mischief against the professors of godliness. So difficult is it to keep the church of Christ in a state of defence against the ministers of Satan. But the strength of the Lord and his strong tower have hitherto defended us; and the Lord will defend his own even to the end, in spite of the chafing and assaults of those two antichrists. In the mean time we must entreat the Lord night and day to arise and let his enemies be scattered.

May the Lord Jesus make your old age of long continuance to his church! As to myself, though in my 75th year, by the blessing of God I am in good health, except that the trembling of my hands makes it difficult for me to write. Farewell, my very dear brother in Christ. From the Isle of Ely, in England, July 20, 1574.

Your most attached brother in Christ,

RICHARD, first minister of the church at Ely.

CC. W. COLE TO R. GUALTER. [B. 102.]

OXFORD, *July* 31, 1574.

YOUR son, I perceive, most learned sir, has made arrangements for his return, having been most fully assured, by Simler's letter, of your pleasure respecting him. Though he was on many accounts very dear to me, as commended to me more than once not only by your letters, but by those of the bishop of Norwich; yet I must candidly confess that he has so conducted himself during the short time he has resided amongst us, that of his own right, even if neither of you had been known to me, or had written a word in his behalf, he is entitled on his departure from us to return to his friends with some token of my love. And I much regret that he is so suddenly summoned away from hence, as that by reason of

[2 Namely, Dr Whitgift. See note 2, p. 473.]

[3 Among whom were Lord Edward Seymour, Lord Morley, the archbishop of Cassel, and the bishop of Meath. A complete list is given by Strype, Annals II. i. 495; II. ii. 551.]

the shortness of time I am not able to honour him as I could wish. For as I was in hopes that he would make a longer stay with us, I confess that I have not treated him according to his merit. And yet as often as he came to see me, he could not but be a most welcome guest: for whenever he was with me, there immediately came into my mind the numberless benefits with which you loaded us English when we were exiles at Zurich.

If you would know what I myself think of your son, I dare make this affirmation respecting him, that he is a youth excellent in morals, pious in religion, and one who has made no moderate progress in learning. And though I myself were silent, our whole university would bear witness to the truth of what I am writing. For, though he is a Swiss by nation, he will nevertheless, even at Zurich, when separated from us by so long a distance, be an Oxford master of arts, having been raised to this degree of honour among us by unanimous consent.

Master Humphrey has given me Simler's book, which he published against the Brentians. I must therefore return everlasting thanks to you, for having sent me the book; to him, as the protector and champion of the church; and to both of you, because you will not allow the enemy to attack the sheepfold at his pleasure. May the Lord preserve you, and grant you a very long life for the common benefit of all godly persons!

Salute, I pray you, the reverend old man, master Bullinger, besides two, who are for many reasons to be especially honoured by me, Lavater and Simler; likewise the printer Froschover, and his corrector, my friend Julius, who was intimately known to me when with Peter Martyr at Strasburgh. If you think that I can in any way be useful here in England, either to yourself or any of your friends, you will find me most entirely at your service. Oxford, from the college of Corpus Christi, July 30, 1574.

Yours, as long as I live, WILLIAM COLE.

CCI. L. HUMPHREY TO R. GUALTER. [A. 122.]

OXFORD, *Aug.* 2, 1574.

IMMANUEL. Health in Christ Jesus, most esteemed Gualter. Your son returns to you, not, as you state[1], a prodigal, but improved both in learning and manners. For my own opinion

[1 See p. 469, n. 3.]

respecting him, as well as that of the whole university, will easily be seen by their very copious testimonals. He so lived amongst us, that all are unanimous in praise of his modesty, his frankness, his many and great virtues; and consider you most fortunate, that the Lord hath given you such a Gualter as the inheritor of your name and piety. The bishop of Norwich will address you by letter, of whom I shall say nothing; for he is sufficiently known to you, and your son can bear ample testimony that he has never found his munificence straitened towards himself. But since he will explain by letter both the cause of your son's return and other matters of the like kind, there is no occasion for me to repeat them to no purpose.

Dr Parkhurst has informed me that it is your desire, and I have also learned by other letters from Zurich that his friends are desirous, that at his present age he should think both about a matrimonial connection, and also about entering upon the ministry. That all things may turn out for him most happily and auspiciously, is my most earnest prayer.

I have received the copy of your treatise on Christ's presence on earth, but have nothing to send you in return, unless you wish to see my, or rather your[2] Jewel, whom I now send by my friend Gualter, and beg you both to correct and take in good part this trifling present.

We are here, by the blessing of God, in the possession of peace, and the pearl of the gospel, and pray that we may long enjoy them. Our neighbour's wall is on fire, and we are greatly afraid lest some spark of that fire should set us in a flame. So heedless are we, and unconcerned, that we seem to be daily kindling the flames of divine wrath. May the Lord Jesus, remembering, not our merits, but his mercy, avert every evil, and preserve your church, our fathers and brethren, Bullinger, Simler, Lavater and the rest, together with yourself and family! In haste, at Oxford, Aug. 2, 1574.

Yours, LAURENCE HUMPHREY.

[2 The Archbishop [Parker] and the Bishop of London [Sandys], knowing the eloquence of Dr Laurence Humphrey's Latin pen, sent to him to Oxon commending the writing of Jewel's life to him; who finished and published it anno 1573, and dedicated his work to those two venerable prelates. Strype, Life of Parker, II. 50.]

CCII. BISHOP SANDYS TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 123.]

FULHAM, *Aug.* 9, 1574.

MUCH health in Christ, most esteemed sir and reverend father.

I thank you most sincerely for your very ready and affectionate inclination to write to me; for indeed nothing could have been more gratifying to me than to ascertain your opinion respecting the matters in dispute. You write most fully your own judgment concerning the whole affair: I see and embrace it. But I hope that this new fabric of new discipline will shortly fall in pieces by its own weight, since it appears that many of our countrymen who formerly admired it, are now grown weary of it; and those who seemed most zealous in the establishment of this new platform, have now begun to grow wonderfully cool, as it were, through a change of opinion. May the Lord grant that, all our dissensions and strife being removed, we may all of us speak and think the same thing according to Jesus Christ, and that we may with one mind and mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ!

I will not write to you about the affairs of England, since the pious and learned[1] young man, who will bring you this letter, will give you certain information respecting them. The pirates of Flushing have intercepted the first[2] piece of cloth that I sent you; I ordered a second piece to be sent you, which I hear has come safe to hand. Farewell, most esteemed sir. I earnestly entreat you to commend me to God in your prayers. In haste.

Fulham in England, Aug. 9, 1574.

Your brother in Christ, and most affectionate,

EDWIN SANDYS, bishop of London.

CCIII. BISHOP SANDYS TO R. GUALTER. [A. 124.]

FULHAM, *Aug.* 9, 1574.

HEALTH to you, most learned sir, and very dear brother! There is no need for me to write to you. Lo! receive your son. He will be to you in the place of a letter from me, as one who will be able fully to acquaint you with the present state of our affairs in England. Our innovators, who have been striving to strike out for us a new form of a church, are not doing us much harm; nor is this new fabric of theirs making such progress as they expected.

[1 Rodolph Gualter. See p. 473.]

[2 See p. 440.]

Our nobility are at last sensible of the object to which this novel fabrication is tending. The author of these novelties, and after Beza the first inventor, is a young Englishman, by name Thomas Cartwright[3], who, they say, is now sojourning at Heidelberg. He has lately written from thence[4] a treatise in Latin, in defence of this new discipline which he wishes to obtrude upon us. I have not yet seen the book, but I hear that it is printed, and has been brought over to us. As soon as it shall come into my hands, I will take care it shall be sent you. Respecting other matters which are agitated here, your son will give you information. He is preparing for his journey, and I for the public affairs of the church, with which I am overwhelmed.

The first piece of cloth that I sent you was taken by pirates: I sent you another, which the merchant tells me that you have received. It is well if it is so. Farewell, most esteemed sir, and continue to love me as you do. In haste. Fulham in England, Aug. 9, 1574.

Your brother and friend in Christ,
EDWIN SANDYS, bishop of London.

[3 Thomas Cartwright was sometime fellow of St John's, and afterwards of Trinity, Cambridge: he was deprived of his fellowship for not taking orders according to the statutes. His controversy with Whitgift has before been alluded to. See note 1, p. 452, and Soames's Elizabethan History, p. 141, where his character is drawn at length. Beza, in a letter to one of his English correspondents, thus expressed himself concerning Cartwright: "Here is now with us your countryman, Thomas Cartwright, than whom I think the sun does not see a more learned man."

[4 Soames gives the following extract from a letter from Wilcox to Gilby, dated Feb. 2, 1574. "Our brother Cartwright is escaped, (God be praised!) and departed this land, since my coming up to London, and I hope, is by this time at Heidelberg." A warrant had been issued for his apprehension, to be attributed probably, Mr Soames thinks, to the fear of assassination engendered in Elizabeth and her advisers, by the fatal ebullition of insanity then lately manifested by Peter Birchet, in the murder of a man whom he mistook for Sir Christopher Hatton. Among the signatures to this warrant, besides that of Sandys, are those of Nowell and Goodman, and nine others of the High Commission. See Soames's Elizabethan History, p. 198.]

CCIV. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO J. STURMIUS[1] [B. 103.]

BATH, *Aug.* 23, 1574.

ELIZABETH R.

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, queen, &c., to John Sturmius, greeting.

Your letter dated at Northeim, on the 3rd of August, we received on the 18th of the same month; from which we understand your anxiety about our affairs, and how exceedingly you desire that peace and tranquillity may be established between christian sovereigns and their dominions. And indeed we cannot but greatly approve their exertions, who, by embassies, or any other suitable means, [endeavour to] unite them, that discords may be composed between neighbouring nations, and especially between those which profess [the gospel of] Christ. For this is the noble office of a neighbouring and christian prince.

As we have received so few letters from you, we think that they have not all reached us. As to other matters, we have commanded our secretary, Thomas Smith, to write you our opinion in detail. Farewell. From our city of Bath[2], Aug. 23, 1574, and in the 16th year of our reign. T. SMITH.

CCV. R. GUALTER TO BISHOP COX. [B. 104.]

ZURICH, *Aug.* 26, 1574.

HEALTH. I hope, reverend father in Christ, that my last letter, written in the month of March[3], has safely reached you. I have received yours, written in the month of February[4], by the hands of our friends on their return from the spring fair. But I do not think there is any occasion for a tedious and laborious examination of it, since I declared in that letter of mine what I thought of those turbulent innovators, and so anticipated your letter in which you complain of them, and not without reason. And indeed the examples which the like innovators are every day affording us in Germany, powerfully induce me to persist in my opinion. For I perceive that nothing can be imagined more ambitious, more inso-

[1 The original of this letter is preserved at Zofingen. The queen's name at the head is autograph.]

[2 The queen made a progress to Bristol this year, and returned by Salisbury.]

[3 See Letter CXCIV. p. 464.]

[4 See Letter CLXXXIX. p. 452.]

lent, and more absurd, than these men. For though they are daily acting in many respects most iniquitously, they are nevertheless not ashamed to pretend a zeal for God in those things which, contrary to the word of God, they impiously and maliciously devise against the servants of Christ. And, as far as I can conjecture, many persons, by whose counsel and assistance the fabric of this discipline was chiefly erected heretofore, are now ashamed of them. And by what spirit they are actuated, may be gathered from this, that they are so anxious for the attainment of their object, as to deprive parties who deserve well of the church, of the possession and management of ecclesiastical property, without perceiving in the mean time what will be the consequence, should they effect this; namely, that it will come into the hands of others, from whom what is necessary for the support of religion will by no possibility be extorted in future. They would rather, indeed, have it alienated from the churches altogether, than see it in the power of those whom they have once begun to hate. But this is the nature of mankind, not to be able to bear happiness in possession, and to seek for themselves of their own accord evil and anxiety. Nevertheless, it should be your endeavour to oppose these troublesome parties with meekness and prudence, lest some more grievous danger may at length arise out of these contentions; or lest those, who are still opposed to purer religion, may find an opportunity of effecting what they have long desired[5], &c.

CCVI. BISHOP COX TO H. BULLINGER. [A. 125.]

ELY, *Jan.* 25, 1575.

HEALTH in Christ. I confess myself, my very dear brother, greatly in your debt, for having so courteously addressed me by letter, although it was a short one. Your occasional illness is not to be wondered at, seeing old age itself is a kind of disease. Should you discontinue your literary exertions, I shall in the mean time content myself with what you have by the blessing of God written heretofore, to his glory and the edifying of his church. But may God bestow upon you sufficient strength for the performance of what you are piously proposing to accomplish! I rejoice exceedingly that harmony is restored among you. With ourselves, the faction is become in some measure less active through fear of

[5 The remainder of this Letter is wanting. The original fragment is in Gualter's hand.]

punishment; for our government is apprehensive that danger may arise from frivolous and unnecessary innovations. And by the same fear do they keep within bounds the fury of the papists. We hear, however, that in France the adherents of the pope are bringing matters to the last extremities. May the Lord Jesus vouchsafe to be present with his people! Oh that the Lord would bow the heavens and come down, and bridle the mouths of the papists, Turks, and schismatics! But our sins will not suffer him. God grant that we may all strive together for that unity to which, by numerous and solid arguments, you beautifully exhort all the clergy.

Salute my brethren in my name, as opportunity presents itself. I send a small testimony of my regard to be divided between yourself and Julius, and I commend myself to your prayers. May the great and good God preserve you and your most religious city!

From the Isle of Ely in England, Jan. 25, 1574, according to our computation.

Your most attached and very dear brother in Christ,

RICHARD, bishop of Ely.

CCVII. W. BARLOW TO J. SIMLER. [B. 105.]

ETON, *Jan.* 25, 1575.

MUCH health. Your letter of the 10th of March 1574, which was the first that came to hand after the receipt of the cloth, and informed me of it, was brought me only on the 28th of August last: mention is made therein of another letter written in December, which (notwithstanding another December has now elapsed) I have not yet seen. You may imagine the rest, how trustworthy and regular are our couriers. But, to speak candidly what I think, I was in some doubt, until that 28th of August, whether you had received the cloth with the letter, or not. One great cause of their longer delay, besides the length of the journey, (for they go round by Hamburgh,) was my not having been so frequently either in London or at Oxford, but in the west of England, where your letter at last reached me. Three weeks after the receipt of it, I went to Oxford for the sake of meeting our friend Rodolph Gualter, that I might confer with him about this whole business; but contrary to my expectation, and to my great vexation, he had already embarked with a most excellent and noble youth, the lord Philip[1],

[1 See above, Letter CLXXVI. p. 422.]

baron of Hohensaxe, to whom, if it had pleased God, I would, as a matter of courtesy, most willingly have paid my respects in England. You see therefore, my Simler, that it is not owing to any neglect of mine that I have not hitherto answered your letter; neither have I given a commission to any one to demand the money from Froschover in my name. For I am sure, unless I am greatly mistaken, that I expressly wrote to you, not by any means to send the money, before you had let me know what you thought of the cloth, whether you liked it or not; and that I would then take care to have some one at Frankfort to receive the money, and to make some purchases for me there: which was quite enough to relieve you from all that trouble and anxiety, by which I see from your last letter, of the 28th of August, you were so disturbed. And I have therefore given you this explanation in detail, with the view of driving away that anxiety about money matters altogether from your thoughts. For I am under some apprehension lest your next letter also should bring some complaints upon this subject: but as soon as this shall come to hand, (which I hope will very soon be the case,) I feel quite assured you will be abundantly satisfied.

The misfortune which you describe of the Wittenbergers has greatly affected me; it makes me uncertain what to hope, or what to fear: I allow it is most distressing, and threatens, as it were, the ruin and destruction of that most flourishing university. This indeed I think is to be lamented by me in common with the whole race of students: yet on the other hand, since Wittenberg is a city which formerly possessed the most decided supporters of the truth, and who feared God rather than man; that she is in this respect still going on in the old way, is, I say, a ground on which, together with all godly persons, I ought to congratulate her, and to pray Almighty God to make those men, who are most renowned in every kind of learning, constant unto the end; to increase and crown in them the gifts which he has bestowed.

I will diligently inform you, God willing, of the state of our church, as soon as I know it myself; which in truth is not yet the case; for there are some mysteries about it which I cannot yet fathom. Two famous divines are now lecturing in London; the one a Frenchman, the other a Spaniard. The Frenchman's name is Villers[2], a man of great learning and piety: the Spaniard's is

[2 This seems to be the same Villers that Camden mentions, Hist. p. 209, as having been a preacher in France, who came to England (I suppose to avoid persecution) in a threadbare cloak, and grew rich here by a common

Corranus[1], learned and eloquent, but some worthy men entertain great doubts whether in respect of piety he is to be compared with Villers. He is wont to disparage the authority of some individuals, who have deserved exceedingly well of the church: he is a great admirer of Castalio[2], of whose version of the bible he declares this opinion, that he is a very bad interpreter, for he has given any thing rather than a literal translation; but if you speak about a paraphrase, then, says he, Castalio excels all other translators by many leagues. I know also, that he made earnest enquiry of a person of my acquaintance, whether or not he had some dialogues[3] on the Trinity by an anonymous individual, printed at Basle, but Castalio, he said, is thought to have been the author of them; and he added that he was very anxious to procure them. I was present at an excellent lecture of his, in which he inveighed against the men of our age, some of whom wish to be called Lutherans, others Calvinists, &c. though neither Calvin nor Luther died for us; but we are saved, he said, by the blood of the Lamb slain "for the sins of the world," whereas in the text it is, "from the beginning of the world." But that I may not seem to strain out a gnat[4], and perhaps swallow a camel, I will here conclude, though indeed I am afraid of being a gnat to a camel. I wish he had staid at Compostella!

I pray you, tell my friend Julius that I am much concerned not to be able to satisfy his wishes, but that I cannot yet discover who were master Jewel's executors, or in what way he left his property[5]. Tell him too, that it is not an easy matter for an individual so little known as myself, to gain access to the earl of

collection for him, for reading a divinity lecture. He was afterwards chaplain to the prince of Orange. Strype, Whitgift, I. 477.]

[1 See p. 471.]

[2 The Latin version of Sebastian Chatillon, or Castalio, was begun at Geneva in 1542, and finished at Basle in 1550, where it was printed in the following year, with a dedication to Edward VI. The best edition of his version is that at Leipsic, 1738, in 4 vols. 12mo, but the folio edition of 1573 is in most request. Horne's Introduct. II. 225.]

[3 The title of this book is "Bernardini Ochini Senensis Dialogi XXX, in duos libros divisi, quorum primus est de Messia, continetque dialogos XVIII. Secundus est cum de rebus variis, tum potissimum de Trinitate. Basil, 1563." Castalio, it appears, was the translator into Latin of this and some other works of Ochinus.]

[4 This is the rendering of most of the versions prior to the Authorised in 1611, which has *strain at*. Matth. xxiii. 24.]

[5 Bishop Jewel bequeathed his estate chiefly for the maintenance of students. Strype, Parker, II. 49.]

Bedford, to plead his cause before him; though I have given the letter that Julius put into my hands for that purpose, to his secretary, who promised me that he would recommend it to his master as favourably as he could.

I earnestly pray you to salute dutifully in my name the very reverend fathers Bullinger, Gualter, my most courteous host master Wickius, masters Lavater, Stuckius, Henry Bullinger the younger, Lemann, Haller, James Frisius, Gualter the younger, Julius, and all the rest.

I had intended to send to you, and to that excellent man master Lavater, and others, some treatises printed in England, not however of any great consequence, by the hands of our friend Gualter; and should certainly have loaded him with commissions, had I known of his going away, which, by reason of my being employed in the west of England, it was impossible I could do. We have nothing new here, unless it be a new thing to hold a wolf by the ears, or cherish a snake in one's bosom; which things have ceased to be novelties in this country: for the queen[6] of the north, the plague of Britain, the prince of darkness in the form of a she-wolf, is still kept in custody among us.

With respect to money matters, I have written to Froschover. But I am longer than I wish to be, and I fear lest I should be troublesome to you: which however I will nowise believe, if you will send me a long letter in return; for your letters are very gratifying and delightful to me. I reside for the most part with my very dear relative, master William Day[7], provost of the king's college of Eton, near Windsor, twenty miles from London; where we very often talk together about you with great delight, as well of your churches, as of your public affairs: you must suppose however that we shall do this with greater accuracy, if you will persist in your intention, and not stand waiting for I know not what coadjutors, from this or that place, or for some one in your stead. Our friend Julius has sent me a prospectus of this expected work,

[6 Viz. Mary queen of Scots, who was at this time, 1575, confined in Sheffield castle.]

[7 William Barlow was son of bishop Barlow, one of whose daughters married the William Day here mentioned, and who was afterwards bishop of Winchester. Another married, first, Matthew Parker, the son of the archbishop of Canterbury, and secondly, Tobias Matthew, archbishop of York. The three remaining daughters became the wives respectively of bishops Westphaling of Hereford, Overton of Lichfield and Coventry, and Wickham of Lincoln.]

which indeed I have not yet been able to read, by reason of some troublesome engagements that have arisen from the death of another relative of mine, the son of the archbishop of Canterbury; for he also had married one of my sisters, and has lately died. Salute, I pray you, all your friends in my name. Again and again farewell. January 25, 1575. Yours wholly,

WILLIAM BARLOW.

If at any time you can find leisure to send me a print of the battle of Sempach[1], somewhat coloured, the military standards especially, you will do me a very great favour. Once more farewell.

CCVIII. BISHOP COX TO R. GUALTER. [A. 126.]

ELY, [1575.]

HEALTH in Christ. On November 7th, A.D. 1574, I received your letter dated on the 26th of August of the same year, by which I learn your most correct judgment respecting those who are so tenacious of their own opinion as that they know not how to yield to truth, and are loth to depart from their preconceived notions. They complain that we treat them with severity, while in the mean time they attack us with the most bitter abuse, both in public and private; and every where calumniate us in their sermons and printed writings. They are replied to by our friends with sufficient moderation; and in the mean time our excellent queen, a sincere lover of truth and peace, attacks them with the authority of the law; by which they are somewhat terrified, and are gradually slipping away: except that from time to time they vomit forth the venom of strife in secret. I cannot but admit that we have been aided by your pious and learned writings, although our adversaries did not consider them of so much importance. I hope also that the treatise of that venerable old man, master Henry Bullinger, in which he invites and persuades the ministers of the churches to unity, will be of great benefit to this kingdom: I wish it might be so throughout all Germany. I am exceedingly grieved at the persecutions that have lately taken place in Saxony[2]: that Lutheran

[1 The battle of Sempach between the Swiss and Austrians was fought A.D. 1386, and terminated in the defeat and death of Leopold of Austria.]

[2 This refers to the famous convocation of Thorgau summoned in 1574 by Augustus, elector of Saxony; where, after a strict inquiry into the doctrines of those who, from their secret attachment to the sentiments of

party is very cruel. May the Lord vouchsafe to aid those who are sincerely pleading his cause! Oh, the enemy of mankind, who, wherever the good seed is sown, ceases not to sow tares among them! Meanwhile by the grace of God we must do our best, and leave the issue to the Lord our God. The Lord hitherto by his favour preserves us at peace. The papists are grumbling, and nursing I know not what monstrosity. But may God himself destroy the wicked, and long preserve you in safety to his church!

Commend me to God in your prayers. From the Isle of Ely in England.

Your very dear brother in Christ,

RICHARD COX, bishop of Ely.

CCIX. BISHOP COX TO R. GUALTER. [A. 127.]

ELY, *July* 31, 1575.

YOUR letter, most learned Gualter, and very dear brother in the Lord, dated March 8th, 1575, was delivered to me in the May of the same year, and read by me with much pleasure. For it is full of grateful acknowledgement, and speaks much more highly of me than I can admit with truth. I cannot think without admiration of divine Providence, who at one time tries his people in the fire of affliction, at another affords them breathing time, and allows them the enjoyment of a most delightful calm. Although our sins deserve the severest punishment, we trust notwithstanding that our Lord Jesus Christ has his little flock, by whose piety and prayers the most righteous vengeance of God is wont to be turned aside and stopped. But most wretched is the condition of the hypocrites, whom the Lord in his most righteous judgment, on account of their overflowing wickedness, is wont to deliver into the hands of the destroyer; such as are at this time the Turk, the pope, and the furious band of schismatics. And this band indeed among us by their plausible doctrine easily allure the nobility into their net; while by their great noise and clamour they subvert the credulous minds of wretched persons, and especially those who are gaping, like hungry wolves and ravens, after the revenues of the cathedral churches, colleges, and bishops. Thus Satan employs every engine to overthrow the gospel. I am much grieved that

the Swiss divines, were called Crypto-Calvinists, he committed some of them to prison, sent others into banishment, and engaged a certain number, by the force of the secular arm, to change their sentiments. See Mosheim.]

that Saxon[1] is so much incensed against the godly. Nor do I less grieve for that afflicting intelligence which is brought us, that the most solid pillar of the church, master Henry Bullinger, is labouring under a most severe disease. May our gracious Lord have compassion on his church, and restore his Henry to his former health! But should it seem good to the divine mercy to place him in his heavenly tabernacle, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ must be entreated to pour down the spirit of this second Elijah upon the many Elishas, who by the singular grace of God may now be sojourning in the most pious city of Zurich.

There have been lately removed from us by death, having obtained a better condition with Christ, Parkhurst[2], the bishop of Norwich, and Matthew Parker[3], archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England, a man of an even and firm character, and a zealous defender of true religion. We must entreat the Lord that he may vouchsafe to send labourers not less suitable into his harvest, which is very abundant. May the Lord Jesus very long preserve you in safety to his church!

From the Isle of Ely in England. July 31, 1575.

Your very dear brother in Christ,

RICHARD, bishop of Ely.

CCX. N. BERNIUS TO BISHOP HORN. [B. 106.]

GUERNSEY, *Dec.* 13, 1575.

To the reverend father in Christ, the lord bishop of Winchester, Nicholas Bernius, minister of the word of God, in the name of the church of Guernsey wishes grace and health from the Lord.

As nothing has been at any time more desired by us, and more agreeable to us, reverend sir, than that an occasion should be offered of making you acquainted with the condition and prosperous beginnings of our churches, and especially of assuring you of

[1 See note 2, p. 486.]

[2 Parkhurst died about the 2nd of February, 1575. See Strype, Parker, II. 362. Like the other writers of these letters, he kept up his correspondence with the divines of Zurich to the end of his life.]

[3 Parker died May 17, 1575, having "closed a difficult, upright life, with all the foresight, firmness, and complacency, that marked a vigorous, equable, and religious mind." See Soames's Elizabethan Hist. p. 205, where his character is given at length, and also as described by Hallam, Neal, Fuller, and others.]

our duty, or rather of our respectful attachment, towards you; so indeed nothing has been more grievous and distressing to us, than that a subject should now be forced upon us, whereby we are rather compelled to use the language of complaint to you our father, than to congratulate you upon our prosperous advancement in the work of Christ. We should not indeed do this, were it not that in this matter, which belongs also to your office, we have very great need of your assistance and authority: yet we are, nevertheless, to be pardoned, if we are forced to bring you disagreeable intelligence, respecting which we entreat you, in all christian love, to allow us to treat with you at some length, as with one, of whose sincere zeal towards the church of Christ we cannot entertain a doubt.

There has sprung up among the inhabitants of this place a certain Elias Bonamy, a disorderly character, and one not less notorious for impiety and obstinacy than he is powerful in wealth and friends. God seems to have visited in his generation by his just judgment the iniquity of his father[4], who formerly everywhere persecuted with extreme hatred the church of Christ with fire and sword, even to the last moment of his existence. This man, having been admitted five years since into the congregation of the church, solemnly promised his minister, according to our practice, that he would faithfully obey the word of God and his church, as it becomes a true member of Christ; and for the first three years he pretended that his mind was not opposed to religion: but for the last two years, to our great grief and sorrow, his hypocrisy has been discovered, and he has so neglected the preaching of God's word, as never to present himself for the hearing of it unless compelled to do so, and then as seldom as possible; and, what is far more grievous, he has for these three whole years abstained from the holy supper of the Lord, to the great offence of the weak; and has drawn away by his example many from the sacraments, who would at length have fallen away from the church, had not God in pity to them, according to his mercy, brought them back into the way of salvation through the watchfulness of their pastor. The minister meanwhile, in the faithful discharge of his office, privately

[4 This person seems to have been the Peter Bonamy mentioned by Foxe, as one of the jurats who condemned three women to be burned in Guernsey, in July 1556. He probably died before 1562, as his name does not appear among those who received the queen's pardon upon their submission and confession of their erroneous judgments. See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, VIII. 228, ed. 1839.]

and frequently admonishes this man in a friendly manner, and endeavours by every possible means to recal the wanderer into the path; but to no purpose, such is the obstinacy of the man. He does not, however, give up the attempt, but again reminds him of his duty in a temperate and christian manner, in the presence of one or two of the elders of the church; and earnestly entreats him to appear before the presbytery, that he may hear somewhat for the glory of God and the salvation of his soul. But the more leniently he is dealt with, the more obstinate he becomes, and pays no more regard to the authority of the ecclesiastical synod, than he did to the majesty of God and of the sacraments. I pass over his scoffing at the assembly of the church, and omit his gibes upon the ministers of Christ and the elders of the church. So when his obstinacy seemed incapable of being restrained by any laws either human or divine, [his minister] consulted his godly and learned brethren, the servants of Christ, respecting this case, as he considered the matter seemed to call for this proceeding; both that a seasonable remedy might be applied to so great an evil, and also that nothing might be determined upon in the church, except what might tend to profit and edification. These persons think that a matter of such importance should be referred to a synod, in which it should be judged of by the word of God alone. All the ministers, therefore, of the word of God in this island, together with some of the elders of their churches and certain godly magistrates, are summoned to a conference, at which our Elias is ordered to be present, that he may hear the proceedings and accusations brought against him, and if he has any means of justifying, or defending, or excusing himself, have free liberty of replying. After artfully endeavouring to turn aside and ward off some of the charges, he pretends that he knows nothing of any church gathered together in this place, and that he acknowledges no presbytery here: at length, however, convicted both by his public actions and by unexceptionable witnesses, as though conscious of guilt, he acknowledges the offence, contumacy, and scandal that he has occasioned, and voluntarily submits himself to the judgment of the ecclesiastical court, not any one mistrusting him. Therefore, that we might not seem to have shut him out from all hope of his recovery, after we had taken proper cognizance of his delinquency and the scandal thereby occasioned, it was determined by the unanimous consent and opinion of all, that he should not only confess his error before the synod with prayer to God, but that, for the removing of the public scandal, he should make an open acknowledgement of his

contumacy before the whole church, on Sunday the 27th of November: and he was to do this after a sermon by the minister of the other church, by whom he was to be reconciled both to his own minister and to the church at large. Upon hearing the sentence of the church he began to shuffle, and positively refuses to make any public confession of his wickedness. But these are the artifices of Satan, with which you must be too well acquainted; that, the consciences of the weak being wounded by scandals of this kind, he may either hinder or destroy the Lord's building. At length, however, being influenced by our prayers, or admonitions out of the word of God, or rather alarmed, as it were by a thunderbolt, by the threatenings of his tremendous judgment, and the rod of excommunication, he yields to the censure of the church; and in the presence of our assembly suppliantly entreats forgiveness of God, and acknowledges his delinquency and contumacy; and promises that he will do the same publicly in the church on the day appointed him.

Up to this time, reverend sir, every thing went on happily enough: but it is wonderful and lamentable, that a man so often overcome by the word of God, so often warned by his ministers and friends, and, what is more, by the church herself, should not have seriously repented; for on the appointed day, on which he had solemnly sworn that he would bear public testimony of his true repentance and contrite spirit, and make open confession of his fault to the glory of God, the edification of the church, and his own salvation; regardless both of the divine judgment and of ecclesiastical authority, and also of his solemn promise, he perfidiously made answer, (at whose instigation I know not, except at Satan's,) and not without a contemptuous defiance of both the royal authority and your own, that we should sooner drag the moon from the sky with our teeth, than extort from him a public confession of his crimes; nor (such is the hardness of his heart) can he be brought by any means to change this obstinate resolution of the carnal mind, or rather of the devil, and render due obedience to God and the church. The whole matter therefore was referred to the synod again assembled, to which this contumacious man was summoned, and where he made his appearance; and as his hardened heart could by no means be brought to repentance, it seemed good to the church, acting by the authority of Jesus Christ and of his word, that by reason of his perfidy, contumacy, and impenitence, he should be publicly excommunicated on the next sacrament day in all our churches, as a rotten member, from the communion

of the church of God and of his saints, and given over to Satan until he should repent.

Confiding, honoured father, in your zeal for the advancement and protection of the church of Christ, we have not hesitated to give you a full account of the whole matter as it was conducted by us, with the greatest fidelity and truth; and this, both that you may not be deceived by the lying impostures of this excommunicated man, should he chance to come over to you; and also, that we ourselves may not be traduced by him as calumniators, both to yourself and to the holy fathers your colleagues. And we not only all of us most earnestly entreat the interposition of your judgment and authority in this business; but we implore also your helping hand, that (should there be any occasion for it) you will undertake and actively defend our cause, or rather your own and that of the infant church, before the queen's majesty herself: which labour that you will not refuse to undertake for Christ, we earnestly entreat you again and again, and, what is more, implore you by the name of Christ himself, whom we will constantly pray to guide you with his mighty hand, and to direct by his Spirit your counsels in so great a charge committed to you; and that by the gift of true repentance he may bring back our wandering sheep (who deserves indeed the severest punishment in case of his non-repentance) into the way of salvation. Farewell, reverend sir, and love and protect both us and our brethren, and the whole church. Guernsey, Dec. 13, 1575.

Your most obedient in Christ, N. BERNIUS,
has written this to you in the name of the whole church.

CCXI. BISHOP HORN TO BERNIUS, &c. [A. 130.]

[BISHOP'S] WALTHAM, *Jan.* 16, 1576.

GRACE and peace in Christ. I am truly sorry, my very dear brethren in Christ, that such unprofitable folly can be found in any person, as that, when the enjoyment of a holy peace is within his power, he unhappily prefers to procure his individual quiet, as it would seem, by the discomfort of many; when in fact, while he is labouring to satisfy his own blind, rash, and impious cupidity, he does not so much inconvenience others, as he rushes headlong into the greatest danger himself. But we are not ignorant of Satan's devices: and how prompt is his wicked inclination to disturb the tranquillity of the church, how adapted is his wicked counsel to

the most flagitious actions, how he has his ministers ready prepared to do his bidding with carefulness and cunning, there is no occasion for me to tell you; for who is such a novice in embracing the wholesome gospel of Christ as not to know it? You, my brethren, I am assured for certain, have learned from experience, I will not say by your own ill doing, but by the greatest inconvenience both of yourselves and the church, how many and what fearful deceivers Satan has heretofore raised up, and daily continues to do, that they may throw all things into confusion, and especially destroy the peace of the church. That outrageous beast is attacking the fold of Christ with all the ferocity in his power; that most malicious wolf is meditating the dispersion, yea, even the destruction, of the Lord's flock. The wretched sheep is dragged away by the cruel violence of the raging lion. What can you do? We must resist the beast with unflinching faith, by imploring in our continual prayers succour from the chief Shepherd, Jesus Christ; and when the machinations of the wolf are laid open and detected, he must be driven away by the staff of the shepherds and the barking of the dogs; the stupid herd must be snatched away from the claws of the lion, before they are torn in pieces by his teeth, and, if possible, brought back into the fold. In this respect, however, (as far as I can understand from your letter,) you have left nothing untried: you have exerted all your care and diligence in preserving that mischievous Bonamy; and, which is the duty of the most faithful pastors, you have used your active endeavours in softening, restraining, repressing his insolence, pride, and obstinacy, by every means in your power; and as you cannot accomplish what you desire, you require me to help you. Doubt not, my brethren, but that you will have many helpers; and as for me, I profess myself most ready to afford my assistance in this matter, as far as I am able. I hope to bestow upon it such consideration as to make that false brother (if indeed he may be called a brother) feel what it is to provoke the chief Shepherd of souls, Jesus Christ, to despise the church of God, and to make a mockery of, yea, even to tread under foot, all godly discipline.

I have explained the nature of what I propose to our common friend and brother in Christ, and one greatly beloved by me, master Leighton[1], governor of the Isle. In fine, brethren, I en-

[1 Sir Thomas Leighton appears to have been governor of the island of Guernsey, from whence letters are dated from him to the earl of Leicester. See MSS. Cotton, Galba, D. I. 148, and II. 69.]

treat you to strive earnestly with me in your prayers to God for me. And for my part, I will not be unmindful of you, unless I am forgetful of myself. Salute, I pray you, from me all your fellow-labourers and the whole church. Farewell. From my house at [Bishop's] Waltham, Jan. 16, 1576.

Your very affectionate brother in Christ, and fellow-minister,

ROBERT HORN, Winton.

CCXII. W. BARLOW TO J. SIMLER. [B. 107.]

ETON, *March* 13, 1576.

MUCH health. How great a loss, my Simler, your church has sustained by the death of the elder Bullinger[1], of most happy memory, yea, and our church also, towards which I have heard that he always entertained a truly paternal and affectionate regard, and indeed all the churches of Christ throughout Europe, we shall all of us know by experience sooner than we wish. We must pray Almighty God, the Lord of the harvest, that he may send faithful labourers into his harvest; and that, in pity to his flock, he may set over them faithful pastors, and burning with a zeal of God which is according to knowledge; and that he may hasten the coming of the chief Shepherd, Jesus Christ.

I wrote you word at the late autumn fair in 1575, that my lord bishop of Winchester had sent letters both to yourself and others; which however, through the carelessness of those persons to whom he had entrusted this matter, I discovered to have been overlooked and not delivered to the merchant. I have taken upon myself the charge of preventing a repetition of this carelessness at the present fair; and therefore, on the 5th of February, before he went to London to parliament[2], I reminded the bishop, as he had often enjoined me to do, not to omit writing to his friends at Zurich. Well, he replied, I give you this commission, that you write to the merchant who is to take your letter, to call upon me in London for mine, which shall be sent at the same time with yours: for yours, said he, and those which are written to you, have far better luck than mine; for those which I last received from Zurich had been written two years before, and I very much doubt whether those which I myself wrote are even yet come to hand. This office, I said, I willingly take upon myself, but I will

[1 Bullinger departed this life Sept. 17, 1575.]

[2 Parliament assembled this year on Wednesday the 8th of February.]

not write to any one to call upon you for your letters; for, God willing, I shall be in London before they set off for the fair, and will ask you for them myself, that you may not lay any of the blame of your neglect upon me: and when I call upon him, I will let him know that I have now told you this.

I send you, inclosed in this, a copy of two epistles[3], in which you may easily perceive, (as the battle has been fought on a conspicuous theatre,) what kind and degree of influence that feeble discipline of some parties, and which they so greatly boast of, possesses in restraining any wicked profligate: and you may also perceive by them, that all our bishops are not so given to ease and indulgence, and destitute of all kindly feeling, as some calumniously represent them to be, but that there are some of them who diligently attend to the concerns of their brethren; and that their hateful power is not so detested, but that people flee to it of their own accord for succour, as a lame man to a horse. Guernsey, where these things have taken place, is an island in the English channel, subject to the kings of England, and in the diocese of Winchester.

A certain Englishman, Laurence Bodley[4], my most intimate friend, has informed me, that he is about this time going to Zurich: should he come to you, receive him, I pray you, with kindness (that is, according to your wont): he is a man of small stature, but of distinguished erudition and probity, and exceedingly partial to your church.

Master Pilkington[5], bishop of Durham, a man inferior to none among us in learning and piety, died about two months since. We have, by the blessing of God, for archbishop of Canterbury master Grindal, a man in many respects most excellent: God grant that we may long retain him! It is not yet known who will succeed him in the archbishoprick of York, but most persons think it will be the bishop of London; and some individuals of no mean condition are of opinion that my relative, master William Day[6], will succeed either to the bishoprick of London, if he go to York, or to that of Durham. I saluted him, as you bade me, in your name, which was very gratifying to him; and he requested me to salute in his name yourself, and all of you in return, and moreover to

[3 Namely, Letters CCX. and CCXI.]

[4 Sir Thomas Bodley had a younger brother Laurence, who was probably the person here mentioned.]

[5 Bishop Pilkington died Jan. 23, 1576.]

[6 See p. 485, note 7.]

ask you to admit him into the number of your friends. Salute respectfully in my name the most reverend father in Christ, master Gualter, master Lavater, my host master Wickius, masters Stuccius, Lemann, Bullinger, James Frisius, Froschover, and especially the younger Gualter and our friend Julius. Farewell. From Eton College, March 13, 1576.

Yours, WILLIAM BARLOW.

Three days after I had written the above, my Simler, on the night preceding the day on which I was to go to London, on that very night, I say, I was violently attacked by fever; but it has much decreased during the last three days, so that I hope the Lord has now removed it. Farewell. Eton College, March 13.

CCXIII. BISHOP COX TO R. GUALTER. [A. 128.]

[1576.]

YOUR last letter, most learned Rodolph, I received on the 13th of February. The preceding one however affected me much more forcibly, both with exceeding sorrow, and also with no common delight. My sorrow was excessive for the death of Henry Bullinger[1], whom, by his letters, and learned and pious writings, I had been acquainted with, and I may say, known intimately for many years, although he was never personally known to me. Who would not be made sorrowful by the loss of such and so great a man, and so excellent a friend? not to mention that the whole christian church is disquieted with exceeding regret, that so bright a star is forbidden any longer to shine upon earth. John writes, that inauspicious stars fell down from heaven[2]; but we are persuaded that *our* star has ascended up into heaven, and is fixed in heaven, and as it shone on earth, so it now shines more brightly in heaven. As to what he was on earth, his pious reputation is not silent, his pious life proclaims, his most learned writings abundantly testify: and what he now is in heaven, God knows, the angels rejoice, and the souls of the godly exult. And this is no small consolation to those who regret the loss of such a man. Add also another circumstance, from which I have, with good reason, received comfort, namely, that the church of Zurich, on Bullinger's bidding it farewell, is nevertheless not without a pastor. For the most gracious Lord, who never forsakes his flock, has set in the place of Bullinger yourself,

[1 See p, 494. n. 1.] [2 Revel. viii. 10, 12.]

who possess no less zeal in feeding the flock, and no less courage in keeping off its enemies. Blessed are you, who have of your own inclination taken upon yourself this burden, that you may subserve the glory of God, and faithfully advance his religion.

With respect to the disturbances and heresies of the churches, we know that there must needs be heresies that the elect may be proved; and that through much tribulation we must enter into the kingdom of God, and in patience possess our souls. It is certainly much to be lamented that the Saxon[3] is so furiously hostile. May God grant, some time or other, a holy reconciliation! We see no hope of peace in France. All things there are carried on in a tyrannical manner. The king has decreed, with his brother and his mother, to send all the protestants into banishment, or else to put them to death. It is not yet fully known what is doing in Flanders, except that our queen is busy in settling the disputes. Our *men of singularity* are quiet through fear of punishment, except that they are hatching I know not what mischief in secret. And those too, who pursue the cares and things of this world, give us much trouble; for they are striving by I know not what arts and stratagems, to take away from us our property[4], and reduce us to beggary, that they may bring us back to the condition of the primitive church and the poverty of the apostles. May God have mercy upon his afflicted church, and defend it from the wickedness of the world; and may he bless you all, who profess Jesus Christ!

I have sent you a small token of my regard, a part of which I wish you to bestow upon Julius Terentianus.

Your brother in Christ Jesus,

Richard Cox, [bishop] of Ely.

CCXIV. H. ZANCHIUS TO ARCHBISHOP GRINDAL[5]. [B. 108.]

Heidelberg, *July* 22, 1576.

The respect, most reverend lord, with which I have always regarded you by reason of your singular piety, courtesy, and virtue,

[3 The Elector of Saxony. See note 2, p. 486.]

[4 The bishop had been required not long before to alienate Ely House in Holborn to Christopher Hatton, the queen's vice-chamberlain; and lord North also obtained letters from the queen to the bishop, dated in May, 1575, to part with the manor and lands of Somersham. For an account of these proceedings, and the bishop's behaviour in consequence, see Strype, Annals, II. i. 533, &c.]

[5 This letter is given in Strype, Grindal, 321, 557.]

makes me unable to refrain from offering you my congratulations upon your recent and most honourable advancement[1], respecting which our common friend Knolles has written to me. For what greater dignity could be expected by you in that kingdom? I congratulate you therefore most heartily, since these divine blessings are testimonies, both of your constant piety towards God, and of the unchangeable favour of God towards you. Nor do I less congratulate that whole kingdom for the same reason, that it has obtained of God such a primate, by whose care and diligence it may advance yet more and more in true religion and godliness. Nor do I doubt but that this accession of the highest dignity, next to that of the queen's majesty, will be a constant stimulus whereby you may be stirred up to the performance of your duty more diligently than ever. I also pray God to increase his gifts in you, and to bestow upon you strong and continued health, for the wholesome governing of his church. I am still living, and indeed, by the blessing of God am in good health for my age, as I am in my sixty-first year, with a wife and five children, besides one who, I hope, will shortly make its appearance. These are also great blessings of God, for which I heartily thank him. It remains that he both replenish them with the gifts of his Spirit, and supply them with what is needful for their passing honourably through this present life, which I earnestly entreat him to do for Jesus Christ's sake; and I commend them also, most noble archbishop, to yourself, and other friendly and excellent persons. May the Lord Jesus very long preserve you in safety for the welfare of his church! We are in daily expectation of our Casimir[2]. Heidelberg, July 22, 1576. Your eminence's, &c.

H. ZANCHIUS.

CCXV. BISHOP HORN TO R. GUALTER. [A. 129.]

WALTHAM, *Aug.* 10, 1576.

GRACE and peace in Christ! Although the frequent and almost daily conversation, my very dear friend in Christ, which I have with my friend Barlow respecting our brethren at Zurich, is exceedingly delightful to me and full of interest; yet my mind is

[1 Archbishop Grindal was nominated to the see of Canterbury in November, 1575, nearly six months after the death of archbishop Parker.]

[2 Duke Casimir was the son of the Elector Palatine. See p. 156, n. 2.]

not satisfied with that intercourse, gratifying as it is, nor can it rest without my conversing, at least by letter, with my friend Gualter, whom I dearly love, and through him with the other ministers of Zurich, who are so much esteemed by me. But my letter must be somewhat brief, because more abundant materials for writing do not at present occur to me.

We have here scarcely any news to write about. All things, (praised be God!) remain satisfactorily enough in the same state. But those contentious, or, if you choose, vain-glorious, and certainly mischievous men, who by their ungovernable zeal for discord were retarding the free progress of the gospel among us, and drawing away the people, maddened by their follies, through every vain variety of opinion, or rather madness of error, into what they call *purity*, are now silenced, sculk about, and are become of no importance. But how much you, Gualter, and the rest of our brethren yonder, who did not agree with them, are yet indebted to them, you may easily perceive if you will turn to the forty-sixth page of a book which one of them wrote "Concerning the departure of the church of England from true discipline."

Other matters indeed now continue among us as they were at first established, and especially peace and godliness. The gospel is flourishing, and has very free course. The church is sound in other respects, except that she is yet struggling with that old disease, under which she has laboured even from her infancy: for she will not entirely recover from popery before the last coming of that great physician, Jesus Christ. The government is at peace. The queen is alive and in good health; and I pray God that she may continue to be so for many years, and that she may live for ever. The supreme assembly of all the states, which we call a parliament, was held at London at the beginning of spring; but our queen, after your Swiss fashion[3], will allow of no change, but is solely intent upon this object, to advance the truth of the gospel with full sails both at home and abroad. As she has always abominated popery from her infancy, so also will she never admit Lutheranism, which is a great disturber of christianity.

Scotland under her auspices continues stedfast in the pure profession of the gospel. The king is imbued with the best precepts of true piety. His mother is detained in safe custody with us, as heretofore. You know the posture of affairs in France: we expect a happy issue in those of Flanders; but we are in much doubt

[3 The bishop probably alludes to the rejection by the Swiss divines of Jacob Andreæ's Form of Concord.]

respecting both. Our friend Pilkington[1], the most vigilant bishop of Durham, died lately, and shortly before him my other half, my wife.

Salute, I pray you, from me all my Zurich brethren beloved in Christ, and especially masters Simler, Lavater, Haller, Rodolph Gualter the younger, and Henry Bullinger, now the elder. May the Lord Jesus Christ very long preserve you all safe for the edification of his church! Farewell. From my house at [Bishop's] Waltham, Aug. 10, 1576.

Your loving friend, and that of all the people of Zurich,

ROBERT WINTON.

CCXVI. J. RAINOLDS[2] TO R. GUALTER, JUN. [B. 112.]

OXFORD, *Aug.* 13, [1576.]

IN proportion to the infrequency of our intercourse, most accomplished Gualter, when you were resident among us, (not that I was wanting in inclination, but in the opportunity either of enjoying your friendship, or testifying my good will,) do I candidly acknowledge myself the more obliged to you, and exceedingly rejoice, that although separated by so great a distance, and wholly occupied by matters both of a public and a domestic nature, you nevertheless both retain in your mind, and cherish by your kindness, so grateful a remembrance of me. For if experience taught Aristotle that continued absence caused oblivion to cast a shade over friendship itself; that the flower as it were of our acquaintance (not the maturity of friendship), instead of withering away, should have grown up by length of absence, it would be ungrateful in me not to feel more gratifying in proportion as it has been unexpected. Your singular kindness in this respect has taught me how great is the difference between a christian and a heathen friendship: the latter of which, according to Aristotle, oblivion obscures, by reason of long continued separation of *persons;* while the former, according to Gualter, is enlightened by christian love, by reason of the lasting union of *souls.* But, for my part, though I will never allow you to excel me in the love wherewith you love one who loves you in return; yet I must necessarily allow

[1 Bishop Pilkington died Jan. 23, 1575—6.]

[2 John Rainolds became president of Corpus Christi College, and took a leading part in the Hampton Court conference in 1603. He was appointed one of the translators of the Bible, but died before the work was finished, in May 1607.]

you the priority in this respect, that you have preceded me in the manifestation of your regard. I admire your poem[3], either because it is yours, or because it is what it is, or rather, for these reasons united. For, as far as I can judge, it is sprinkled over with splendid evidences both of talent in the composition of the verse, and of judgment in the management of the subject, and of pious regard towards a well-deserving bishop, and of affection to the church of England, whose pious defender, Elizabeth, you commend, while you wound that cruel executioner, Bonner;—scourge her bitter adversaries, the papists;—comfort her afflicted members, the Christians;—deplore her wretched condition as she is now in languishment;—and, lastly, implore Christ Jesus to favour her with divine compassion. Your father prevented you from honouring our university with your praises by having preceded you in commending noble Oxford to the learned English, as "The home of Pallas, Phœbus and the Muses," far more, I am afraid, than she deserves: but we acknowledge his affection, and thank him for it.

I warmly congratulate you upon having the charge of a church committed to you, and also upon being united in marriage to a most excellent lady; for such I feel assured she is, from her being approved both by your father and yourself. I will not sing your epithalamium in return for your epicedium: but I both hope and wish that she may prove such a wife to you as Gregory of Nazianzum the son tells us that his mother was to Nazianzene his father; not only a helpmate, but as it were a guide, a mistress in godliness, both by her words and actions urging him on to the best pursuits. Master Caius, the very dear friend of us both, a young man of remarkable piety and learning, has left the university to feed a flock committed to his charge, about forty miles from this city. It happened, however, most opportunely, that on the evening of that very day in which the copy of your verses was sent me to be forwarded to him, he came to Oxford; but as he was obliged to go away early the next morning, he asked and obtained of me that I would both thank and salute you in his name: both which I now do. Our fellows too, whom you desired master president to salute, wish you every happiness in return. May the great and good God ever enlighten with his light, protect with his favour, and guide by his Spirit both yourself and your father, and

[3 This was a copy of verses, on the death of Parkhurst. They are still preserved at Zurich.]

all your friends, and the whole church of Zurich! Farewell. Dated from Corpus Christi College at Oxford, August 13th, 1576.

Yours in Christ Jesus, JOHN RAINOLDS.

CCXVII. R. GUALTER TO ARCHBISHOP GRINDAL. [B. 110.]

ZURICH, *Aug.* 24, 1576.

I SUPPOSE, most reverend father in Christ, that the letter which I wrote to your eminence in the month of March, by Laurence Bodley, has long since been delivered to you. Although nothing worthy of mention has taken place in Germany since that time, yet the Lutherans are still carrying on, with great zeal and contention, their purpose, about which I then wrote; with the view, namely, of oppressing us and our churches. And they would doubtless have made some progress by this time, had not the affairs of Poland[1] given some trouble to the emperor, of whose favour and concurrence they stand in need. He has appointed a conference at Ratisbon, and went thither in person about two months since; but he is sitting there almost alone, and waiting for the other princes. In the mean time some of them met together in Saxony, at the palace of the elector Augustus, to whom went also the elector of Bavaria to the astonishment of many; as he has hitherto been the most bitter enemy of evangelical doctrine. Those, however, of the more judicious sort suspect that they are forming some designs against the elector Palatine, which cannot be brought to pass without the concurrence of the Bavarian, since the princes of Bavaria and of the Palatinate are of the same descent and origin[2]. The visit of the emperor to Lewis, the son of the elector Palatine[3],

[1 The duke of Anjou, having quitted Poland to ascend the throne of France, on the death of Charles IX. was deprived of his royal dignity in the former country, and the throne declared vacant, on July 15, 1575. The emperor Maximilian in vain endeavoured to succeed; for the crown was bestowed on Stephen Batori, prince of Transylvania, on May 1, 1576.]

[2 Lewis II. duke of Bavaria married Mathilda, daughter of the emperor Rodolph I., by whom he had two sons, namely, Rodolph, from whom were descended the counts Palatine of the Rhine, and Lewis, the head of the house of Bavaria.]

[3 Frederic III. in the year 1560, removed from their pastoral functions the Lutheran doctors, and filled their places with Calvinists, and at the same time obliged his subjects to embrace the tenets, rites, and institutions of the church of Geneva. This order was abrogated in 1576, by his son and successor Lewis, who restored Lutheranism to its former credit and authority. Mosheim, Cent. XVI. ii. Chap. 2.]

who is in command at Hamburgh, and who has hitherto openly disagreed with his father in the sacramentarian controversy, is also an object of suspicion with many parties. Some are afraid lest he too should come to an understanding with the enemy, with the view of succeeding his father in case of his being dethroned or banished. Certain it is, that Augustus[4] is most hostile to us, and fresh examples of cruelty are every day exhibited by him against those whom he discovers to be of our sentiments. James Andreæ[5], an ambitious and abusive man, is supplying torches to this flame; and since he has nothing to reply to our Heidelberg brethren and ourselves, is endeavouring to overwhelm us by the authority and power of princes. What therefore I lately recommended for the defence of our common cause, seems not more useful than it is necessary; namely, that her most serene majesty should interpose her authority. For the elector Palatine has long been an object of their hatred, and they are aware that he is not reverenced and honoured even by all his own subjects as he ought to be. The Swiss possess no influence whatever with the princes. As to Geneva, they not only hate but execrate it. But they cannot thus despise or disregard the most serene queen of England, who possesses weight both on the ground of her royal majesty and of her great resources; and who, in fine, is in a position to afford valuable assistance to the whole of Germany against their common enemies the papists. She will therefore truly perform the part of a pious nursing mother of the church, if she will consider this business; nor will there be wanting reasons for drawing the king of Scotland into co-operation with her, the accession of whom may be of great advantage to the cause in hand. But I understand that the Scottish churches are on the most friendly terms with us, and I think they would be wanting in no service which ought to be required from christian men. Certainly some persons[6] of piety and reputation among them have advised me to dedicate my [commentary on the] Galatians (of which, most reverend father, I send you a copy) to the king of Scotland. I have thought right again to treat upon these matters, that you may perceive that an opportunity is still afforded you of doing a service to the church at large; and this opportunity is

[4 Namely, the Elector of Saxony. See above, Letter CCVIII. p. 486, n. 2.]

[5 See above, p. 180, n. 2.]

[6 One of these persons was probably Buchanan. The next letter in the series at Zurich is one from Gualter to him, begging him to present the book here mentioned to the king of Scotland. He alludes also to the harmony between the two churches, the Scots having subscribed to the Helvetic confession set forth in 1566.]

more plausible, because I scarcely think the emperor will rashly alienate the affections of any parties from him at this time, when he has need of numerous friends and allies, unless he is inclined to give up all hopes of the kingdom of Poland[1], and expose his Hungary to danger likewise. And the peace with France will add no little importance to this cause; for although the opinions and hopes of all parties respecting it are not the same, it is certain, notwithstanding, that the counsels of the common enemy are much confounded by the promulgation of it. I pray your eminence, most reverend father, to read these things and bear them with patience. For the public duty which I owe to the church, and which I doubt not you have greatly at heart, induces me to write them. May the Lord Almighty preserve you, and bless your most godly endeavours! My friend Julius Santerentianus, who desires to be commended to your eminence, heartily unites in the same prayer. Farewell. Zurich, Aug. 24, 1576.

Your eminence's most devoted, RODOLPH GUALTER.

CCXVIII. LEWIN[2] TO J. STURMIUS. [B. 111.]

[LONDON,] *Aug.* 25, [1576.]

WHEN the letters which you had written to the queen, the lord treasurer, and sir F. Walsingham, were first brought to me, as there was wanting a copy of your letter to the queen, and the matter on which you wrote was itself uncertain, I thought it better to suppress those letters, and to write to you upon the same subject, if it seemed good, more certainly and decidedly, shortly after. But when your other letter was brought to me on the day following, which you had written long before, and in which was inclosed the letter sent you by Lanscade; since I had also received instructions upon this subject, and had recommended you to forward any such letter that might be sent to you; I adopted a new plan, to carry all your letters to the lord treasurer, and make use of his advice, either to present your letters written to the queen and sir F. Walsingham, or to suppress them.

I can scarcely describe to you how much the lord treasurer was gratified with this mark of respect, from you in the first place,

[1 See above, p. 502, n. 1.]

[2 Strype mentions a Dr William Lewin, who was judge of the court of faculties.]

and then also from me: I shall only state, that he both read your letter, and admitted me into his private cabinet with the greatest courtesy. He recommended that your letter, and that also of Lanscade, should be delivered to sir F. Walsingham. But he did not advise the letter to be sent to the queen, both because the copy was wanting, and because the subject was still in uncertainty. And he recommended me to state this to sir F. Walsingham. I have therefore stated these things to sir F. Walsingham, and have given him your letter, and also that of Lanscade; besides also the letter to the queen, which however I do not think that he has presented. But that I might ascertain the fact, the lord treasurer advised me to meet them both in London on the day following.

When I was on my way back, and had almost reached the city, lo! I, who was before somewhat weak both in my eye-sight and the rest of my body, was seized on the journey by a tertian fever, under which I laboured for twelve days, so that I could neither wait upon the lord treasurer, nor upon sir F. Walsingham. But I hope that both of them have written to you by their merchants, as they promised me they would do.

While I was still labouring under the attack of fever, I sent your letter to the archbishop for his perusal; and at the same time requested him to advance your pecuniary matter[3] with our nobility as far as he could: respecting which also I had much conversation with the lord treasurer, and a few words also with sir F. Walsingham, in the queen's palace; for the time would not allow me to say much. But I would have you know how much you are indebted to the lord archbishop; for he has so managed your cause during my illness, and still continues to manage it, that I hope that you will certainly recover your money before many months.

But you must feel anxious to know by what means this can be effected. You must know then that our people have decided upon sending a new ambassador into France, a most discreet, brave, and noble personage[4]. The lord archbishop has been diligently urging him personally to undertake your cause. He has also requested the lord treasurer and sir F. Walsingham to recommend it to him; that it may be treated, not as that of a stranger, but a citizen; not as that of a private individual, but of an English ambassador, and one too who is most learned, most godly, and who deserves well both of ourselves, and of the French who profess the [protestant] religion. If we can get the business carried on in the queen's name, we shall seem to have gained every thing. I doubt

[3 See below, Letter CCXIX. note 2.]
[4 Sir Amias Paulet.]

not but that he will so commend the case to [the duke] d'Alençon, as to tell him that it will gratify the queen if he will take care that you are paid as soon as possible. I am unable, nor is it permitted me, to give you every reason you have to hope that you will by these means be relieved from debt. I only tell you this, that the archbishop was exceedingly delighted at the thought of the happiness it would occasion you, when all the money should be paid to the last penny; which, my father and my master, most accomplished Sturmius, I pray Almighty God may very speedily be the case.

But you must know that no offices or exertions of mine shall be wanting, or indeed, have been wanting, to this object; on account of which, when I was in a weak state of health, I undertook a long journey, and fell into a fever in consequence. But I would have you know that I am now well again, and am diligently employed on this same business of yours.

I have not yet received your autumnal pension[1], as it is neither due nor payable by the treasury before Michaelmas. I have however made arrangements with Santrinus, and given him authority to pay it you at this Frankfort fair. You will therefore expect and demand from Bernus as much as he paid you before; for our friend Santrinus has promised to manage this. But I wish to know how many florins Bernus paid you, that I may ascertain whether I can transmit you the money in any way more conveniently through another merchant.

I have written this by starts and in a hurry, as you may guess from the writing itself. Do you take care that nothing which is written or recorded by the historians be wanting in your commentaries on Demosthenes and Cicero. Farewell. Aug. 25.

See also that you thank the archbishop for having been so prompt and ready to relieve you from debt.

Yours, you know who,
from the subject of this letter, [LEWIN.]

CCXIX. LEWIN TO J. STURMIUS. [B. 113.]

[LONDON]. *Sept.* 8, [1576.]

I WROTE you word a few days since, most accomplished Sturmius, with what design and by what motives I was especially induced, after that Lanscade's letter had been sent to me by you,

[1 Namely, the salary which Sturmius received in his character of agent to queen Elizabeth at Strasburgh. See above, Letter CLXX. p. 412.]

to carry to court, together with that letter, those others written to the queen and the lord treasurer, and [sir Francis] Walsingham; also, how gratifying they both were to both those noblemen, and for what reasons I thought that the third letter addressed to the queen had not been delivered to her.

I wrote at the same time, and that at some length, respecting your pecuniary and French[2] affairs; especially about our primate, the archbishop of Canterbury, who is indeed most anxious for your welfare and interests; and also the method he devised both of relieving you from this debt, and restoring you to your former tranquillity and ease, whereby you may pass the remainder of your life with the gentle muses.

From that time you must know that the lord archbishop has used his utmost exertions in your behalf; that he has pleaded your cause with prudence, diligence, and friendly regard. For besides having again and again commended yourself and your affairs to sir Amias Paulet, a most noble-minded and valiant man, to whom a new embassy to France is entrusted, he also treated thenceforward separately, first with the lord treasurer, and afterwards with sir Francis Walsingham, that they might render this same Paulet for many reasons more interested in yourself and your fortunes. And the sum of this recommendation was, that those two noblemen, who possess the greatest influence and authority among us, should request and entreat Paulet to arrange your French business with

[2 Sturmius, out of zeal for religion, and compassion to the state of the professors of it in France, about the year 1562, had not only lent considerable sums of money himself of his own, but took up more at interest of the merchants of that place [Strasburgh] for the supply of the prince of Condé and Coligny the admiral of France; at what time also the queen herself lent them men and money. Sturmius was now pressed with this debt: and sir Amias Paulet being now, in September, going in an ambassage towards France, the archbishop took this opportunity to intercede with the lord treasurer; shewing him "how he [the archbishop] was moved as well with the old years, as also with the singularity and excellency of the man, earnestly to desire his lordship to recommend his case unto sir Amias. That whereas some order had been proposed by the present prince of Condé for the satisfaction of the said Mr Sturmius, by assisting him in obtaining a certain quantity of salt in Languedoc or Provence, in lieu of the said money, by sir Amias's good means unto the duke of Alençon and the said prince, that purpose might take effect, or some other order be devised for his relief. So as thereby he might take some comfort and pleasure of his life, now in his old years; and with more quietness finish many good works, which he [the archbishop] knew had been purposed and begun by him." Strype, Grindal, p. 322.]

the duke d'Alençon and the prince of Condé, either in the queen's name, or at least publickly in that of our nobles; which they both of them, moved in part by his authority, and partly too by the circumstances of your case, positively promised to do. And I have no doubt myself, nor, my Sturmius, would I have you to doubt, that they have already done as they were requested to do.

Paulet, having taken leave of the queen six days since, is preparing for his journey to France, and will very shortly set out. He is a man of great talents and of a powerful and lofty mind. I perceive that you inquire respecting the earl of Oxford, whether he also did not recommend your case to Paulet. But you must know that I diligently interested myself with the earl, who replied, that he would not only recommend his friend Sturmius to Paulet, but would also request the earl of Leicester to recommend him in every possible way. He added also, that unless you are relieved from France, he will take care that assistance shall be obtained for you in England: lastly, that he had a most high opinion of you, and had made most honourable mention of you: which things afforded me the greatest pleasure when I heard them, and certainly ought to delight you on being informed of them. But do you, as an old man, both make much of our archbishop, who is also advanced in years, and who is so firm and stedfast in friendship; and do not disparage this young earl, who has so favourable an opinion of you: from both I dare hope every thing, while from the one I dare promise every thing.

But now, my Sturmius, you will perhaps expect me to state what I advise or recommend to yourself. First of all, you should write as soon as possible to sir Amias Paulet, knight, and who will be our ambassador in France before this letter reaches you. You may state what you have heard from me from England, especially respecting the good-will and interest on your behalf manifested by the lord archbishop; and you may, if you please, add that of the lord treasurer and sir Francis Walsingham. I hope also that the earls of Leicester and Oxford will commend you to Paulet, but this is not yet ascertained by me: I heard from the earl of Oxford that they would do so, but do not yet understand that they have done it.

Perhaps also it might be desirable, that if you have any faithful and trustworthy friend in France, you would send him to Paulet with your letter, that he may sometimes put him in mind of you, and write you word back from France, what is doing, and what is to be done on your part. But if you have not at this time such a friend in France, nor can procure one to go thither at his own

expense, I dare not recommend you to send any one at yours. For it is not, perhaps, the part of a prudent man, who is already in debt, to involve himself yet more deeply. I hope that your letters, if you frequently send them to Paulet, as both giving an account of the affairs of Germany, and also full of your zeal and service, will prove sufficiently diligent remembrancers to him, who is naturally a worthy man, and is much beholden to the noblemen who have recommended you to him, and will certainly endeavour to shew himself grateful to them, and kind and liberal to yourself. This one thing must not be omitted, namely, that you inform Paulet, as soon as possible, of the amount that is owing to you, both in respect to the money you borrowed, and in respect to the interest which you paid the merchants on that account. I drew up from your letters a short statement of the whole debt you have incurred, and stated all the circumstances which might interest our nobles in your behalf; but the lord archbishop, with the greatest discretion, erased whatever might offend the French in case they should see it. One copy of this was delivered to the lord treasurer, another to sir F. Walsingham, and I doubt not but that Paulet has seen both. The lord archbishop retains the third, for the purpose of making other noblemen acquainted with your case; and that you may perceive yourself how the matter has been stated by me, and make any addition that may be requisite, I send you a fourth copy of this statement, and that just as it was interlined and corrected by the archbishop. I will omit nothing that I may think conducive to your interests; and if anything occurs to you, take care to let me know. There is one thing that I am thinking of, and that is, to induce one of Paulet's domestics, who has some respectable situation in his household, to interest himself in your affairs, and remind his master of you, when occasion arises; and lastly, to write me word when there is anything further to be done here.

My father and master, I will neglect no duty of a dear brother, since indeed you regard me in that light. My ability is but little, but I devote myself to you as far as I am able. Bernus will pay your autumnal pension at this Frankfort fair. Santrinus, an English merchant, whom I have made use of before, also promised to do this a fortnight since, respecting which I also wrote to you in my last letter. Farewell, Sept. 8.

Yours, LEWIN.

The archbishop requested me to salute you in this letter in his name. I am still suffering from weakness in my eyes, which makes me use the handwriting of another. Once more farewell.

CCXX. SIR F. WALSINGHAM TO J. STURMIUS. [B. 115.]

LONDON, *April* 23, 1577.

MOST learned Sturmius, I am obliged to reply to your many letters by a single one of mine: not but that I could wish, as it is right I should, to return you letter for letter; but I am prevented doing so by reason of my want of time, and the state of my health, which has now for some months past been very unfavourable. But I would have you assured that your letters were most gratifying, not only to myself and your other friends, who love you as they are wont to do, but also to her royal majesty, who ascribes as much to her friend Sturmius, as your virtue justly claims to itself by its own merits. This only thing is wanting in you, that you write more at length and more fully respecting the state of the times and the dispositions of men; and this the rather, in proportion as the times in which we live are abounding in dangers, and the dispositions of the men with whom we have to contend, are not without their infinite recesses and deep concealments: which nevertheless betray themselves I know not how, and are laid open for our good, in proportion as they are more diligently observed, and as we consider the new alliances which they are making every day. Your Germany has many sovereigns, whose friendship and alliance is courted by foreigners, who desire to gratify themselves rather than you: and to which party every one of them seems inclined, and what encouragement they afford either to the favourers of religion or the opposers of it, is neither without its use to know, nor will it be unwelcome for you to inform us. Send us word especially, what opinion you think we should entertain of the emperor, of the Palatine[1] of the Rhine, and Casimir: whether they will unitedly continue in that regard and good-will, which their pious and noble parent recommended to them on his death-bed, to the advancement of the gospel and of the general peace; or whether by their dissensions and domestic quarrels they will occasion destruction both to themselves and their people. There will not perhaps be wanting those who will leave no stone unturned to cast this torch into that illustrious house of the Palatines, and set it on fire; and for this reason we must guard against them with the greater diligence. If you will write upon these matters, and inform us whether any thing of the kind is to be suspected, and by what ways and means

[1 Louis VI. and John Casimir were sons of the Elector Palatine Frederic III., who died Oct. 8, 1576.]

it may be guarded against, you will do a most welcome service both to ourselves and to the whole christian world. Farewell and happily. From my house at London, April 23, 1577.

Your most attached, FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

CCXXI. SIR P. SIDNEY TO H. LANGUET[2]. [B. 117.]

COURT, *Oct.* 1, 1577.

MY very dear Languet, of your three letters which, in that written on the 24th of August, you affirm that you have sent me, I have only received two. Those indeed were full of all kindness and real friendship; but this is nothing new. Do you fancy that you can by this means perform the promise that you so solemnly made about your paying me a visit? That would be indeed, master Hubert, a downright imposition. I am very glad that you are so near Spires, where you may be properly dealt with.

There was a nobleman here a short time since, of the name of de Tamars, with whom I formed an acquaintance, and this the more readily, because he very frequently in my presence made honourable mention of you. So likewise Aldegonde[3] and the prince himself, when I was staying with his highness, often said a great deal by which I perceived that you were very dear to him. But why do I tell you these things? Plainly to persuade you to visit him, if you can do so with safety, and to come from thence to us. You will there have a most excellent field for putting into practice, in the formation of this new commonwealth, those principles which you have so diligently studied during the whole course of your life. And I hope indeed, that I shall come over thither, before many weeks have elapsed; for I have a great regard for that prince, and have

[2 Hubert Languet had been minister of state to Augustus, elector of Saxony, from whose service he retired in consequence of the controversy between the Lutherans and Zuinglians about the eucharist, on his taking part with the latter. He afterwards accepted an invitation to Antwerp from the prince of Orange. He was the intimate friend of Melancthon, Thuanus, and Du Plessis, by the last of whom his character is thus described: "Is fuit quales multi videri volunt; is vixit qualiter optimi mori cupiunt." He died at Antwerp, Sept. 20, 1581. His correspondence with Sir P. Sidney has been lately translated by the Rev. Steuart A. Pears.]

[3 Philip de Marnix, lord of Mont St Aldegonde, was the personal friend and adviser of William, prince of Orange, and in 1575 was one of the deputies sent by the States to desire the protection of queen Elizabeth. He was engaged in a Dutch version of the scriptures, when he died, in 1598. See Moreri, Bayle, Melchior Adam.]

perhaps in some way been of more service to him than he is aware of. The leaning of our minds is such at this present time, that (should the wars be continued in Flanders) I am in some hope that the prediction, which you formerly uttered respecting me at Vienna, will have a happy fulfilment. The marquis d'Havre[1] demands assistance, and I think, if occasion so require, he will obtain it[2]. The peace with France in some measure disturbs our queen: for she thinks she has not been properly treated. You know the reason. For my own part I consider these things as of little importance: for they will always have both a reason and a disposition to make a rupture, provided only they see any certain ground on which to rest.

I wrote to you a year ago about a certain Frobisher[3], who, in rivalry of Magellan, has explored that sea which he supposes to wash the north part of America. It is a marvellous history. After having made slow progress in the past year, so as only to pass in the autumn the Feroe isles and an island which he supposes to be Friesland[4], discovered by the Venetian Zeni[5], he touched at a certain island for the purpose of recruiting both himself and his crew. And there by chance a young man, one of the ship's company, picked up a piece of earth[6] which he saw glittering on the

[1 This was Charles Philip de Croy, a younger brother of the duke d'Arschot, who was at this time, 1577, commanding a part of the troops of the States at or near Antwerp.]

[2 The marquis d'Havre and Adolph Metherk were sent over by the States to borrow of queen Elizabeth a hundred thousand pounds sterling for eight months. Wright's Queen Elizabeth and her Times, II. 70. See also Camden, Elizabeth, p. 221.]

[3 Sir Martin Frobisher left Blackwall on his first voyage in June 1576, under the patronage of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, and arrived at Harwich on his return, Oct. 2. See Hakluyt, III. 29, 57.]

[4 "The 11th day (July) at a S.E. sun, we had sight of the land of Friesland bearing from us W.N.W. sixteen leagues, and rising like pinnacles of steeples, and all covered with snow. I found myself in 61 degrees of latitude." Hakluyt, as above. This is however now generally supposed to be Cape Farewell, in the south of Greenland.]

[5 Nicholas and Antony Zeni professed to discover this country in the 14th century, being driven thither from Ireland by a tempest.]

[6 "One brought a piece of black stone much like to a sea-coal in colour, which by the weight seemed to be some kind of metal or mineral. This was a thing of no account in the judgment of the captain at first sight, and yet for novelty it was kept in respect of the place from whence it came. After his arrival in London, being demanded of sundry of his friends what thing he had brought them home out of that country, he had nothing left to pre-

ground, and shewed it to Frobisher; who, being engaged in other matters, and not believing that the precious metals were produced in a region so far to the north, considered it of no value. But he returned home at the beginning of winter. The young man kept the earth by him, as a memorial of his labour, (for he had no thought of any thing else,) till his return to London: and there, when one of the friends of the young man perceived it shining in an extraordinary manner, he made an assay, and found that it was the purest gold, and without any intermixture of other metal. Wherefore Frobisher[7] went back to the place this last spring, under orders to explore that island[8], and, should it answer his expectation, to proceed no farther. This he has done, and has now returned, bringing his ships, of which he had only three[9], and those of small size, full laden; and he is said (for they have not yet unloaded) to have brought two hundred tons of ore. He has given it as his decided opinion, that the island is so productive in metals, as to seem very far to surpass the country of Peru, at least as it now is. There are also six other islands[10] near to this, which seem very little inferior. It is therefore at this time under debate, by what means these our hitherto successful labours can be still carried on in safety against the attacks of other nations, among whom the Spaniards and Danes seem especially to be considered; the former, as claiming all the western parts by right from the pope; the latter, as being more northerly and therefore nearer; and relying on their possession of Iceland, they are better provided with the means of undertaking this voyage. They are also said to be sufficiently skilled

sent them withal, but a piece of this black stone. And it fortuned a gentlewoman, one of the adventurers' wives, to have a piece thereof, which by chance she threw and burned in the fire, so long, that at the length being taken forth, and quenched in a little vinegar, it glittered with a bright marcasite of gold. Whereupon the matter being called in some question, it was brought to certain gold-finers in London to make an assay thereof, who gave out that it held gold, and that very richly for the quantity." Hakluyt, as above.]

[7 Frobisher left Blackwall on his second voyage, on Whitsunday, May 26, 1577, and returned to England on the 28th of September.]

[8 This was an island bearing the name of Hall, whence the ore was taken up, which was brought into England this last year, 1576; the said Hall being present at the finding and taking up thereof, who was then master in the Gabriel with Capt. Frobisher. Hakluyt.]

[9 Namely, the Aide, of two hundred tons, the Gabriel, and the Michael, of about thirty tons each.]

[10 Viz. in the neighbourhood of Frobisher's Straits.]

in the art of navigation. I wish, therefore, for the sake of our mutual friendship, that you would send me your opinion upon this subject, and at the same time describe the most convenient method of working those ores. You promised that you would send me the laws of Guttenberg[1]. I pray you to do this as soon as possible. Some light may possibly be obtained from them; for we understand this art little better than we do the cultivation of vines. Remember therefore so to write, as that you may answer to the great reputation you enjoy among us; for, unless you forbid it, I will shew your letter to the queen. The thing is truly of great importance, and one which may probably, some time or other, be of use to the professors of the true religion. I have written to you three times on that important affair[2] of mine; so that I think you are satisfied on that score.

I pray you to write to me with all diligence, and I shall perhaps shake off my slothfulness. Send your letter to my friend Freming. For de Taxis[3] has too much worked his swift horses. I am truly sorry for that man's misfortune. My friend Beale[4] is now, I believe, sweetly renewing in your society the advantages of ancient friendship. I love him, and yet I envy him. Our friend Lubetius has been conferring with me about the money which the king of France owes to the free cities of Germany. Here truly I perceive the council are much inclined to oblige the German cities. But, as you know, you Frenchmen have for a long time owed us the whole of Aquitaine and Normandy, but you would sooner make yourselves bankrupts, than discharge the debt; and yet we esteem such debtors very little, and such bad farmers [of the revenue] far less. I beg you will write me word as to what is the state of your affairs. You very much wrong me, if you are not fully persuaded of my entire readiness to serve you by every means in my power. And you must not charge upon me the saying, "out of sight, out

[1 Guttenberg was a town in Bohemia, in the neighbourhood of which there were certain silver mines; and the laws here mentioned seem to refer to the municipal code which regulated the working of them.]

[2 This appears to be some affair unknown to the biographers of Sir Philip Sidney. Languet often refers to this *magnum negotium*, but without giving a hint of its nature.]

[3 Languet says in a letter to Sir Philip Sidney, in 1575, "Consulo ut scribas ad Joann. Baptistam de Taxis, qui stationariorum equorum procurationem habet in Belgio."]

[4 Robert Beale was clerk of the council, and often employed in private missions to the protestant princes of Germany, an account of which, written by himself to the lord treasurer, is given in Strype, Ann. IV. 117.]

of mind:" for I have never felt any diminution of that ardent affection with which I have always regarded you; but it has rather increased from day to day, and it is when absent, that I have most of all felt the sweetness of your society. But observe what Aristotle says of old men in his Rhetoric; namely, that they are cold in love, and that we are deceiving our own spirits in cultivating friendships, as if they were nothing else but the smoke of youthful ardour. But who, I pray, will now dare to accuse me of laziness, seeing that I have written so long a letter? See that you write me one yet longer in return; for you will have a month at least to do it in. Farewell, and commend me to the worthy Bain[5], our friend Lubetius, Clusius, the excellent Jordan, and my Andrew[6]. And so offer my services to Butrech, the best doctor among reisters[7], and the best reister among doctors, (as, if I mistake not, Cicero says of Scævola and Crassus[8],) as the services of one who loves them all, and desires to gratify and be of use to every one of them. Again, my Hubert, farewell. From the queen's palace, Oct. 1, 1577.

Your most loving, PHILIP SIDNEY.

I wonder that I have not of a long time heard any thing of Wacker. Henry, baron of Lichtenstein, was here shortly after my return from Germany, to whom I did not shew so much courtesy as I ought to have done, having been at that time so much involved in business; and by reason of the absence of my father and uncles, who were then at Bath, I was not prepared to receive him as I could have wished. I pray you therefore, when an opportunity occurs, to make my excuse. He is certainly an excellent young man, and one whom I love from my heart; and whenever any of his friends shall come hither, I will endeavour to atone for my fault. My cousin Greville[9] dutifully salutes you.

[5 Bain. This seems a familiar abbreviation of Banosius, often named by Languet in his letters.]

[6 The name of this person was Andreas Paulus. He is often mentioned by Languet.]

[7 Languet, in one of his letters, calls the same person "doctor equestris." He appears, from a "letter of news," MS. Cotton. Galba, c. 254, to have been in the suite of prince Casimir. *Reister* is an old word for a trooper. Daniel Rogers writing from Enchusen, July 26, 1577, to the earl of Leicester, speaks of Don John "making a levy of reisters." Wright's Elizabeth, II. 60.]

[8 An allusion to Cic. de Oratore, I. 39. *Juris peritorum eloquentissimus, eloquentium juris peritissimus.* See also ibid. 50.]

[9 Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke.]

CCXXII. R. GUALTER TO G. BUCHANAN. [B. 118.]

ZURICH, about *Dec.* 22, 1577.

WHEN my homilies upon the epistle of St Paul to the Galatians, dedicated to the most serene king of Scotland, were published last year, I wrote to you, most excellent and honoured sir, on the 31st of August, and sent two copies of that book, one of which I requested you to present to the king's majesty in my name, and to keep the other for yourself as a mark of my affection and respect. But from that time I have received no intelligence either from England or Scotland, as to what has been done with the books. The London merchant, to whom our printer [Froschover] had entrusted the parcel, told him that it had been duly and safely forwarded to you. But of this I am rather inclined to doubt, partly from your so long silence, and partly from his covetousness, which I have discovered in many other instances, and which renders the man careless in the execution of such commissions as he perceives to be unattended with any advantage to himself. And the noble youth the lord George Keith, the son of the earl Marischal of Scotland, has increased my suspicion; for he also thinks that there has occurred something of the kind, knowing as he does your great facility and eagerness in cultivating the friendship of worthy men. When, therefore, he wrote to me in the month of August respecting the foul murder of his brother William[1], and requested my services in honouring his memory and his death, and moreover very kindly offered his assistance in taking charge of my letters; I thought that so desirable an opportunity was on no account to be neglected, and paid such a tribute to his brother's memory as I was able to do in the midst of the occupations and weighty affairs which call me away from the study of poetry, in which I formerly so much delighted; and at the same time I have sent this letter to be forwarded to him at Lausanne, that he may send it you from thence together with his own: and I entreat you, most learned Buchanan, to receive it in such sort as you are wont to receive the services of one by whom you are so greatly esteemed; and relieve me, I pray you, from my present anxiety, by letting me know whether my homilies have come to your hands, and how they have been re-

[1 William Keith, son of lord William Keith and brother of George, earl Marischal, was unfortunately killed in an excursion into the country, while prosecuting his studies at Geneva. Beza, Gualter, and other learned men honoured his memory with eulogies. M'Crie's Life of Melvill, 1819. Vol. I. p. 428.]

ceived by the king's majesty. This I solemnly declare to you, that I have no other object in my lucubrations than to benefit the church: which object if I can in any measure attain unto, I shall not repent of any labour or inconvenience. Farewell, most excellent and much honoured sir. Zurich, on the day of the winter solstice, in the year of Christ's birth 1577.

Your excellency's most attached,

RODOLPH GUALTER.

CCXXIII. SIR P. SIDNEY TO H. LANGUET. [B. 119.]

[COURT], *March* 1, 1578.

MY very dear Hubert! Robert Beale[2] and Rogers[3], and your friend Butrech, arrived here together, with your most wished for letters; so that I seemed to myself both to hear and see you at the same time to my exceeding delight. You sharply accuse me of slothfulness, and in the meantime fall into the same fault, nay, a far greater, inasmuch as I am always made better by your letters, while mine must of necessity grate upon your ears to no purpose. And the use of the pen, as you may perceive, has plainly fallen from me; and my mind itself, if it was ever active in any thing, is now beginning, by reason of my indolent ease, imperceptibly to lose its strength, and to relax without any reluctance. For to what purpose should our thoughts be directed to various kinds of knowledge, unless room be afforded for putting it into practice, so that public advantage may be the result, which in a corrupt age we cannot hope for? Who would learn music except for the sake of giving pleasure? or architecture except with a view to building? But the mind itself, you will say, that particle of the divine mind, is cultivated in this manner. This indeed, if we allow it to be the case, is a very great advantage: but let us see whether we are not giving a beautiful, but false appearance to our splendid errors. For while the mind is thus, as it were, drawn out of itself, it cannot turn its powers inward for thorough self-examination; to which em-

[2 See above, p. 514, n. 4.]

[3 Namely, Daniel Rogers, the son of John Rogers, the protomartyr in queen Mary's reign. He is said by the writer of the Athenæ Oxonienses to have been "the most accomplished gentleman of that time, and a very good man, and excellently learned." He was sent to the prince of Orange in the year 1575, when the queen had declined to assist him and the Netherlands against the violence of Spain. See Strype, Ann. III. i. 392, 394.]

ployment no labour that men can undertake, is any way to be compared. Do you not see that I am cleverly playing the stoic? yea, and I shall be a cynic too, unless you reclaim me. Wherefore, if you please, prepare yourself to attack me: I have now pointed out the field of battle, and I openly declare war against you.

But I wonder, my very dear Hubert, what has come into your mind, that, when I have not as yet done any thing worthy of me, you would have me bound in the chains of matrimony; and yet without pointing out any individual lady, but rather seeming to extol the state itself, which however you have not as yet sanctioned by your own example. Respecting her[1], of whom I readily acknowledge how unworthy I am, I have written you my reasons long since, briefly indeed, but yet as well as I was able. At this present time, indeed, I believe you have entertained some other notion; which I earnestly entreat you to acquaint me with, whatever it may be: for every thing that comes from you has great weight with me; and, to speak candidly, I am in some measure doubting whether some one, more suspicious than wise, has not whispered to you something unfavourable concerning me, which, though you did not give entire credit to it, you nevertheless prudently, and as a friend, thought right to suggest for my consideration. Should this have been the case, I entreat you to state the matter to me in plain terms, that I may be able to acquit myself before you, of whose good opinion I am most desirous: and should it only prove to have been a joke, or a piece of friendly advice, I pray you nevertheless to let me know; since every thing from you will always be no less acceptable to me, than the things that I hold most dear.

There is no news here, except that it is a novel and almost unheard of circumstance in government, that nothing novel has occurred. Frobisher's gold is now melted, and does not turn out so valuable as he at first boasted: however these islands at the sixty second degree are not to be despised; but they keep this as a great secret, lest, as you know, the opportunity be forestalled. Nay more, they expect to be able to cross the sea at the same latitude; so incorrect is the description of the world as given by cosmographers: but if there should be open sea at such a temperature, you perceive it will be of great importance.

I believe the queen will do what you wrote to me about for the sake of prince Casimir; but I was loth at this present time to say much upon that subject, as I know that it is our disposition

[1 Lady Penelope Devereux, of whom Sidney was an admirer, may probably be alluded to.]

not to do any thing in a hurry. What else can I now write to you, when I am so very sleepy, except that I love you as my own heart, and that I desire nothing more earnestly than that I may sometime be able to prove it? My friend Greville salutes you. Humbly salute in my name the count and countess of Hanau, and write me word how they like the dogs I sent them. I have now written to Lubetius, Banosius, Andrew, Anselm, Merell. Am I then lazy? I pray you to salute Clusius, and tell master Salvart[2] that I am greatly indebted to him for the book he sent me translated into French. When it was put into my hands, I was exceedingly busy; but I will sometime shew myself deserving of his courtesy. Salute also master Glauburg, whom I will willingly oblige. Farewell, dearest Languet. March 1, 1578.

Yours, PHILIP SIDNEY.

I will shew Beale every friendly office in my power, both for his own deservings, and especially for your recommendation of him.

CCXXIV. L. HUMPHREY TO R. GUALTER. [A. 131.]

OXFORD, *Aug.* 11, 1578.

IMMANUEL. I recognise in your letter, most learned Gualter, express manifestations of your wonted kindness and discretion. For I regard it as a proof of the greatest kindness, united to peculiar condescension, that you were inclined to address one who had been so long silent, and almost ungrateful. But though I have written too seldom, you must not attribute it either to ingratitude or forgetfulness in me, who am frequently recalling to mind, and who, God permitting, will cherish in my memory as long as I live, the favours which you so often and so largely conferred on myself and on my brother exiles. But now that I am challenged to write, I will seize upon every occasion and opportunity [of doing so], and will never allow a messenger to go from hence to you without a little note from myself. For in truth I had rather seem unpolished and extemporaneous, than regardless and neglectful.

Your great anxiety respecting the progress of your Swiss friends, Ulmius[3] and his companion[4], is a mark of your prudence;

[2 Salvart was in the suite of Prince Casimir.]

[3 He was the son of John ab Ulmis, who had been fellow of St John's, Oxford.]

[4 John Huldrich.]

for it is always better to cherish a prudent fear than a too sanguine hope: this however I can truly affirm, that each of them is both studying hard with us, and conducting himself with propriety; which assertion I have no doubt but that they will fully make good both to you and the senate. Since therefore I feel assured that the result will make this manifest to you, I cannot but recommend to you these young men of such excellent hope. I wrote to the bishop of Winchester, who has already contributed somewhat, and promises also that he will take charge of them from this time. Your intelligence of the death of P. M. and our other fathers, and of your son[1], formerly my pupil, is indeed most painful and distressing; on my own account, individually, who deservedly regarded and loved them; publickly, for the church's sake, for whom it is so grievous and lamentable to be continually losing everywhere so many of her brightest ornaments. You, however, most reverend father, are a host in yourself, and I therefore entreat you to continue to benefit the christain commonwealth by your learned and pious lucubrations; so that the meditations of your old age, like the song of the swan, may delight us again and again. How severe is this loss of our most excellent men, England has long known to her cost; nor can she, I think, ever forget, and certainly ought not to remember without grief, so many funeral piles of martyrs yet recent; so many deaths of our most excellent men, Jewel[2], Parkhurst[3], Pilkington[4], and others. But these are the signs preceding the end of the world, and the latest and most awful on which this our age has fallen. Satan is roaring like a lion, the world is going mad, antichrist is resorting to every extreme, that he may with wolf-like ferocity devour the sheep of Christ: the sea is full of pirates, the soil of Flanders is wet with the blood of Christians; in France, Guise is reported to rage in his new slaughter-house against the protestants. England, by the favour of God, is yet safe; but how can she be secure from human malignity? For it is greatly to be feared that the flames of our neighbour's house may reach us; the Tridentine fathers enforcing that bloody decree of theirs, and our daily sins deserving the execution of it.

The news is now reported in Flanders, that [duke] Casimir[5] is lingering still in Guelderland, and is laying siege to Deventer, and

[1 See n. 3, p. 432.] [2 See p. 382.] [3 See p. 488, n. 2.]

[4 Pilkington died Jan. 23, 1575-6.]

[5 Duke Casimir was the son of the Elector Palatine. He brought down an army of German horse and foot into the Netherlands, at the charge of Elizabeth. Camden's Eliz. p. 226.]

that he shortly intends to unite his forces with our troops; that the Austrian [Don John] is fortifying himself within the city, with ditches and trenches and walls; that on the first of August he sent forth his light troops against the English, French, and Scots; that there was sharp fighting on both sides from eight o'clock till five in the evening; that two hundred and fifty of our troops were slain, and eight hundred of the enemy's; that our side bore away the victory; that Norris[6], an Englishman, had four horses killed under him, and then escaped, not without honour to himself and destruction to the Spaniards, whom they either routed or cut down. What will be the end of this war, God Almighty knows, to whom I commend again and again the universal church, as well as yours and mine in particular, and your studies, and all our fathers and brethren, namely, masters Lavater and Ulmius, and Christopher Froschover, and all Zurich, formerly the hospitable retreat of Englishmen. Farewell, my most illustrious friend. Master Cole is well, and is now in the country. Oxford, Aug. 11, 1578.

Your most respectful, LAURENCE HUMPHREY.

CCXXV. L. HUMPHREY TO R. GUALTER. [A. 132.]

OXFORD, *Dec.* 17, 1578.

HEALTH in Christ Jesus. It is partly from my private regard and kind feeling towards them, and partly from their merit and necessity, that I am induced to write somewhat to you at this time about the private affairs and situation of Rodolph Ulmius and John Huldrich. For I must candidly confess that there is not here for them that provision which you ask, and which I desire myself; because those very members of the university who ought to assist others, are themselves in want, and dependent on the liberality of their friends. I wrote to the bishop of Winchester, who gave something to Rodolph; and likewise to the earl of Bedford, who has always paid that regard to my letters, and especially to yours, which it was right and proper he should do. He [Rodolph] has lately returned to us from Devonshire, where the earl is now residing, not indeed overburdened with money, but yet in some measure pro-

[6 "John Norris, the lord Norris his second son, the general of the English, fighting stoutly, had three horses slain under him, and got great commendations in this battle for his martial valour." Camden's Eliz. p. 226.]

vided with it, and presented with a salary. I have placed both the young men in Broadgate Hall[1], as we call it, not far from Christchurch, where John's father was most liberally and kindly entertained in king Edward's time. Should I be able to afford any money, I will most willingly bestow it. But since charity is getting cold in this declining age of the world, and many of the French [protestants] are continually coming over to us with their families: and as our people imagine that the Swiss are travelling for their own pleasure out of mere curiosity, rather than that they are necessarily banished on account of religion; for this reason they have been supplied more sparingly and grudgingly than others. I therefore entreat you to aid them by your patronage, and earnestly to undertake their cause, so that care may be taken for the payment of their promised stipend as soon as possible. They appear amiable and studious; and though they are at present unknown to our people, on account of the absence of Rodolph, who has been staying with the earl, yet when they shall have become known, they will more and more recommend themselves, and conciliate the regard and good will of all.

We, as the saying is, are doing as we can. All things are settled at home: the pope attacks us, not with open hostility, but intrigue: with bulls, abusive pamphlets, and secret machinations. The French are quiet, nor is a single spark of war bursting forth: besides, in Flanders they are all extinguished, since John of Austria is at rest, or rather removed by the pestilence[2]. There is danger, however, of their quarrelling amongst themselves, and that, distracted by war or internal dissensions, they will run headlong against their own vitals; for what will not the dregs of faction effect? May the Lord Jesus restrain in his goodness the malignity of these latter times!

[1 Broadgate Hall is now merged in Pembroke College.]

[2 According to the most common opinion, says Moreri, he died of poison in his camp near Namur, Oct. 1. 1578. But lord Burghley thus wrote to the earl of Shrewsbury, from Theobald's, October 8th. "By letters which I have received within this three hours at London, I am certainly advertised that Don John de Austria is dead of the plague." Strype. Annals. II. ii. 159. Camden adds, that he died, "as some say, out of very grief, because he found himself neglected by the king his brother, after he had gaped first after the kingdom of Tunis, whereby Guleta or Goletta in Africa was lost, [being taken from the Spaniards in 1574 by Selim II.] and then after the kingdom of England; and had secretly entered into a confederacy with the Guises, without the privity of the French king and the Spaniard, for the defence of both crowns. Camden's Elizabeth, p. 227.]

Garland Holland, an Oxford bookseller, salutes both you and master Christopher Froschover. Master Cole is now absent: master Westphaling[3] desires me to send his regards to Julius, as I do also for myself, wishing all of you every happiness. Master Lavater is, I hope, in good health. Continue to promote by your pious labours the cause of learning and religion, to the end that in this benighted age men, becoming by your means more and more enlightened, may behold the light of divine truth by the blessing of God, whom I pray again and again to preserve your piety, together with all your friends, and the church of Zurich, (formerly the hospitable abode of the English,) both to you and to ourselves. In haste. Oxford, December 17, 1578. Farewell, most learned sir.

Your most respectful, LAURENCE HUMPHREY.

CCXXVI. R. HILLES TO R. GUALTER. [B. 125.]

LONDON, *Jan.* 10, 1579.

MUCH health. I understood, my very honoured and beloved friend in Christ our Lord and Saviour, by your letter dated at Zurich on the seventh of last November, that you were in good health; and I pray our gracious God very long to preserve you to his glory and the edifying of his church. It afforded me indeed great comfort to learn from your aforesaid letter, that you have borne with such firmness and resignation the loss of your very dear sons and intimate friends; because "blessed are the dead which die in the Lord; even so, saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labours." For if you were to wear yourself out by constant grief, you could never expect any benefit or advantage therefrom: for it is most certain that they will never return into this world, and it is equally certain that you will go to them.

The letter, which I received inclosed in yours for master Laurence Humphrey, I sent to him at Oxford, on the last day of December, by a trustworthy messenger, who brings letters from the university every week. So that there is no doubt but that he has most certainly given your letter aforesaid to master doctor Humphrey before this time. But I pray you, that in case you should have any other letters directed to me, you would send them to Strasburgh, to master Theobald Behem, a merchant there, who

[3 Herbert Westphaling was a canon of Christ Church, and afterwards Bishop of Hereford. Strype, Parker, II. 6; Whitgift, I. 466.]

can send them to me without any difficulty, and that you will not forget to send the money for the postage at the same time, for otherwise I fear that he will not send the letters so readily by the Spires post.

I have to thank you for having written me the news you had then heard about the duke d'Alençon, (who is, as I understand, the brother of the king of France); and I now send you word in return, that this same duke d'Alençon, at the end of last December, went away into France, together with all his troops, from a town of the Low Countries, called Bergen in German, and Mons in French. But the Flemish themselves say, that it is in this way he means to defend that town against king Philip, as his grandfather did the city of Metz against the emperor Charles the fifth. I pray you, commend me to my old friend Julius Sancterentianus (who is employed in Froschover's printing office as a corrector of the press) and tell him that I received, two months since, his kind letter, dated at Zurich on the 24th of August, and also, a month after, the five books specified in the same letter. One of these I have kept for myself as he desired; the others I have sent to Oxford by a trusty messenger, to master Herbert Westphaling, canon of Christchurch. Tell him too, that, according to his desire, I will, God willing, repeat the service I have hitherto done him, in procuring his Oxford pension. I sent my letter dated in August last, to the late autumnal fair at Frankfort to master Christopher Froschover of Zurich, respecting which I expect shortly the answer of Julius Sancterentianus. And I hope that this was the letter which you understand to have been the last written by me to your friend Julius, as you mentioned at the beginning of your letter.

My wife, who is now-a-days a great invalid, (though she is now, thank God, tolerably well,) especially salutes you. I pray God of his goodness to preserve you in safety, together with your wife and all your family. Farewell. London, Jan. 10. In the year of Christ's birth, 1578. English style. Yours, according to my ability,

RICHARD HILLES.

CCXXVII. BISHOP COX TO R. GUALTER. [A. 133.]

Feb. 28, 1579.

As I was delighted by your letter, and the book which was sent me after the last Frankfort fair, so I am much distressed, my Gualter, that some part of Germany is disturbed by those mis-

chievous dissensions, of which God is not the author, but that wicked one, who daringly employs his agents in involving great men in error, in disturbing the church, and instigating unto iniquity the enemies of godliness.

We have good hopes of [the archbishop of] Canterbury. Our queen, who is in general most benign, was somewhat[1] offended with him. She is herself chastising the papists and contentious in good earnest. She will have all things done with order and decency. She possesses learned, and prudent, and pious councillors. The ministers of the word, however, are not yet admitted into that reverend assembly.

As to what you write concerning Ireland (in which country the Roman antichrist is so wont to make mischief,) should any disturbance arise, it will easily be repressed, either by our soldiers, who are always quartered there, or, should occasion require it, by a regular army. A short time since, however, the Earl of Essex, a man of the highest rank, and devotedly attached to our holy religion[2], and the most severe scourge of the Irish, was taken off by disease[3], to the great sorrow of many persons.

I am filled with joy, that God by his wonderful providence has delivered the people of Geneva from their enemies sent by Satan.

[1 Grindal was confined and sequestered in June, 1577, for his non-compliance with the queen's command with respect to the putting down the religious exercises and conferences of ministers, called prophesyings. See Strype, Grindal, 343. "The period expired without affecting his virtuous constancy, and subsequent severities kept him in disgrace and inactivity nearly to the end of his life." Soames's Elizabethan Hist. p. 227.]

[2 Sir Nicholas White gives the particulars of the death of the earl of Essex in a letter to Lord Burghley, dated Sept. 30, 1576. He writes, among other things, that at the last yielding up of his breath, he cried, *Couradge, couradge, I am a soldier that must fight under the banner of my Saviour Christ.* See Strype, Annals, II. ii. 84.]

[3 The earl of Essex died Sept. 22, 1576, not without suspicion of being poisoned by means of the earl of Leicester. See Strype, Annals, II. i. 576, and ii. 83. "A very excellent man certainly he was, in whom honesty of carriage vied with the nobility of birth; both which notwithstanding could not prevail against envy. For after he was constrained to give over his laudable enterprise in Ireland, he returned into England, having much wasted his estate; where openly threatening Leicester, whom he suspected to have done him injuries, he was by his cunning court tricks, who stood in fear of him, and by a peculiar court mystery of wounding and overthrowing men by honours, sent back into Ireland with the insignificant title of Earl Marshal of Ireland, where pining away with grief and sorrow, he piously rendered his soul to Christ, dying of a bloody flux in the midst of grievous torments." Camden's Elizabeth, p. 217.]

This it is to trust in the Lord as a most strong tower; this it is to be anxiously concerned for the glory of God, and to lay down one's life for it. This faith and godly unity vanquishes and puts to flight even the most bitter enemies. "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." Duke Casimir[1], a man of great fortitude and faith, is now with us, and he is here too not without a great hope of good. May the Lord Jesus protect you with your pious flocks, both from popish enemies, and from those who went out from us, when yet they were not of us!

But I must not be altogether unmindful of my friend Julius. I send you five pounds of our money: take three parts for yourself, and let Julius have two from you. Feb. 28, 1579. The attached friend of your piety, and most holy function,

RICHARD COX, bishop of Ely.

CCXXVIII. FRANCIS, EARL OF BEDFORD, TO [R. GUALTER.]

[B. 126.]

EXETER, *Feb.* 28, 1579.

Your letter, most excellent sir, wherein you recommended John Rodolph Ulmer[2], gratified me exceedingly; and he also is dear to me, not only by reason of my general good-will and affection for his country, and especially for yourself and his father; but I have also a wonderful regard for him by reason of his manifold good qualities. For he is a youth of honourable principles, such a one indeed as all good men will both love and praise as he deserves; and, as I understand from those who were acquainted with him at the university of Oxford, he is not only devoted to learning, but likewise entirely

[1 Duke Casimir was the son of Frederick, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, and came into England in the month of January, in a sharp and snowy winter, to excuse himself about the miscarriage of his expedition, laying the whole blame upon the French. He was most honourably received, and conducted with great pomp into London, with torches lighted, by the Lord Mayor, the aldermen and citizens, and to the court by the chief of the nobility; where he was entertained with tilting, barriers, and costly banquets, and honoured with the order of St George, the queen herself buckling on the garter about his leg. Camden's Elizabeth, p. 232. See also Strype, Annals, II. i. 160.]

[2 See Letter CCXXV. p. 521. Ulmer was the son of John ab Ulmis, who came to England in king Edward's time, under the patronage of the duke of Suffolk, and was made fellow of St John's College, Oxford. He died in 1580, and his descendants took the name of Ulmer.]

engaged in the pursuit of it, in which he has, by the divine blessing, made such progress, that I have no doubt but that his studies will ere long tend to the glory of God and the benefit of his church.

I greatly rejoice that your country is flourishing and prosperous both in religion and in all other respects; and am glad, most learned sir, and reverend father in Christ, that you are not yet worn out in your holy zeal for godliness, and your endeavours to promote the glory of God. And I heartily pray God to strengthen you more and more, and enrich you with his gifts, and defend you with his protection. Most excellent sir, farewell. Exeter, Feb. 28, 1579.

Your most devoted in the Lord, F. BEDFORD.

P. S. I thank you very much, most learned sir, for your singular kindness to me when I was with you in your country; and I earnestly entreat you to do the same in my name to the whole host of my Zurich Mæcenases.

CCXXIX. W. COLE TO R. GUALTER. [B. 127.]

OXFORD, *Feb.* 28, 1579.

THERE has come to me, most learned sir, a certain young man of Zurich, Ulmer's son[3], who, after some days as he tells me, is about to return to you. I could not refuse giving him a letter to you, who deserved so well of me when I was an exile many years since; not that I have at this time any thing worth your reading, but lest you should suppose, from my not writing, that I am unmindful of the obligations I have received. I hear that your son[4], lately a scholar of Oxford, and a youth of excellent promise, has been removed by an untimely death: which event indeed we all of us, to whom he was familiarly known during his sojourn in this place, most deeply deplore, not only on your account, as having lost a son of so much expectation, but more, as it is right we should do, because at this time the church of Christ cannot spare so much talent without great injury.

With respect to our English friends who were in exile with me at Zurich, I have nothing to write, except that out of so many scarcely five are now remaining. Master Horn the most excellent bishop of Winchester is in a very infirm state of health. Master

[3 See the preceding Letter.]

[4 See above, Letter CCXXIV. p. 520.]

Mullins[1] is archdeacon of London; master Reniger[2] archdeacon of Winchester; master Humphrey and myself preside over two colleges at Oxford, he at Magdalene and I at Corpus Christi. All the others have departed this life. From this you see to how small a number they are reduced, who sometime lived with you as exiles; and you see too in what a state are the affairs of us who as yet survive them. But if you wish to know what is the state of religion throughout all England, it is precisely the same as it has been from the beginning of the reign of our most serene queen Elizabeth. There is no change whatever. The queen of Scotland is with us, but not as an independent sovereign, nor is she at liberty to wander about at her pleasure. In Scotland they are most actively guarding and protecting the true religion, and every thing there is in a state of quiet and tranquillity. I hear that the duke of Parma[3] is preparing an army against the Low Countries. Casimir[4] has been honourably received by our queen, nor do I know whether any visitor has ever been more agreeable to her. The duke d'Alençon[5] is daily expected. He is in hopes, as I hear, of forming a matrimonial alliance here in England. I have thought fit to tell you these things at this time, especially as I have met with so opportune a messenger. Salute all my friends, and especially masters Lavater, Bullinger, Froschover, my Julius, &c. Farewell, my very dear sir, and return my affection for you. Oxford, Feb. 28, 1579.

Your most attached, WILLIAM COLE.

[1 John Mullins was fellow of Magdalene college, Oxford, and one of the exiles at Zurich in 1555. He was made successively archdeacon of London, canon residentiary of St Paul's, and rector of Bocking. Strype, Whitgift, I. 245.]

[2 Michael Reniger was expelled Magdalene college, Oxford, by Bishop Gardiner, and became an exile. He was afterwards chaplain to queen Elizabeth, and prebendary of Winchester. Strype.]

[3 The duke of Parma was appointed governor of the Netherlands on the death of Don John of Austria in the autumn of 1578. Strype, Ann. II. ii. 159.]

[4 See p. 526, n. 1.]

[5 The duke d'Alençon, or d'Anjou, to which title he succeeded on the accession of his brother to the throne of France, arrived privately in England with one or two only in his company, and came to the queen unexpectedly at her court at Greenwich. He made a second visit in 1581, and remained three months, in hopes of completing his proposed marriage with the queen. See Strype, II. ii. 317. Camden, Eliz. 233, 267.]

CCXXX. HUBERT LANGUET TO PETER HUBNER[1]. [B. 128.]

Dated at Baden, *June* 4, 1579.

Much health. I am surprised that you have not written to me respecting the studies of our young gentleman, master Sidney; for I very much expected from you some account of them. I suppose you remember what I told you, when conversing with you respecting his education; namely, that it is the especial desire of his illustrious father and brother, that he should acquire a correct knowledge of the German language; which I do not think will be difficult for him, if only the quickness of his understanding and strength of his memory are seconded by diligence and application; and if you frequently admonish him of his duty, and attentively perform your part, not only in explaining to him such passages in German as he may afterwards turn into Latin, but especially by conversing with him in German: for his being accustomed to converse in German is of far more importance to him than the study of German writers; for whatever German works contain any thing that may tend to the cultivation of his understanding, are almost all of them translated into languages with which he is acquainted. And he will never learn to speak German with fluency by the study of the German writers, even though he should devote a whole life to that object, unless he adds thereunto the habit of conversation. The commencement of such a habit will indeed be disagreeable to him, but it will grow pleasant in time; for when he shall perceive that he has made any progress, he will derive pleasure from that circumstance, and be rendered more active in making a farther advancement. But you must take care that you are not wanting to him in this matter; for you are well aware that I particularly requested it of you, and that you gave me your promise; and if you find your admonitions not very agreeable to him, you must not desist on that account, but persevere in your instruction. And if you do this there is no reason to doubt but that he will at length feel thankful to you; for he will perceive that you are acting with a desire for his advantage; and as he is of a generous disposition, he will in no wise make an ill return for the benefit. Farewell. From Baden, June 4, 1579.

Your most attached, Hubert Languet.

[1 The original of this letter is preserved at Zofingen.—Peter Hubner was educated at Heidelberg under Ursinus. See Pears's correspondence of Sidney and Languet, p. 161.]

CCXXXI. G. BUCHANAN TO R. GUALTER. [B. 129.]

Dated *July* 24, 1579.

I RECEIVED your former letter, together with the books, many months after you had sent them. The book I gave, as you desired me, to the king, who received it as he ought, that is, with a most favourable disposition towards you. He also sent in return such a message as occurred to him at the moment, and especially the following, "Whereas all my subjects are very greatly indebted to you, you have not only wished to involve me also in your debt, but have almost bound me to a personal service in default of payment, inasmuch as you take your share of a most heavy burden, partly to lighten our labour, partly to cultivate our yet inexperienced mind, and prepare it to receive the seed of learning and to bring forth good fruit." And since the labours of each of us has respect to the cultivation of the understanding, our share in it may fitly be compared to the industry of the husbandman, and yours to that celestial influence which renders all labour productive, and by the due temperature of the seasons gives the corn its increase. But your last letter, dated at Zurich in December 1577, did not reach us until August 1579. I have now been absent from court more than six weeks, by reason of ill-health; but as soon as I return thither, I will endeavour that the king shall steal a few moments from his occupations, to give you a testimony of his favourable regard towards you with his own hand; and should I not be able to accomplish this myself, I will take care that it shall be managed by my colleague, the pious and learned Peter Young[1], who will watch for a favourable opportunity of introducing the subject. Meanwhile I send you my commentary upon government[2], written indeed in troublous times, but now at last published after a moderate interval; the

[1 Mr Peter Young was one of king James's preceptors, and also his almoner. Sir James Melvil says of him that he was gentle, and loath to offend the king at any time, carrying himself warily, as a man who had mind of his own weal, by keeping of his majesty's favour. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 125.]

[2 This work was published in 1579, and entitled *De jure regni apud Scotos*. It was answered by Adam Blackwood in a book entitled *Adversus Georg. Buchanani Dialogum de jure regnandi apud Scotos pro regibus apologia*, Pictavii, 1581; and by W. Barclay in his book, *De regno et regali potestate*, Parisiis. 1600. It was condemned, together with other books, by the university of Oxford, in full convocation, July 21, 1683, the very day of lord Russel's execution; which decree however was ordered by the House of Lords to be

tumult having been assuaged, and the minds of men having become more accustomed to discourses of this kind.

My labour may possibly seem superfluous, and especially as the lucubrations of so many most learned men have already been set forth upon the same subject. But as they had collected a few scattered, though very excellent maxims upon this matter, I thought that I should not altogether lose my pains if I were to reduce them into method, and discuss the whole subject, not at random, but in an orderly and well-digested manner. And if good and learned men shall think that I have not failed in my endeavours, I shall not regard the approbation of the many.

July 24, in the year of Christ's birth 1579.

CCXXXII. ARCHBISHOP SANDYS TO R. GUALTER [A. 134.]

London, *Dec.* 9, 1579.

At one and almost the same moment, most learned and, on so many accounts, most honoured sir, I received two letters from you; and almost two years after they were sent, through a mistake, I suppose, in the address. For they were directed to the bishop of London, though three years have elapsed since my translation to the archbishoprick of York; so that your letters, seeking me in London, were later in reaching these northern parts of the kingdom. Now, however, as I am desirous of replying to your letters, these are the points more especially on which I wish you to be satisfied; that I keep in remembrance your regard for me, and that I still firmly remain your friend and faithful brother.

It does not escape my observation, that we are arrived at such a state of the times as is daily bringing forth some novelty or other: I should commit to paper such as are most fitting for you to be acquainted with, were it not that through the unhappiness of this age I have seen many things soberly written and piously conceived, partly from being lost, and partly from being intercepted, occasion very great danger to those who wrote them. That I may not, however, decline all information, accept the following. A treaty of marriage[3] is now on foot between the queen's majesty and the

burnt "by the hangman," March 21, 1701, after the trial of Dr Sacheverel. Robertson says of it, that it is founded, not on the maxims of feudal, but of ancient republican governments. Hist. of Scotland, I. 382.]

[3 The articles propounded on the part of the duke of Anjou, when he was here, in order to his marriage, to be granted by the queen and the lords of

brother of the king of France. What, however, will be the result, and what bearing it will have upon our affairs, scarce any one can tell. We pray God that he may deign to continue propitious to us. The purity of the christian religion is flourishing and prosperous among us, and can neither be overturned nor defiled by any devices of Satan. For although we are unable altogether to banish from the church, so as to prevent the appearance of a remarkable variety of names and opinions, those *new* men whom we call puritans, who tread all authority under foot; or the *veteran* papists, who celebrate their divine service in their secret corners; or the profane disputants, who deride the true worship of God; such, however, is the number and influence of the truly faithful, that both in numbers and appearance it very far takes the lead of all the separatists; and we entertain the best hope, that he who hath begun this good work in us will perfect it unto the day of the Lord Jesus. The archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindal, who presided over the churches of London and York before me, not having acted altogether in compliance with the queen's wishes, is now confined[1] to his palace, from which he is not allowed to move: I hope, however, and believe that in a short time he will be fully restored to liberty. Dr Horn, the bishop of Winchester, has departed[2] this life; but no successor is yet appointed to that diocese.

Ireland[3] is in a state of disturbance, owing to the seditious tumults of the rebels. Generals however are assigned, and soldiers enlisted, to reduce them to obedience. The affairs of the protestants

her council, with their answers to each article, are preserved in Strype, Annals, II. ii. 631. See also p. 317, &c. for an account of the duke's departure, from which it appears that "such was her majesty's presence of mind, and care of her subjects' welfare, that she subdued her private affection for the public good." This is farther evident from her letter to Sir Edward Stafford in the following year, whom she had sent away to France, to observe the behaviour of the French towards the Low Countries, of which the sovereignty had been offered to the duke of Anjou, and which she wished him to decline. She writes therein, "My mortal foe can no ways wish me a greater losse than England's hate, neither should death be less welcome unto me than such mishap betide me." Queen Elizabeth and her Times, Vol. II. p. 151.]

[1 See note 1, p. 525.]

[2 Bishop Horn died in the month of June, 1579. His will was proved on the 27th of that month. Strype, Annals, II. ii. 378.]

[3 That land indeed was now oppressed with the popish nobility and gentry there, who had raised a rebellion against the queen, headed by the earl of Desmond, lord Baltinglas, with an invasion of Italians and Spaniards, accompanied with the pope's blessing. Strype, Annals, II. ii. 330. For a full account of this rebellion see Camden's Elizabeth, p. 236, &c.]

in Flanders are going on well; for the papist malcontents, who are plotting against both their lives and fortunes, have recently suffered a most severe loss, and are thought to be not far from the total loss of all their influence in those parts.

As a testimony and token of my regard for you, my very dear friend, I was exceedingly desirous of sending you some of our wares, if any merchant would be willing to export them. But as I could not find any one bold enough to undertake the risk, (as these times are so surrounded with danger on all sides,) I hope that you will take in good part this lone and naked letter. And so, wishing you no less happiness than myself, now living in London, and waiting for the opening of parliament on the 20th of January, I desire for you and all your friends health in Christ. London, in England, December 9, 1579. Your brother in Christ, and most loving friend,

EDWIN SANDYS, Ebor.

CCXXXIII. R. GUALTER TO G. BUCHANAN. [B. 130.]

Dated *March* 8, 1580.

I WAS indeed surprised, most excellent and much-honoured sir, that I had for three whole years received no reply to my letters to the most serene king and yourself. But I have lately discovered that your letter met with the same fate as my own; for that which you wrote on the 24th of July last year, I received on the 6th of January. The longer however that it was in coming, the greater pleasure it afforded me, as announcing that my book had been so graciously received, and that this service of mine had been approved by one so learned as yourself, whose opinion I prefer to that of almost any others. I regret however that I am in the meantime deprived of that pleasure which I should have derived from your first letter. But as I have not seen it even unto this day, it must either have been destroyed by the perfidiousness of the malevolent, or from some other cause. But it is enough, as I said, that my service was not without gratification both to the most serene king and to yourself. And should there be added the testimony of the royal favour towards me written with his own hand, as you have so kindly promised, I shall then think myself happy in this respect.

There arrived together with your letter your book, *De jure regni apud Scotos;* which I have not only read myself, but have

lent to my colleagues and fellow-ministers to read and examine; all of whom entertain the same opinion as myself, namely, that the book is written with equal learning and authority, as it is with piety. And I wish that all kings would be persuaded of what you so well and piously state in it; for then would their subjects be more happy, and they themselves would not only reign happily on earth, but would also enjoy a participation of the heavenly kingdom, with the King of kings and Lord of lords, Jesus Christ. But because few of them entertain these feelings, and the greater part of them are corrupted by the blandishments of flatterers, and most abandoned characters; while they fancy themselves kings, they become the slaves of the most vile affections and vices; besides which they fleece the flock committed to their trust, of which they ought to be the shepherds, and at last ruin them together with themselves. I therefore esteem the most serene king of Scotland as fortunate and happy, in having obtained, in so corrupt an age, such an instructor, who is able to imbue his youthful mind with most wholesome precepts, and implant in him the seeds of truly royal virtues. And I hope that God, who has bestowed upon him this favour, will also grant that he may obey these salutary rules of conduct, and live happy and prosperous with his people, and rule them to the glory of his name. Thus have I thought fit to reply to your letter, and at the same time to recommend that if no more direct mode of transmitting letters to us should occur, you should send them to the most reverend Edwin Sandys, archbishop of York, with whom I have kept up a friendship of many years, and who will take care that they shall be forwarded to me by his agents in London. Farewell, most excellent sir. Zurich, March 8, in the year of the incarnation of the eternal Son of God, 1580.

Your most loving, RODOLPH GUALTER.

CCXXXIV. H. ZANCHIUS TO SIR F. WALSINGHAM. [B. 131.]

NEUSTADT, *Sept.* 24, 1581.

GREETING. When that most excellent man, John Sturmius, left us yesterday, he desired me, most illustrious sir, to write to you respecting his visit to us, the reason of it, and also respecting his departure. I said that I had not any acquaintance, much less any familiar intercourse with you; he replied, that he knew for certain that my letter would be agreeable to you, and that he

hoped this my writing would prove as it were the beginning of a friendship between us; for that you were so exceedingly well-disposed towards the professors of learning and godliness, that I should never have to repent of this service. I have no occasion, therefore, most honourable sir, to explain the reasons of my having thus ventured to write to you, as I have now briefly stated them. I only request that with your wonted discretion and kindness you will take in good part my simple style of writing, as that of an old man who has long since bade farewell to all the ornaments of composition.

The good old[1] man has suffered greatly by reason of his bold and open defence of the truth[2], which he has so stoutly defended, as he is still determined to do, that, being obliged in some measure to give way to the times, (for some parties threatened him with imprisonment,) he quitted Strasburgh on the first of August, and came to us the following day, where he was most hospitably entertained by every one, and especially by our most illustrious prince, who presented him with a golden medal of himself, as a mark of respect; and he, on his part, wonderfully refreshed us all, and edified the whole city by his reverend presence, his weighty and most learned discourse, and what is more, his decided evidences of piety, in hearing sermons, and partaking of the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

He wrote during this time, for he was never unemployed, three books against the apostle of ubiquity, but they have not yet seen the light. His cause was long agitated in the senate, and he was at length recalled by a letter from the magistrates, the public faith being pledged for his safety. Yesterday therefore, which was the 23rd Sept. 1581, all the expenses of his entertainment having been defrayed by the treasury of the most illustrious prince, he departed early in the morning for Strasburgh, well and hearty, and accompanied by some brethren, recommending to me repeatedly and most earnestly to write to you as he had desired.

You have then, most honourable sir, the fulfilment of Sturmius's injunction to me, that I should salute you, and acquaint you by my

[1 Sturmius was at this time 74 years old. He died in 1589, in the eighty-third year of his age.]

[2 Sturmius entertained Zuingle's opinions respecting the real presence, in consequence of which he was much persecuted by the Lutheran ministers of Strasburgh, and at last deprived of his rectorship of the university there, through the instrumentality of a divine named Pappus, with whom he had a long and tedious controversy. See Bayle, and Melchior Adam.]

letter of his visit, and his departure; which office I have undertaken the more readily, as I hoped that what Sturmius without any hesitation ventured to promise, would come to pass, namely, that my letter would not be displeasing to you, and that you would admit me among the number of your friends; which that you may do, I earnestly entreat you. May the Lord Jesus Christ preserve the queen's most serene majesty, all the nobility, the church and state, yourself and all good men; for by him, saith the apostle, do all things consist. Neustadt. Sept. 24, 1581.

Your excellency's, H. ZANCHIUS.

CCXXXV. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE CONFEDERATE SWISS CANTONS. [B. 132.]

OATLANDS, *Sept.* 1, 1583.

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, queen, &c., to the mighty and magnificent lords, the confederate lords of all Switzerland, health and prosperity. On consideration of the proceedings which have lately taken place, and still are taking place, by the command, and as it is pretended, in the name of the duke of Savoy[1] my cousin; on consideration too, of the causes of these disorders, and of the result that may be expected from them, not to mention that the most flourishing nations, and fairest cities, which have sprung from far more abject beginnings, are now lying overwhelmed and prostrate; it then came into my mind that it would be worth while to inform you of the things necessary for you to be acquainted with, and in which you appear to me to be especially interested. And of these there are two things in particular; one of which relates to a good understanding among yourselves, and which should have very great weight with you; the other, which requires you to aid and assist in all their need those who are members of your body; and the more especially, since whatever benefit you confer upon them, will redound to yourselves. And I have no doubt but that you duly weigh in your

[1 In the year 1581, the duke of Savoy, by the pope and other popish setters on, and by his own ambition accompanying, laboured to obtain the city and dominion of Geneva, famous for its religion, and a great nurse of pious men, and harbourer of exiles for religion: and which had been taken, had it not been prevented by the seasonable aid of some of their neighbours the Helvetians. The council sent a letter to the bishops, and ordered a collection to be made in behalf of the Genevese. See Strype, Whitgift, 412, &c. See also Lauffer's Helvetische Geschichte, 10 Th. pp. 286, 287.]

minds how profitable and necessary these remedies which are now stated by me, will be for your own liberty against every attack of your enemies. The commendations of your wisdom are now celebrated in the discourses and languages of almost all nations; to say nothing of the distinguished praise of your valour, respecting which no age will ever be silent; and on account of which no one, however powerful he may be in every description of troops, has at any time dared to make any secret attack against your safety and commonwealth, except those who have artfully insinuated themselves into the favour and friendship of particular parties; if you give place, however, to men of that kind, there is danger lest they should endeavour to diffuse at length pestiferous poison through the whole body, and this, while it will be advantageous to them, will be to yourselves ruinous and destructive. They act rightly therefore, who reject artifices of this kind; for they will in this way watch over their own safety, and will subdue their enemies, even without any injury to themselves. For indeed evil counsel is most dangerous to him who proposes it, and deceitful artifices fall to pieces of their own accord; whereas, when the bond of peace is in the mean time daily becoming more close, it can be weakened or dissolved by no stratagems whatever.

Consider, I pray you, the state of France; look upon Flanders; with what intestine wars France has for some time been raging, and is almost reduced to desolation; while Flanders is lying before our eyes prostrate and overthrown. Each has met with a downfall which they would never have experienced if they had in the smallest degree studied peace and concord. But now they have mutually enfeebled each other, and neither of them dares trust the other; since confidence is not easily restored to reconciled friends, and they are continually open to the charge of suspicion.

But with respect to Geneva, I admit that it is not very powerful; yet it is nevertheless a member of your body, and therefore, the greater injury it sustains, the more deeply wounded is the whole of your Switzerland. And although some of you, who entertain a different opinion, do not consider this, yet let them beware lest they some time experience the truth of it to their own cost. The friendly intercourse that has for some years past existed between yourselves and the city of Geneva, to the great advantage of both parties, you should be induced to confirm by mutual offices of kindness, as becomes neighbours; for if that still remain constant and uninterrupted, what mischief could happen to either party, which would not affect the other?

Add to this that Geneva is the market, and key to your territory, by which your enemies may easily be hindered from making war upon yourselves. But when Geneva is taken you will then have to consider for yourselves what security remains for you. Indeed, that very thing which is now in dispute between you and those who abuse the tender age of a good prince, supplied a reason to your ancestors to bind themselves in alliance with the people of Geneva under all circumstances whatever. Wherefore if they were right in what they did, you yourselves will easily perceive how you ought to act in the defence of this Genevese cause, both for your own advantage and with the approval of almost all nations.

I entreat therefore, and compassionately request your wisdom again and again, to vouchsafe, after the manner and courage of the Swiss, to bestow your strenuous exertions and active endeavours with respect to this affair, which is one of common interest both to yourselves and the people of Geneva; and that you will be unanimous in defending this neighbouring city from all stratagems and attacks, as far as lies in your power. I request moreover, that you will not think it beneath you to mitigate by your entreaties and intercession, that ill-will which this young prince has perhaps conceived against your confederates, and to request his excellency to commit the matter to law, and prosecute it in a civil suit before competent judges; or rather let him know the whole state of the case, namely, how all things have been settled, and for what object; namely, that he may not have to deal with the Genevese only, but with the whole of confederate Switzerland; and that you are prepared to undergo any thing for them, who have hitherto offered and presented all their services and honours to his excellency; any thing, I say, that the pledged faith of your confederation shall seem to require. If you will do this, it will not only be to your perpetual honour and commendation among all nations, but you will also especially consult your own safety. Farewell. From my palace at Oatlands, Sept. 1, 1583.

Your confederation's very loving, ELIZABETH R.

CCXXXVI. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE FOUR CITIES. [B. 133.]

OATLANDS, *Sept.* 1, 1583.

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, &c. To the mighty lords and most honourable consuls and senators of the four cities of Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Schaffhausen, our very dear friends.

Mighty lords, most honourable men, and very dear friends. To intercede with your piety on behalf of your allies, or to warn you of your danger now sufficiently foreseen and guarded against, would be an offence against our friendship, if we did it not out of entire affection for you; but as you will not be displeased that you are loved by us, and will plainly perceive that we are anxious for your common peace, we do not doubt but that our endeavours will be gratifying to you.

It is the affair and cause of the people of Geneva that we commend to you; and which is neither alien from the communion of the same Christ and gospel that you profess, nor separate and estranged from the participation of your danger, inasmuch as they have the same enemies as yourselves; those namely, who, on account of the purity of the reformed religion which we profess, have conspired against the lives of all those who profess the gospel; and who indeed adopt various devices to overwhelm us separately, though they every where follow the same purpose and design. But since they are unable to attain their object by open violence, (for they would desire to cut us all off at one blow) they drive their wedges, and contrive secret artifices against us by severing us into parts, and mutually separating us from each other. And, in proportion as they are more active in this one object, namely, that of distracting us into parties, they render us more vigilant in cherishing and promoting concord among ourselves; and the sooner we perceive evil arising from any neighbouring evil, the more active ought we to be in warding off this neighbouring evil from our neighbours, lest the contagion which by our fault has once begun to attack one member, may by an unavoidable fatality be extended over the whole body. We have written thus moderately, that you may consider attentively, again and again, what ought immediately to be done under the present circumstances. And it is this; that you have a due concern for your allies; that you regard the danger which now seems to belong only to themselves, as your own in common; wherefore you must exert all your influence, all your assistance, all your endeavours for their relief; and agreeing among yourselves must at no time desist from their defence. This we have a right to request by reason of our friendship, and we shall never refuse you any thing, which you may think to appertain to the maintenance of your security. May your lordships live well and happily. Given from our palace at Oatlands, on the first of September, in the year of our Lord 1583, and of our reign the 25th.

Earnestly desiring your safety, ELIZABETH R.

CCXXXVII. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE THIRTEEN CANTONS OF SWITZERLAND. [A. 135.]

GREENWICH, *July* 18, 1590.

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, &c.; to the high and mighty lords, and right worthy masters, the consuls and proconsuls, rulers, syndics, authorities and governments of the thirteen cantons of the illustrious Swiss nation, greeting.

High and mighty lords, and right worthy sirs: As allies and neighbours, you cannot be ignorant of the aid and assistance that is required by the distressed condition of your confederate city of Geneva, oppressed as it has now been for many years with an almost uninterrupted blockade by two most powerful enemies, the king of Spain, and the duke[1] of Savoy, his son-in-law. And we have no doubt but that your mightinesses, in accordance with the good faith of the treaties[2] mutually contracted between you, and for the honour of your nation, will have such regard to your common defence in this dispute, as not to allow that city to be abandoned and exposed to the licentiousness of upstart pretenders, as far may be in your power to prevent it. To such a resolution, if it were necessary, we certainly should not fail to exhort you: but forasmuch as those who of their own accord are sufficiently intent upon the public welfare, have no need of any one to prompt them, we willingly abstain from that kind of address; only requesting your mightinesses, in conformity with the good-will and friendship which has so long subsisted between the kings of England our ancestors and your illustrious nation, not to be neglectful of your own individual security.

For it is meet that your mightinesses should consider, that in this beleaguerment of the Genevese, the beleaguerment of all and every of your own several states is the thing finally aimed at; and that in the fall of that city is involved the destruction of you all. You may take as a proof of this the plots and machinations which this same king has essayed against ourself and our dominions, as well as those which he is even now attempting against the very flourishing realm of France, together with his impotent lust of power, inasmuch as nothing either happens or can happen, but

[1 Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, married Catherine, daughter of Philip the Second.]

[2 In 1584, the republic of Geneva concluded a treaty with Zurich and Berne, by which it became allied to the Swiss cantons.]

that it alloweth him no rest day nor night from taking up arms and forming offensive alliances throughout almost all parts of this our western world. Which alliances however he will in vain either establish amongst us, or set in activity against us, if you, with souls united in conformity with the league of you aforetime mutually sworn to, will not brook the unripping and undoing of your respective amities and coalitions. For in this alone consists both the most powerful safeguard of our enemies and redoubtableness of their arms, and also the strongest bulwark and impregnable fortress of every just defence. And forasmuch as this alone is the only key to so much power on either side; and as those who suffer themselves to be overcome by the lust of empire, exert their entire energies to this object; it is necessary for you to be on your guard, who have now for so many years, by the blessing of this union, been in the enjoyment of that liberty which your forefathers conquered for you by their valour, and which these haughty despots envy you beyond measure. If you would enjoy this in perpetuity, and transmit it as an inheritance to your posterity, rather than, like slaves, live in a bondage devoid of liberty, you must be on your guard against the first attack, and not think of listening for a moment to insidious and enticing promises, as bearing in mind that many more have been deceived and undone by the craftiness of the fox than have ever been conquered by force of arms. And rest assured, that the pretence of ancient treaties, the shew of long-continued friendship, the tender of good offices, may be held out as a guise; but that there are no enmities more dangerous and more destructive than those which are concealed under the pretence of friendship.

And although in all human estimation the city and territory of Geneva may be regarded as an object of not much value or importance, just as Corinth of old was by the Achæans, Chalcis by the Eubœans, and Demetrias by the Thessalians; yet as they were made the fetters of all Greece, so it is to be feared that the Genevese, when subjugated by the Spanish Savoyard, shall prove in like sort the fetters of your whole confederate nation. Compare only the nature of the country, the spirit and daring of the enemy, his very power unwieldy through its excess, with your own narrow resources; and judge whether it be credible, that he who envies the majesty of the French king, he who has for more than twenty years been fighting against the liberties of the Low-Countries, he who has a design against the sovereignty of France, and is parched up with thirsting after the crown of England, is it to be believed

that he will ever rest as long as your own ancient rights, and laws, and liberty remain unsubverted? Which in proportion as it would be a more dreadful spectacle to yourselves, and a more painful one to us, we again and again advise and entreat you to be forearmed and on your guard, lest such an event should occur; so that, mutually congratulating yourselves on the preservation of your ancient dignity and independence, you may be a comfort to your friends, a protection to your neighbours, and an everlasting benefit to posterity. Ourself, though a woman, has taken the lead in this contest, preferring as we do to our own ease, dignity, kingly possessions, to whatever in short we hold or can hold most dear, the liberty of the neighbouring nations, and the preserving in their integrity the just rights and authority of others. We are placed and appointed of God for this very purpose, that as far as lieth in us we should do violence to none, but avert it from all, as being well aware, that he who, having the ability, useth it not for another's help, is as much to blame as though he were that other's destroyer.

But you of your prudence know these things right well; and of your friendly inclination, good will, and pious zeal towards each other, are sufficiently ready to succour the oppressed, as to make due provision for your own safety. Wherefore we forbear adding more, save only that, for the sake of the piety which you exhibit towards God and man, we commend to you and to your good faith the battered remnant of your severely besieged countrymen: and may the God of salvation evermore bless and prosper you!

Given at our court at Greenwich, the 18th of July, in the year of our Lord 1590, and in the thirty-second year of our reign.

ELIZABETH R.

CCXXXVIII. THE MINISTERS OF THE DUTCH CHURCH IN LONDON TO THE LORD TREASURER. [B. 134.]

LONDON, [about *April* 16, 1591.]

THE ministers and elders of the Dutch church in London suppliantly set forth that they have lately received letters from Dantzic[1] from their brethren who fled from Flanders, by which they understand that the church sojourning in those parts is unable to hold their meetings and godly exercises without difficulty and danger, by reason of some of the inhabitants who are hostile to

[1 See Loscheri Motus Relig.]

religion, and who have not hesitated from time to time to disturb the meetings of the foreigners and accuse them of sedition. But since the aforesaid foreigners, who require the free and open exercise of religion in their own language, are aware that a suitable place either within or without the city will not readily be afforded them by the magistrates, unless the authority of some person of influence, and especially of the king of Poland, who is the protector of that state, be exerted in their behalf; they humbly request that her most serene majesty, in addition to her other benefits conferred upon that kingdom, will, with her wonted benevolence towards all godly and oppressed strangers, compassionately obtain from his majesty, the king of Poland, some favour in this respect also to the Flemish strangers. Whence they will not only be bound to offer their constant prayers to God for the long life and prosperous reign of her royal majesty, but also to shew their gratitude by rendering to this kingdom and the united provinces their faithful duty and service, in diligently giving such information as they may obtain respecting the attempts and designs of the Spaniards, or any other enemy. Your most honoured lordship's devoted,

The ministers and elders of the Dutch church in London.

CCXXXIX. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE KING OF POLAND. [B. 135.]

GREENWICH, *April* 16, 1591.

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, &c. To the most serene prince and lord Sigismund, by the grace of God, king of Poland, grand duke of Lithuania, our very dear brother and cousin.

We do not doubt but that your serene highness, and all other princes of Christendom, well understand in what manner we have been induced to succour the states of Lower Germany, now almost entirely overwhelmed by the tyranny of the Spaniards; since we were previously unable by our frequent embassies and intercessions both with Spain and the governors of the Low Countries to obtain for them any equitable conditions of peace. And there are three motives which have especially induced us to do this; first, the cause of the more pure religion which they professed in common with ourselves; next, the ancient rights of commerce and alliance with a neighbouring nation; and lastly, the numerous and manifest tokens which shewed that the same enemies would turn their arms

against us and other princes professing the same religion, that they might extend the bounds of a monarchy which they unjustly claim. It has thus come to pass that many inhabitants of those regions have been compelled to migrate into different provinces, and, among the rest, into some of the cities in Prussia, subject to your serene highness; in which many of them are now afraid, lest by reason of some difference in certain articles of religion, they may not be allowed the enjoyment of such immunity and free exercise of their religion as shall be suitable to their language and the former rites in which they have heretofore been instructed. And since we are informed that these Flemish, who are dwelling either in the city of Dantzic or in other sea-ports of Prussia, are not of that class of men who seek to overturn the lawful government and introduce anarchy, or who profess any heretical or impious error; we could not but, with our wonted affection towards the whole nation, commend them to your serene highness; entreating your serene highness, that, as it is plainly a royal act to deserve well of those who have been driven into exile from causes so honourable, your serene highness will exercise your authority in interceding with the magistrates of Dantzic, and others, if need be, that those parties who have migrated thither from Flanders may continue among them, without any difficulty or danger of this kind, the assemblies of the reformed religion, as they have been accustomed to do in their own country, and as they were for some time allowed in those cities; and that you will not suffer any injury to be done them, so long as they shall conduct themselves properly. For it cannot be either useful or honourable to your serene highness, or to the cities themselves, to drive away strangers, and deny them the rights of hospitality, by reason of the evil disposition of certain individuals. Wherefore we earnestly request your serene highness to confer this benefit upon them for our sake, which we shall accept as a mark of the greatest kindness on the part of your serene highness, which we will repay in our turn to those who may be commended to us by your serene highness, whenever any opportunity shall present itself; and so we pray God for every happiness to your serene highness and your kingdom. From our court at Greenwich, April 16, 1591. [ELIZABETH R.]

CCXL. LORD STAFFORD TO WOLFGANG MEIER. [B. 136.]

GREENWICH, *Aug.* 6, 1593.

MASTER Meier[1], I would willingly do what I can for you, and have done what I could; and the seniors of the college have with great alacrity most willingly allowed you fellow's commons. For your livery and books I have given an order in the queen's name to the most learned and illustrious master doctor Nevill, to give you ten pounds sterling a year, of which you will doubtless receive a portion every quarter. As to a chamber, they will, if possible, provide one for you, although it is a thing unheard of to allow to foreigners what is appropriated by the founders to our own countrymen. I therefore advise you, if they offer one, to receive it most gratefully: if they are unable to provide one, you need not much complain; for this also is true, that if you have a chamber, you must purchase a bed and other furniture, and I think that it will not either be useful or necessary for you to go to that expense for only one or two years; and it will cost you less to hire a small lodging near the college, than to spend your money upon those things which, when you wish to return to your country, you will not be able to sell for half their value. So farewell, and may God preserve you in safety! Greenwich, Aug. 6, 1593.

Your very loving,

E. STAFFORD.

CCXLI. THE STATE OF ZURICH TO QUEEN ELIZABETH. [B. 137.]

ZURICH, *Aug.* 12, 1600.

To the most serene and mighty, the lady Elizabeth, of England, France, Ireland, and the surrounding Islands, queen, defender of the christian faith, our most benign mistress, greeting. The laud-

[1 Wolfgang Meier, of Basle, was born in 1577, and after a diligent pursuit of his studies at home, came to England, where he was received with great kindness, and in consideration of the merits of his grandfather Bucer, was supported in the university of Cambridge, at the expense of queen Elizabeth. Having there distinguished himself in sound learning, he returned home through France, and eventually succeeded his father in his church at Basle. He became a public lecturer, and afterwards ordinary professor of theology, A.D. 1611; and was sent to the synod of Dort in 1618. He died in 1653. See Hoffman's Lexicon Universale.]

able and pious zeal, with which, most mighty queen, your most serene majesty has hitherto encouraged and favoured all foreigners studious of true godliness and of useful learning, and especially those who go over from our city to your majesty's famous universities, induces us, by reason of that most intimate connexion that exists between us in Christ, to present without hesitation this letter to your royal majesty, and afford you a fresh opportunity of manifesting the like regard. And we entreat your majesty to receive it with favour, as we confidently trust you will do.

Our beloved fellow-citizen Caspar Thoman[1], the bearer of this letter, has appeared before us, and, as he is inflamed with an ardent longing and desire of visiting your majesty's most flourishing universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and of pursuing his studies in some one of their colleges, if only he can obtain that favour from your kindness, he has humbly requested us to give him a recommendation to your most serene majesty, for the advancement of this laudable design, and which he himself doubts not will have very great weight with your majesty.

Having taken into consideration therefore his laudable petition, and having also ascertained that from the time when, first dedicated to the Muses, he began to attend our schools, he always reverently and dutifully conducted himself towards his teachers, lived well and soberly, and both at home and abroad, namely, at Geneva and Montpelier, diligently employed himself in the pursuit of useful learning and the liberal arts, by reason of which good qualities he was deservedly dear to all good men; we were unwilling to refuse compliance with his request.

Wherefore, O queen, we so entirely commend to your serene majesty this excellent young man, now journeying into England, that we cannot possibly commend him with greater care, zeal, and diligence; to the end that he may be enabled to pursue the praiseworthy course of his studies in your majesty's most illustrious

[1 Caspar Thoman or Toman, one of the pastors or teachers of the schools at Zurich, (of which city his grandfather by the male line had borne the office of prætor,) having been recommended by the professors, teachers, and ministers of the church and school there, to live among, and receive an exhibition from, the Oxonians, A.D. 1599, did spend several years there, and occurs one of the first persons that was entered a student in the public library, when first opened for use. He was a learned man, and read a lecture in the university; but, his education having been mostly at Geneva, did with other strangers of the like breeding so corrupt the students with their Calvinistical doctrine, that it was many years before it could be rooted out. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Ed. 1691, Vol. I. 786.]

universities, and (if it can be done with propriety) in one of their colleges, to the honour and advantage of our country, and of that church of which we are respectively members most intimately connected with each other.

Should our Thoman be graciously favoured by your most serene majesty with this indulgence, it will not only be most gratifying to us, but we will omit no opportunity of returning it.

We should have written more fully upon this subject, only that we should thereby have appeared to doubt the kindness and goodwill of your most serene majesty towards us, of which you have hitherto afforded such illustrious manifestations.

It only remains therefore that we pray and shall continue to pray God, that upon your most serene majesty, the most honourable nursing mother of the orthodox church, and most pious defender of the true faith, he will bestow every good, defend you from every evil, and especially from the arts of antichrist, and continue to bless your godly counsels, to the advancement of the glory of his name, and the maintenance of the security of that church of which the most flourishing kingdom of England is as it were the true Sarepta of this our age. Amen.

Written in our city, and confirmed by our usual seal. August 12, in the year of the last long-suffering of God 1600.

The Provost and Council of the State of Zurich.

CCXLII. C. THOMAN TO C. WASER[2]. [B. 138.]

Oxford, *Feb.* 1601.

Praise to God for evermore! In the year of the Saviour, 1601. February. When I recall, my reverend patron, from time to time, with a most agreeable remembrance of them, the magnitude and extent of your favours, and acknowledge my too limited ability to return your kindness; I easily perceive that for such great deservings on your part I am unable to return any thanks, but that I do thank you in a very small degree, while I am indebted to you in the greatest. Since this is the case, I am under no slight apprehension lest you should think that I have not only

[2 Caspar Waser was a minister at Zurich, and professor of Hebrew there in 1596. He married a daughter of Josiah Simler. In 1607 he was made a canon of Zurich, and professor of Greek, and in 1611 was appointed to the chair of theology. He died in 1625. Moreri.]

let slip the remembrance of these things, but that also every thought about them has for ever escaped my memory; especially as so many days and months have passed since you have received any letter from me, by which I might at least testify my grateful inclination, though without the power of shewing my gratitude. But I hope that when you know the cause of my long silence, you will hold me excused.

You must know, first of all, my reverend patron, that I am in good health. I should be exceedingly glad to hear the like account of yourself. I will shortly state the situation in which my affairs are placed. When I arrived at Dieppe, I inquired after a vessel, and having met with one, I put out to sea, and reached Dover with a fair wind: from thence I proceeded straight to London, and there delivered your letter of recommendation to master Castoll[1], by whom I was courteously received. I then waited on the earl of Rutland[2], who also read your letter, and promised me for your sake every assistance: he told me, however, that he did not think that foreigners were admissible into our colleges, but he wrote to the queen's physician to advance my business at court. On the 7th of October I went to court, and meeting the physician as he was walking up and down before the palace, I gave him the earl's letter. When he had read it, he told me just as the earl had done, namely, that there were no colleges in which foreigners could be admitted. When I heard this, I lost all hope. I then waited upon Robert Cecil[3], the principal secretary of England, (for every thing, as you know, intended for the queen passes through his hands,) with a petition that he would deign to present to the queen's majesty the letter of the senate of Zurich. This he promised to do, and I waited some days at court in the hope of soon receiving an answer. But when this did not arrive, I again called upon the secretary, an arrogant little fellow[4] enough, to request him to intercede for me with the queen's majesty, that I might the more speedily obtain an

[1 John Castoll was the minister of the French reformed church in London, "a discreet and learned man." Strype, Whitgift, II. 109.]

[2 Roger, fifth earl of Rutland, married the daughter of sir Philip Sidney. He died in 1612.]

[3 Sir Robert Cecil, the second son of lord Burghley, was lord privy seal and secretary of state in 1596, and on the accession of James I., he was created, 1603, Baron Cecil of Essingdon, in 1604 viscount Cranbourne, and in 1605 earl of Salisbury. He died in 1612 on his road from Bath; observing to Sir Walter Cope, "Ease and pleasure quake to hear of death; but my life, full of cares and miseries, desireth to be dissolved."]

[4 Sir Robert Cecil was somewhat deformed in his person.]

answer. He at length told me to call again on the 15th of October, when he would give me the queen's answer. When therefore I returned to him on the day appointed, he harshly addressed me in this way, What do you want? I replied, The convenience of pursuing my studies in some college by the favour and liberality of the queen's majesty. He then said, What claims of merit do you possess, that you presume to make such a request? You do not know, he said, the constitution of this kingdom. The queen has read your letter; she will not do any thing thereupon: this was his official reply. Seeing myself disappointed of my hope, I took a journey to London, to complain to master Castoll, who condoled with me on the harsh conduct of the secretary. Meanwhile master James Meadows[5], doctor in divinity, a man illustrious both by nobility and learning, had heard that some persons from Zurich had lately arrived in London: he therefore sought us out with all diligence, and after having made a long search in all parts of the city, he found us out, and told us how exceedingly he was gratified by our coming. He gave Eppentianus and Werdmuller, who did not choose to remain in England any longer, money for their travelling expenses. I have not heard any thing from them since they returned to France. After their departure, doctor Meadows received me into his house, where I awaited the arrival of master Hungerford[6].

In the meantime, with the aid of doctor Meadows, I visited every thing in London that was worth seeing. Hungerford came to London on the 24th of October: as soon as I knew it, I waited upon him with doctor Meadows; but he no longer recognized me: as soon, however, as I told him who I was, he embraced me with both arms. I then related to him the reason of my coming, and what had occurred to me at court. When he was made acquainted with the facts, he was moved with compassion, and comforted me, and begged me not to be cast down, for that in

[5 James Meddows or Medowes, D.D. in the university of Basle, was a Cheshire man, born, and had formerly studied arts and divinity at Heidelberg. He was in 1610 chaplain to Peregrine lord Willoughby, and afterwards to king James I. He translated from High Dutch into English a sermon preached before Frederick V. prince Elector Palatine and the princess Elizabeth, by Abraham Scultetus on Ps. 147. Lond. 1613. See Wood's Ath. Oxon. I. 809.]

[6 Anthony Hungerford, son of Anthony Hungerford of Downe Ampney in Gloucestershire, was a Roman Catholic till 1588. He took the degree of M.A. in 1594, was knighted in 1607, and died 1627. Wood, as above, p. 436.]

conjunction with doctor Meadows he would provide for me in another way. On the 30th of October I was forced to borrow from master Castoll twelve French crowns for my necessary expenses. While master Hungerford and doctor Meadows were deliberating about me, I fell into a most severe illness, in which doctor Meadows and his wife bestowed much kindness upon me, just as though I had been their own son. Christophel Schweitzer also came to see me at great expense. When God had restored my former health, masters Hungerford, Meadows, and Castoll determined among themselves that I should go to Oxford; for that the letter from the church at Zurich would probably have some weight there. On the 13th of December I again had recourse to master Castoll in great distress, imploring his assistance in lending me four French crowns more. My illness cost me more money than I wished, so that I have now received from him sixteen crowns. I promised him, and confirmed it with my own signature, that I would repay it through you, my reverend patron, to Wolf at Frankfort. I have also fully written to my mother about this matter, and I earnestly request you, my reverend patron, to endeavour that master Castoll may receive the money he lent me, at the first opportunity; and that this may more easily be accomplished, I have been thinking about the exhibition of Funckius, which is at the disposal of my cousin Henry Thoman to bestow upon whomsoever he pleases. If I can obtain that, master Castoll can be paid with less inconvenience.

On the 14th of December I left London for Oxford, being supplied with letters of recommendation by masters Hungerford and Meadows. As soon as I arrived in Oxford, I delivered my private letter, and then the public one, to master Thomas Thornton[1], who is now vice-chancellor; and who, when he saw by whom the letter was written, expressed his gratification at receiving a letter from the famous church of Zurich, and moreover expressed his concern

[1 July 12, 1583. Thomas Thornton, vice-chancellor of this university, canon of Christ Church, Worcester and Hereford, of which last place he was also chaunter, and about this time master of Ledbury Hospital in Herefordshire, was actually created D.D. He died Apr. 15, 1629, aged 88, and was buried in the parish church of Ledbury, where it is stated on his monument that he was born at Harrow on the Hill in Middlesex, that he was *puerioris Latini sermonis author primarius*, that he was a benefactor to the poor people of Ledbury hospital, that he was a common refuge for young poor scholars of great hopes and parts, and tutor to sir Philip Sidney when he was at Christ Church. To which Wood adds, that he was also tutor to the learned William Camden, Clarencieux King of arms. See Wood's Athen. Ox. I. 754.]

at not being able to assemble the university at that time; for that they were engaged in business of the greatest importance. I have been awaiting the reply of the university, and am expecting it up to this present day; for the vice-chancellor will give me an answer this week. I cannot be admitted into any college, but yet I think I shall obtain an honorary stipend[2]. But should I not receive any liberal assistance from the university, I shall return to London; for there is a certain nobleman there who is very anxious for me to instruct his sons. I certainly experience the greatest kindness here from Dr Rainolds, the Phœnix of England. I pray you, if you think fit, to write to the following individuals, and thank them for their favours to me; masters Hungerford, Meadows, Castoll, Thomas Thornton, Rainolds, who is shortly about to publish his most learned works, and master Christophel Schweitzer.

It now remains for me to entreat that your dignity will at all times regard me with paternal love. I will take care that your dignity shall ever find me most grateful. Written in haste, at Oxford.

Your dignity's most devoted, CASPAR THOMAN.

CCXLIII. J. JOHNSTON[3] TO C. WASER. [B. 139.]

ST ANDREW'S, in Scotland, *Aug.* 1, 1601.

GREETING. Your letter, my very learned and dear friend Waser, written on the 20th of last March, I received on the 20th of July; and I am the more obliged to you for it, as I had not sent you a letter at the fair preceding. The reason of this was a most severe attack of splenitis, owing to which my immediate death was expected by every one. And the Lord had given me this dis-

[2 John Castoll writes to Waser, Feb. 11, 1600. "Since I wrote the above letter to you, doctor Gentile, the professor of Civil Law at Oxford, has informed me that the university has decreed, at a public meeting, to master Thoman a yearly stipend of twenty pounds."]

[3 John Johnston was a native of Aberdeenshire: he studied for some years at the most celebrated universities on the continent, where he gained the friendship of the chief learned men. After some residence in England he returned to his native country, well reputed as a scholar, a poet, and a divine. Melville never ceased till he procured him to be associated in the work of theological instruction in the university of St Andrew's, where he was appointed professor of divinity in 1593. He died in October, 1611.]

position, that I was willing to depart. But my most merciful God has decreed it otherwise, and after this very severe winter has afforded me a farther breathing-time; but I cannot tell how long it may last. May the Lord grant that I may employ the remainder of this miserable life to the glory of his name!

Our country, by the divine blessing, is in the enjoyment of perfect tranquillity. After a most severe winter, such as was never known before, there succeeded a milder summer, whence there has arisen a better hope for the autumn, and a reduction in the price of wheat. Her most serene majesty brought forth her little son Charles[1] on the 19th of last November. Prince Henry[2], who is flourishing, by God's blessing, both in mind and body, is educated with the greatest care at Stirling. His most serene majesty is now sojourning at Falkland in this neighbourhood. On the 12th of May last in the general assembly the solemn covenant[3] with God was renewed by the most serene king in person, and the congregation of the whole church, respecting the advancement of the pure worship of God, the extirpation of popery, the rendering obedience agreeably to the law of God according to the calling of each individual, that piety and justice may flourish together. And certainly from that time the law has been strictly enforced against offenders. A certain notorious papist, son of the laird of Bondson[4] near Mont-

[1 Prince Charles, afterwards king Charles I. was born at Dunfermline, Nov. 19, 1600.]

[2 Henry, the eldest son of James I. was at this time about six years old. He was a youth of excellent promise, and died Nov. 6, 1613, to the universal grief of the English nation.]

[3 The general assembly met at Burntisland in May 1601. The conduct of James I. on this occasion is thus noticed by the writers of the time: "The king, as I heard, made a comfortable confession of his sins and his faith, and promised most weightily and solemnly to abhor all papistry, idolatry, and superstition, and to live and die in the true religion wherein he was brought up, and which was preached and professed within his realm of Scotland presently; also to execute justice and to do all duties of a godly and a christian king, better than ever before." Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melville, Wodrow Society's edit. p. 494. See also M'Crie's Life of A. Melville, Vol. II. p. 173, 4.]

[4 This name is incorrectly stated in the MS. It should have been written Bonytoun, of whom the following account is extracted from Calderwood's MS. Church History in the British Museum: "In the beginning of March [1601] mass was said in Edinburgh, in Andrew Naper's house, in Helene Sempill's chamber, at sundry times, by Mr Alexander Mackquhirrie. A little before this time, the young laird of Bonytoun and laird of Latoun, with their complices, brake up the old laird of Bonytoun's house in Angus, and took

rose, was executed in the month of May for a most atrocious crime committed against his parents. Blessed be God, and may he give us grace both to will and to do well! John Erskine[5] together with Edward Bruce of Kinloss, having discharged a most honourable embassy to the English, shortly after the decease of the earl of Essex[6] so much lamented by all good men, and calamitous to the whole island, on his return appeared to renounce all cheerfulness. The rivalry of secretary Robert Cecil[7] is said to have injured Essex much more than the crimes laid to his charge. Affairs are now quiet, but it is to be feared lest the mass of discontent at the death of Essex and other noblemen should break out into open violence. The lord Lewis Stuart[8], of royal blood, duke of Leven, embarked on the tenth of July on his way to France as ambassador with a noble and splendid retinue, to confirm the ancient and hitherto unviolated alliance between the two nations; and to congratulate the king of the French upon his kingdom being confirmed to him, upon his victories, and his late marriage. These are the ostensible

away all the evidences and other plenishing belonging to old Bonytoun, father to the said Bonytoun the younger; and within five or six days after resorted openly to Edinburgh, and were at the mass aforesaid. Bonytoun the younger and Latoun were apprehended, put in ward, presented to an inquest, and accused criminally for the said theft allaverlie [only]; were convicted thereof, and consequently of treason, and the doom given out upon them to be executed.—Upon Monday the 27th of April the laird of Bonytoun was beheaded at the cross of Edinburgh, betwixt six and seven in the morning, by a commission from the king directed to the bailiffs of Edinburgh, timeously in the morning; for howbeit great intercession was made by Huntley, Errol, Hume, and others, yet the ministers were instant with the king to have a proof of his sincerity. He died an obstinate papist, ever looking for pardon till the last gasp. He pretended he suffered for the catholic Roman religion, but it was no point of his dittay. Only the stealing of his father's evidences and writs was laid to his charge."]

[5 As soon as James heard of Essex's ill success, he appointed the earl of Mar, and Bruce, abbot of Kinloss, to repair as his ambassadors to the court of England. The former of these was the person by whose means Essex had carried on his correspondence with the king.]

[6 The earl of Essex was beheaded in the Tower, Feb. 25, 1601.]

[7 The behaviour of sir Robert Cecil on Essex's trial is related in Camden, Eliz. 617. The French ambassador, Boissise, describes in a letter of March 26, 1601, how Essex and Cecil contended for the first place in the favour of Elizabeth. Raumer, 16th cent. II. 174. An account of the two factions is given in Robertson, Hist. Scotland, III. 161.]

[8 In July 1601, Lodowick, duke of *Lennox*, was sent in an ambassage to France rather for confirming the old amity and friendship than for any business else. Spotswood, Hist. of Church of Scotland, p. 465.]

grounds; the secret ones are not made known. Masters Melvin[1], Murray, Moniepennie[2], and your other friends are all well by God's blessing, and lovingly salute yourself and Howe. I most affectionately and dutifully salute all the pastors and professors, your most learned colleagues, whom I pray you to call upon individually, together with master Stuckius[3], my friend Simler, and Erne. Most devoted as I am to you and your honourable city, I pray for you every happiness from God. I request you dutifully to salute for me by letter master Benedict Erlach the father, and Wolfgang his son, my pupil, together with the whole family. Illness has prevented my writing. Continue to refresh us all by writing on the state of your affairs and those of the Genevese and the neighbouring churches. Farewell, all of you, most happily. St Andrew's, in Scotland, Aug. 1, 1601.

Yours wholly, JOHN JOHNSTON.

CCXLIV. J. JOHNSTON TO C. WASER. [B. 140.]

ST ANDREW'S, in Scotland, *Feb.* 8, 1602.

GREETING. At the end of last July, most excellent Waser, I prepared a letter to you, which I thought I had sent in time to be forwarded to Frankfort by the September fair; but our friend Hart has since informed me that it was not sent thither in time, owing to the loitering of the bearers. I am, nevertheless, surprised that your usual practice of so lovingly writing to me and your old friends in this neighbourhood, and which has always given the greatest pleasure to us all, was interrupted at the late fair. We therefore all of us entreat you constantly to continue to refresh us with the most agreeable gales breathing from your snowy Alps as far as ourselves. Even the shortest letter from you will delight us exceedingly. As to myself, you may be assured that as long as I have life and health, I will send a letter to you every fair. At present, however, want of time will excuse a brevity which is also imposed upon me by my state of health, which has

[1 Andrew Melville is doubtless here intended.]

[2 David Moniepennie was dean of Faculty at St Andrew's, and one of the high commission named in 1610.]

[3 John William Stuckius was the author of a treatise on the festivals of the ancients, and their sacrifices. He also wrote a commentary upon Arrian. See Melchior Adam.]

for some days been rather unfavourable, in consequence of the return of that disease of the spleen which had almost killed me last year, and which, as far as I can see, my brother, will by degrees carry me off, or rather lead me away; for I shall most willingly and readily follow the guidance of my most merciful God, who very lately, on the 20th of December, has sent before me your acquaintance, Thomas Cargill, the schoolmaster of Aberdeen, and that too at a time when he was in excellent health. And it will not perhaps be long before I follow him. Meanwhile the Lord renews my hope of a better life, and has also renewed my hope of a longer life in this world, by having given me another little son, Edward, on the 15th of January. And about the same time, namely, on the 18th of January, a third son, who is not yet named, was born to our most serene king. The princes Henry and Charles, with the princess Elizabeth, are by God's blessing alive and well.

We are, by God's blessing, in the enjoyment of peace both in church and state. But the plague is threatening us very sadly. For it has begun to shew itself at Edinburgh, and Glasgow, and Crail, a town about six miles from hence. England is at this time very much refreshed by the defeat of the whole Spanish army[4] in Ireland, by the mercy of God, and the valour of lord Mountjoy. The Spanish had formed a conspiracy in Ireland with the earl of Tyrone, an Irish rebel, and had been meditating to bring the war into England from the opposite coast. But the Lord dissipated these designs. Certain intelligence of this has, within these few days, been sent to our most serene king, and thanksgiving was publicly made in the churches.

With respect to French, and Spanish, and Flemish news, you are better informed than we are. The blockade of Ostend is continued, as it were by miracle, through the whole of this winter, nor have the enemy much hope of reducing it; for the English chiefly, together with some Scots and French, under colonel sir Francis Vere[5], a most valiant knight, are holding it for the Flemish. All your friends here, to whom I communicate your letters, entreat you, as I also do, to continue to give us information as to your own affairs, and those of the Genevese. They bear you in their remem-

[4 This army consisted of four thousand men, under the command of Don Juan D'Aguilar. They landed at Kinsale, Sept. 21, and were joined by the earl of Tyrone and others some days after. The united forces were defeated by lord Mountjoy, on the 21st of December, with the loss of twelve hundred men. Camden, 643; Lingard, 398.]

[5 An account of this siege is given by Camden, Eliz. 633, &c.]

brance, and most affectionately salute you, namely, the Melvins, Moniepennie, Blake, Murray, and the rest.

I beg my dutiful and affectionate respects to masters Stuckius, Zuingle, Lavater, and your worthy colleagues, especially to my dear friends, masters Simler and Erne, to whom with yourself, your wife, and her father, I wish everlasting happiness.

St Andrew's, in Scotland, Feb. 8, 1602.

Yours wholly, JOHN JOHNSTON.

INDEX.

A.

Abdias, 207.

Abel, John, 18, 197, 319; death of, 327.

Acworth, George, public orator at Cambridge, makes an oration in honour of Bucer and Fagius, 114 *n*; answers Saunders' book, 418 *n*.

Acontius, 18, 102.

Adiaphoristic controversy, 232 *n*.

Admonition to the Parliament; a book circulated by the puritans against the church of England, 421 *n*, 452 *n*; answered by Whitgift, 434 *n*, 441 *n*; proclamation against it, 467 *n*.

Advertisements of the bishops, book of, 281 *n*, 304.

Agrarian laws, 457.

Agricola, John, of Eisleben, assisted in drawing up the Interim, 232 *n*.

Aguilar, Don Juan d', defeat of in Ireland, 555 *n*.

Aide, the, one of sir Martin Frobisher's ships so called, 513 *n*.

Aldegonde, Mont St, Philip, lord of, 511.

Alen, Francis, 116 *n*.

Alençon, Francis, duke d', 524.

Alexander, Peter, of Arles, 102 *n*, 107.

Allen, Edmund, designed for bishop of Rochester, 55; his death, 62 *n*.

Altars, removal of from churches, 79.

Alt-Sax, or Hohensaxe, Philip, baron of, 422 *n*; testimonial of, 423.

Alva, John, duke of, 306; puts to death counts Egmont and Horn, 316; defeated at Groningen, 317; his cruelty, 323; arrests the English at Antwerp, 324; recalled, 411.

Ambarvalia, 85 *n*.

Ambassador, Spanish, ordered to quit England, 398.

Ambrosius of Duisberg, 89.

Amphilochius, 207.

Anabaptists, 390.

Anacletus, 207.

Andelot, Sieur d', 249 *n*.

Andernach, 114.

Andreas, James, professor at Tubingen, head of the Ubiquitarians in Germany, 179 *n*, 180 *n*, 456 *n*.

Andrew's, St, archbishop of, 176 *n*, 292, 383.

Angus, earl of, 201 *n*.

Anhalt, Wolfgang, prince of, 20 *n*.

Anicetus, bishop of Rome, 368 *n*.

Anjou, Francis, duke of, a suitor to queen Elizabeth, 531 *n*; arrives privately in England, 528 *n*.

Anjou, Henry, duke of, afterwards Henry III. of France, suitor to queen Elizabeth, 357; besieges Rochelle, 432 *n*; elected king of Poland, *ib.*; anecdote respecting him, 462 *n*; succeeds to the throne of France, 502 *n*.

Anselm, 519.

Antholin's, St, new service used at, 41 *n*.

Anthonius, one of the ministers in the Dutch church at Norwich, 362 *n*; silenced, 398.

Antididagma, 44.

Antoninus Pius, 368 *n*.

Antwerp, 185, 344; tumult at, 252; trade re-established with, 198.

Arau, exiles at, request leave to depart, 6.

Argyle, earl of, 209 *n*, 292 *n*.

Argyle, countess of, present at the christening of James I., 284 *n*.

Aristotle quoted, 500.

Armuyden, laid waste by the Walloon troops, 410.

Arnheim, 185.

Arran, James Hamilton, third earl of, escapes from France, 70 *n*; a suitor of queen Elizabeth, 42 *n*.

Arras, Anthony Perrenot, bishop of, and cardinal of Granvelle, 195 *n*.

Arrian, 153.

Arsacius, bishop, 219 *n*.

Arschot, duke d', 512 *n*.

Articles drawn up by the Puritans, 417, 439.
Arundel, Henry Fitzalan, earl of, 300 *n*; one of queen Elizabeth's privy council, 5 *n*; one of her suitors, 42 *n*.
Ascham, Roger, 132; letters of, 131, 163.
Assembly, general, of Scotland, its proceedings, 310.
Athanasius, supposititious works of, 207.
Athol, earl of, 292 *n*.
Auerstadt, bishop of, 137.
Augsburgh, confession of, 20 *n*, 192; confutation of, 182 *n*; apology for, *ib*.
Augustine, referred to, 277 *n*, 444 *n*, 446 *n*.
Augustus, elector of Saxony, 180 *n*; summons the convocation at Thorgau, 486 *n*.
Austria, Charles, archduke of, suitor to queen Elizabeth, 201.
Austria, don John of, 521; death of, 522 *n*.
Aylmer, John, successively archdeacon of Stow and Lincoln, and bishop of London, one of the disputants at the Westminster conference, 23; answers Knox and Goodman, 76 *n*.

B.

Bacon, sir Nicholas, lord keeper of the great seal, 5 *n*, 27 *n*, 37, 249; president at the Westminster conference, 27 *n*.
Baden, margrave of, 363.
Baden, Cecilia, margravine of, sister to the king of Sweden, visit of, to queen Elizabeth, 363 *n*.
Baine, Ralph, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 22 *n*; on the papist side at the Westminster conference, 23 *n*; death of, 87.
Baldwin, Francis, professor of law at Bourges, 158 *n*, 296.
Bale, John, bishop of Ossory, 144 *n*.
Balkius, Isbrand, concerned in a dispute in the strangers' church at Norwich, 398 *n*.
Baltinglas, lord, rebellion of in Ireland, 532 *n*.
Banosius, 515.
Baptism by women, remarks on, 247, 281.
Barlow, William, bishop of Chichester, 33.
Barlow, William, son of the preceding, 426, 456; notice of, 485 *n*; letters of, 482, 494.
Barnard castle, 355 *n*.
Barthelot, John, letter of, 279.
Barwyk, Humphrey, condemned for treason, 172 *n*.
Basil, St, quoted, 455 *n*.
Basle, plague at, 194.
Bath, Henry earl of, one of queen Mary's privy council, 5 *n*.
Bath, queen Elizabeth visits, 480.
Batori, Stephen, elected king of Poland, 502 *n*.
Bavarian inquisition, articles of, replied to by Bullinger, 415.
Beale, Robert, notice of, 514 *n*.
Beaton, archbishop, 293 *n*.
Beaufort, Mr de, a name assumed by the earl of Arran, 72 *n*.
Beaumont, Robert, archdeacon of Huntingdon, and master of Trinity college, Cambridge, 295.
Beddingfield, sir Henry, one of queen Mary's council, 5 *n*.
Bedford, Francis Russel, second earl of, 11 *n*; imprisoned in queen Mary's time, 23 *n*; one of queen Elizabeth's council, 5 *n*; ambassador in Scotland, 284 *n*; governor of Berwick, 199; letters of, 82, 526.
Behem, Theobald, 523.
Belisarius, 30 *n*.
Bellewes, sir W., 329 *n*.
Bengal, bay of, 170.
Bentham, Thomas, minister of a congregation in London in queen Mary's time, 17 *n*; bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 78, 301 *n*.
Bergen, 524.
Berkeley castle, visited by queen Elizabeth, 412 *n*.
Bernardine. See *Ochinus*.
Berners, executed for conspiracy, 397 *n*.
Bernius, Nicolas, letter of, 488.
Bernus, 508.
Bertie, Richard, an exile for religion, 451 *n*.
Berwick, 199.
Beti, Fr., 18.
Betta, Thaddeus, 471.
Beza, Theodore, 479; letters of, 245, 293.
Bible, ordered to be read in churches, 300 *n*; destroyed by rebels, 330 *n*.
Bibliander, Theodore, a minister of Zurich,

213 *n*, 224; his commentary on Genesis and Exodus, 213.
Bill, Dr William, afterwards master of St John's and Trinity colleges, and dean of Westminster, preacher at St Paul's cross on the queen's accession, 4 *n*, 21 *n*.
Birchett, Peter, 479 *n*.
Birkman, Arnold, 89, 102.
Birrus, description of the, 219 *n*.
Biscay, bay of, 149.
Bishop, Thomas, executed at York, 338 *n*.
Bishops, some lands of, exchanged for parsonages impropriate, 31, 84 *n*; authority of, in the church of England, 276; Gualter's remarks upon their office, 442; Sampson's remarks, 2.
Blaarer, 175.
Black, a Dominican friar, 241.
Blackwall, 513 *n*.
Blake, 555.
Blaurer, Dithelm, 186.
Blondus, 236.
Bodley, Laurence, 495.
Bodley, sir Thomas, 495 *n*.
Boissise, the French ambassador in England, 553 *n*.
Bolton castle, 325 *n*.
Bonamy, Elias, 489.
Bonamy, Peter, 489 *n*.
Bonner, Edmund, bishop of London, 22 *n*; complaint of Ridley's executors against him, 16; confined as prisoner to his own house, 16; deprived of his see, 33; sent to prison, 103 *n*, 105.
Bonytoun, laird of, 552 *n*.
Borgest, secretary to the Spanish ambassador, 397 *n*.
Borthwick castle, 293 *n*.
Bothwell, Adam, bishop of Orkney, 292 *n*.
Bothwell, James Hepburn, earl of, suspected of the murder of lord Darnley, 292; marries the queen of Scots, *ib.*; made duke of Orkney, *ib.*; flight of, from Scotland, 295 *n*, 309; death of, 296.
Bothwellhaugh, Hamilton of, 332 *n*.
Bowes, sir George, 329 *n*, 354 *n*.
Bowes, Richard, one of the royal visitors for the north, 97 *n*.
Boxal, John, dean of Peterborough, Norwich, and Windsor, one of queen Mary's council, 5 *n*; death of, 348, 361; notice of, 361 *n*.
Brabant, affairs of, 306.
Bradford, John, the martyr, a friend of Bucer, 141 *n*; addressed two letters to the earl of Bedford, 423 *n*.
Brandenburgh, George, marquis of, 20 *n*.
Brassius, Egbert, 185.
Bread, unleavened, used at the Lord's supper, 85.
Bremius, Martin, 44.
Brentius, John, the patron of Ubiquitarianism, 139 *n*, 169, 189; testament of, 350 *n*, 380; Bullinger's controversy with, 318, 350, 352, 461 *n*.
Brill, the, taken by the lord of Lumey, 410.
Bristol, queen Elizabeth's progress to, 480 *n*.
Broadgate hall, now Pembroke college, 522.
Brooke, Fulk Greville, lord, 515 *n*.
Brooks, James, bishop of Gloucester, death of, 24; notice of, 24 *n*.
Brouage, salt works of, 149 *n*.
Brown, George, one of the royal visitors for the north, 97 *n*.
Brown, sir John, one of queen Mary's council, 5 *n*.
Bruce, abbot of Kinloss, 553 *n*.
Bruerne, Richard, deprived of his professorship, 24 *n*; provost of Eton, has Peter Martyr's prebend, 81.
Bruges, 185.
Brussels, 185.
Bucer, Martin, controversy with Yong, 43 *n*; bones of taken up and burnt, 45 *n*, 114; his judgment respecting the habits, 227; and the book of common prayer, 387 *n*.
Buchanan, George, writes verses in praise of queen Elizabeth, 155 *n*; saying of the queen respecting him, 345 *n*; writes on behalf of the queen of Scots, 384 *n*; and De jure regni, 530 *n*.
Bull, of pope Pius V., deposing queen Elizabeth, 335 *n*, 341; answered by Bullinger, 354, 380, 398; and Jewel, 350.
Bullinger, Henry, his treatise on two natures in Christ, 39; against the anabaptists, 110; his dispute with Brentius, 461 *n*; commentaries of, on Daniel and Isaiah, 202, 205; treatise of, on the

Origin of error, 318, 323; and on councils, 331; extract of a letter of his to Utenhovius, 21 *n*; treatise of, on scripture and church authority, 399; homilies on the 130th and 133rd Psalms, 468; opinion of the habits, 265; attacked by the plague, 199; last illness and death of, 494 *n*, 496; Decades of, 225; children of, 39 *n*, 199 *n*, 201, 266 *n*, 306 *n*, 364; letters of, 202, 214, 224, 253, 255, 256, 258, 296, 307, 457, 460.
Bullinger, Dorothea, 364, 469, 470.
Bullinger, Henry, the younger, 128.
Bullinger, Rodolph, 38.
Bungey, Cornelius, martyr, 110 *n*.
Burcher, John, 187.
Buren, à, Daniel, 142.
Burghley, lord, conspiracy against, 397 *n*; letter of, 412.
Burntisland, meeting of the general assembly at, 552 *n*.
Butler, Henry, 345, 363, 391 *n*, 397.
Butler, John, 397.
Butrech, notice of, 515 *n*.

C.

Caius, John, master and founder of Caius college, notice of, 40 *n*.
Caius, Thomas, 501.
Calabria, 462.
Calais, 185; restitution of, demanded, 34.
Calvin, John, 183; illness of, 174; charge of, against Melancthon, 232 *n*; works of, studied in England, 280; letter of, 76.
Cambay, gulph of, 169.
Camden, William, 550 *n*.
Canterbury, archbishop of, legate to Henry VIII., 282.
Cantons, Swiss, queen Elizabeth's letters to, 536, 540.
Cargill, Thomas, 554.
Careless, John, martyr, 110 *n*.
Carlisle, queen of Scots arrives at, 315.
Carnotensis, Johannes, 214 *n*.
Carrick, earl of, 284 *n*.
Cartwright, Thomas, his admonition to the parliament, 452 *n*; escapes to Heidelberg, 479 *n*; character of, *ib*.
Carvil, Nicholas, death of, 295 *n*.
Cashel, archbishop of, retires to the continent, 475 *n*.
Casimir, John duke, 322; favours Calvinism, 298 *n*; besieges Deventer, 520 *n*; visits England, 526 *n*.
Cassander, George, 158 *n*; letter of, 91.
Cassilis, earl of, 127 *n*.
Castalio, Sebastian, account of his version of the bible, 484 *n*.
Castle Hamilton, 315.
Castoll, John, minister of the French church in London, 548 *n*.
Câteau Cambresis, peace of, 44 *n*.
Catechism, Heidelberg, 298 *n*.
Cathedral churches, state of, 60.
Catherine, daughter of Philip II., 540 *n*.
Catherine Parr, queen, 363.
Cave, sir Ambrose, one of queen Elizabeth's privy council, 5 *n*.
Cawood, a residence belonging to the see of York, 381 *n*.
Cecil, sir Robert, 548 *n*, 553.
Cecil, sir William, secretary of state, 5 *n*, 15, 69, 112 *n*. See *Burghley*.
Cecilia, margravine of Baden, 363 *n*.
Celestine, 229.
Centuriators of Magdeburgh, 143 *n*.
Chalcedon, council of, referred to, 443 *n*.
Chalcis, 541.
Chambers, Richard, 80; notice of his death, 208 *n*.
Chanting, objected to by the Puritans, 282.
Charlemagne, 92; convokes a council at Frankfort, 214 *n*.
Charles, archduke of Austria, suitor to queen Elizabeth, 42 *n*, 292.
Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, 536 *n*, 540 *n*.
Charles V., emperor, 20 *n*.
Charles IX. of France, 164 *n*, 502 *n*.
Charles, prince, afterwards Charles I., 552 *n*.
Chatelherault, duke of, 309 *n*.
Châtillon, cardinal de, poisoned at Canterbury, 357 *n*.
Chedsey, William, one of the disputants at the Westminster conference, 23 *n*.
Cheke, sir John, 43 *n*, 136.
Cheney, Richard, bishop of Gloucester, entertained Luther's opinions respecting the eucharist, 286 *n*.
Cheney, sir Thomas, one of queen Elizabeth's privy council, 5 *n*.

Chevalier, Antony, Hebrew professor at Cambridge, 386.
Chiavenna, plague at, 191 *n.*
Chilton, 345.
Chobham, 347 *n.*
Christopher, count Palatine, 462.
Christopherson, John, bishop of Chichester, preaches at Paul's Cross, 5 *n*; committed to prison, *ib.*; his death, *ib.*
Chrysostom, quoted, 236.
Church-lands, alienation of, by queen Elizabeth, 31, 84 *n.*
Church of England, state of, described, 269, &c.; alleged abuses in, 417.
Church, Dutch, in London, letter of, to the lord treasurer, 542.
Church, French, in London, 116; relief afforded to, 426 *n.*
Church, protestant, in London, in queen Mary's time, 17 *n*, 58.
Cicero, quoted, 515 *n.*
Clement, 207.
Clergy, London, proceedings against, 280 *n.*
Clergy, marriage of forbidden without consent of the bishop, 247; authorised by parliament, 300.
Clerk, Bartholomew, afterwards dean of the Arches, answered Saunders' book De visibili monarchia, 418 *n.*
Cletus, 207.
Cleve, rectory of, held by Parkhurst, 63 *n*, 75.
Clifford Moor, rebels at, 354 *n.*
Clinton, Edward, lord, one of queen Elizabeth's privy council, 5 *n*; commands troops against the rebels in the north, 355 *n.*
Clough, sir Richard, his account of Embden, 196 *n*; letter of, 316.
Clusius, 515.
Coccius, Ulric, 179 *n.*
Cochlæus, writes against the confession of Augsburgh, 182 *n.*
Coinage, base, called in by queen Elizabeth, 116 *n*, 134.
Cole, Henry, warden of New college, and dean of St Paul's, a disputant at the Westminster conference, 23 *n*, 37.
Cole, Thomas, archdeacon of Essex and Colchester, death of, 349, 362.
Cole, William, president of Corpus Christi college, Oxford, letters of, 430, 475, 527.
Coler, 39.
Coligni, Francis de, 249 *n.*
Coligni, Gaspard de, admiral of France, 249 *n*; besieges Caen, 167; murdered in the massacre of St Bartholomew's, 434, 462 *n.*
Coligni, Odet de, archbishop of Toulouse, poisoned at Canterbury, 357 *n.*
Collin, 39.
Collobium, what, 219 *n.*
Cologne, 462.
Commission for visiting churches, 34, 60.
Common Prayer-book established by act of parliament, 108; Bucer's opinion respecting it, 307 *n*; puritan exceptions against, 420.
Compagni, Bartholomew, factor to Edward VI., 55.
Compater, 192 *n.*
Compton, queen Elizabeth's visit to, 412 *n.*
Concord, form of, 180 *n.*
Concord of Wittemberg, 182 *n.*
Condé, prince of, 155 *n*; queen Elizabeth made a contract with him, 155 *n.*
Conders, Frederic, 410.
Confederate Scots lords, 292 *n*, 309 *n*; standard of, 296.
Confession of Augsburgh, 20 *n*, 21 *n*; confutation of, 182 *n.*
Confession of Helvetia, 243 *n*, 266; eulogised by Bossuet, 243 *n.*
Confirmation, Gualter's remarks on, 448.
Congregation of Christ, in Scotland, 74.
Constance, bishop of, 445.
Constantinople, council of, 30 *n.*
Cooch, Robert, notice of, 437 *n*; letter of, 437.
Cook, sir Antony, 6, 17, 68, 77 *n*; letters of, 1, 18.
Cook, Mildred, 77 *n.*
Cope, sir Walter, 548 *n.*
Copenhagen, 441.
Copes, retained in churches, 98.
Cordell, sir William, one of queen Mary's privy council, 5 *n.*
Corinth, 541.
Cornelius, 88.
Cornicius, James, 37.

Cornwallis, sir Thomas, one of queen Mary's privy council, 5 *n*.
Corranus, Antony, notice of, 471 *n*, 472 *n*; letter of, 471.
Corrichie, battle of, 172 *n*.
Cosyn, Edward, condemned for treason, 172 *n*.
Council of Frankfort, 214 *n*; in Trullo, 276 *n*.
Court of Faculties, 239, 278.
Cousins, John, minister of the French church in London, 313.
Coventry, Lever preaches at, 110; martyrs at, 110 *n*; queen of Scots removed to, 331 *n*, 354 *n*.
Coverdale, Miles, bishop of Exeter, letter of, 228.
Cox, Richard, concerned in the disputation at Westminster, 21 *n*; designed for the bishoprick of Norwich, 33; bishop of Ely, 55; objects to the crucifix in the queen's chapel, 81 *n*; one of the compilers of the Liturgy, 387 *n*; required to surrender some property belonging to his see, 497 *n*; letters of, 36, 81, 88, 147, 318, 334, 350, 387, 391, 403, 416, 419, 420, 452, 472, 474, 481, 486, 487, 496, 524.
Crail, plague at, 555.
Cranmer, archbishop, 18.
Cranmer, (probably Thomas, son of the archbishop) 18.
Crawford, earl of, arms in defence of the queen of Scots, 317 *n*.
Crete, 461.
Crito, an assumed name of the earl of Arran, 70 *n*.
Croft, sir James, one of the royal visitors for the north, 97 *n*.
Cross, form of, described, 93; sign of, used in the primitive church, 277; in baptism, 277, 281.
Crowley, Robert, notice of, 279 *n*.
Croy, Charles Philip de, 512 *n*.
Croydon, visit of queen Elizabeth to, 429 *n*.
Crucifix, retained in the queen's chapel, 79, 81; removed, 161; retained in the churches of Germany, 96 *n*; controversy respecting it, 86, 88, 98.
Crypto-Calvinists, 486 *n*.
Curio, Cœlius Secundus, 31 *n*.
Cyprian, 219, 236.
Cyprus, invaded by the Turks, 344 *n*.

D.

Dalgleesh, 295 *n*.
Dalkeith, 293 *n*.
Dalmatic, the, a kind of dress, description of, 219 *n*.
Dantzic, persecution of protestants at, 541.
Darcy, lord, expedition of into Ireland, 431 *n*.
Darnley, Henry Stewart, lord, 125 *n*; marries the queen of Scots, 201 *n*; attends mass, 209; murder of, 287, 292.
Day, George, bishop of Chichester, committed to the Fleet, 301 *n*.
Day, John, printer, account of, 352 *n*; letter of, 352.
Day, William, provost of Eton, 485 *n*; bishop of Winchester, *ib*.
Decretal epistles, 207.
Defholdius, 186.
Demetrias, 541.
Denmark, Frederic II., king of, 185 *n*.
Denmark, war with Sweden, 185, 209.
Derby, Henry Stanley, earl of, one of queen Elizabeth's privy council, 5 *n*; commissioner for the north, 97 *n*.
Desmond, earl of, raises a rebellion in Ireland, 532 *n*.
Deux Ponts, 179.
Devenish, John, a martyr for religion, 302 *n*.
Deventer, 185; besieged by duke Casimir, 520.
Devereux, Lady Penelope, 518 *n*.
Dieppe, 164 *n*, 249, 548.
Digby, Simon, executed at York, 338 *n*.
Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Ascham's opinion concerning, 138.
Disputation at Westminster, account of, 25 *n*.
Donatists, 390.
Douglas, George, aids the queen of Scots in her escape from Lochleven, 314 *n*.
Douglas, lady Margaret, 125 *n*, 201 *n*.
Downe, Ampney, 549 *n*.
Drury, sir William, takes the castle of Edinburgh, 431 *n*.
Dudley, lord Robert, one of queen Eliza-

beth's suitors, 42 *n*; master of the horse, 184.
Duisburg, 89.
Dumbarton, castle of, taken by the regent Lennox, 383.
Dunkirk, 185.
Dunstable, queen Elizabeth visits, 412 *n*.
Durham, rebellion in, 329 *n*, 355 *n*.
Dutch church in London, dissensions in, 313, 323; letter of, 542.
Dutch church in Norwich, dissensions in, 362.

E.

Easter, controversy respecting the time of, 368 *n*, 438.
Eaton, or Heton, Thomas, 3.
Ecebolus, 244 *n*.
Eckius, John, writes against the Confession of Augsburgh, 182 *n*.
Edinburgh, seized by the adherents of the queen of Scots, 384; castle of, taken, 431 *n*, 433 *n*, 435; plague at, 555.
Edward VI., 9; first book of, 275 *n*, 387 *n*; second book of, *ib*.
Eglinton, earl of, 317 *n*.
Egmont, count, put to death by the duke of Alva, 316; notice of, 316 *n*.
Egyptian priests, white vestments worn by, 307.
Eliperius, 101.
Elizabeth, princess, daughter of James I., 549 *n*.
Elizabeth, queen, accession of, 4; reply to queen Mary's messengers, *ib*.; privy council of, 5 *n*; retains the mass in her private chapel, 29; thinks of recalling Peter Martyr, 31, 68, 98; and of joining the league at Smalcald, 31; proclamations by, 20, 57, 467 *n*; alienation of church-lands by, 84 *n*; suitors of, 34, 42, 62, 113 *n*; declines being called the head of the church, 38; reforms the currency, 116 *n*, 127, 134; public acts of, 133; personal character of, 134, &c.; declines sending representatives to Trent, 125; meditates an interview with the queen of Scots, 155 *n*; determines to assist the prince of Condé, 155 *n*; ill of the small pox, 167; proposed marriage with Charles of Austria, 292; her death attempted by the papists, 359; progresses of, 56 *n*, 130 *n*, 412 *n*, 480 *n*; letters of, 322, 480, 536, 538, 540, 543.
Elizabeth of Saxony, marriage of, 322 *n*.
Ely house, Holborn, 402, 497 *n*.
Embden, 105; a mart for English merchants, 196 *n*.
England, church of, alleged blemishes therein, 417; as described by Beza, 246; by Perceval Wiburn, 269; and Withers, 279.
Englefield, sir Francis, one of queen Mary's privy council, 5 *n*.
Epiphanius, 236; reproved by Chrysostom, 459.
Eppentianus, 549.
Erasmus, bishop of Strasburgh, 165 *n*.
Erdfurt, conference at, 245.
Eric XIV., king of Sweden, 42 *n*, 185 *n*.
Eric, son of Eric, duke of Hanover, 185 *n*.
Erlach, Benedict, 554.
Erlach, Wolfgang, 554.
Erne, 554.
Errol, earl of, 317 *n*.
Erskine, John, earl of Mar, 553 *n*.
Escot, Christopher, commissioner for a royal visitation in the north, 97 *n*.
Essex, Robert Devereux, earl of, beheaded, 553 *n*.
Essex, Walter Devereux, earl of, commands an expedition into Ireland, 431 *n*; death and character of, 525 *n*.
Esthonia, cession of, to Sweden, 185 *n*.
Eusebius, quoted, 236, 276 *n*.
Eustathius, 217, 235 *n*.
Evers, Thomas, lord, in the commission for a royal visitation in the north, 97 *n*; marches against the rebels, 329 *n*.
Evodius, 444 *n*.
Exorcisms, form of, in the first book of Edward VI., 275 *n*.

F.

Faber, Basil, 143 *n*.
Faber, John, writes against the Confession of Augsburgh, 182 *n*.
Fabricius, John Henry, son of the standardbearer of Zurich, 118, 129, 138.
Faculties, Court of, 239, 278; offensive to the puritans, 281.

Fagius, exhumation of, 114 *n.*
Falconer, 88; death of, 102.
Farewell Cape, 512 *n.*
Feckenham, John, abbot of Westminster, one of the disputants there, 22 *n*; speech of, in the house of lords, 30; sent to the Tower, 103 *n.*
Felton, Dunstan, 345.
Felton, John, fixes the pope's bull against queen Elizabeth on the bishop of London's palace-gates, 335 *n*; canonized, 360 *n.*
Ferdinand, emperor of Germany, son of, a suitor of queen Elizabeth, 162.
Feria, duke of, ambassador from Spain, 6 *n*, 22.
Feroe isles, 512.
Field, John, one of the compilers of the Admonition to Parliament, 421 *n.*
Finland, John, duke of, 62 *n*, 113 *n.* See *Sweden, prince of.*
Fittich, Vespasian, 37.
Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, one of Elizabeth's privy council, 5 *n.*
Fitzgerald, Edward, sent to arrest the duke of Norfolk, 320 *n.*
Flacius Illyricus, 143 *n.*
Flanders, disorders in, 195; inundations there, 343.
Fleming, lord, 315 *n.*
Flinzbach, Cuman, 179 *n.*
Flushing, troops sent there, 410; privateers of, 411.
Folkherzheimer, Herman, 149 *n*; visits bishop Jewel, 150; translates Arrian's Periplus, 169; letters of, 149, 168, 184.
Fornication, punishment of, in Scotland, 312.
Forsteck, a village in Switzerland, 422 *n.*
Fortescue, Antony, condemned for treason, 172 *n.*
Foxe, Hugh, a martyr for religion, 301 *n.*
Foxe, John, employed in collecting the history of the martyrs, 35, 128; attended the duke of Norfolk at his execution, 397 *n*; letter of, to the duke of Norfolk, 320 *n*; letters of, 35, 45, 47, 56.
France, peace concluded with, 177 *n*, 195 *n*, 409; affairs of, 357; war declared against, 177 *n*; treaty of with Switzerland, 199.
France, king of, styles himself king of Scotland, 55; relinquishes the title, 112.
Francis II., of France, 112 *n*, 164 *n.*
Francis, Antony, 319.
Frankfort, council of, 214.
Frederic II., king of Denmark, 185 *n.*
Frederic III., elector Palatine, favours Calvinism, 298 *n*, 502 *n.*
Freming, a friend of sir Philip Sidney, 514.
Frensham, Henry, 47, 49.
Friesland, 512 *n.*
Frisius, 186.
Frobisher, sir Martin, notice of his voyages, 512 *n*, 513 *n.*
Frobisher's straits, 513 *n.*
Froschover, Christopher, a printer at Zurich, who entertained some of the English exiles, 23 *n.*
Fulthorp, J., executed for treason, 338 *n.*
Funckius, 186.
Funeral sermons, Gualter's remarks respecting, 448.

G.

Gabriel, the, one of sir Martin Frobisher's ships, 513 *n.*
Gallasius, Nicolas, notice of, 106 *n*; letter of, 106.
Gangra, council of, 217, 219 *n*, 235.
Gardiner, bishop, expelled Reniger from Oxford, 528 *n.*
Gargrave, sir Thomas, one of the royal visitors for the north, 97 *n*, 332 *n.*
Gates, sir Henry, one of the royal visitors for the north, 97 *n.*
Geneva, besieged by the duke of Savoy, 536 *n*; treaty of with Zurich and Berne, 540 *n.*
Genevese, collection ordered in behalf of, 536 *n.*
Gentile, Dr Alberic, 551 *n.*
Gerard, 89.
Germany, levy of troops in, 462.
Gesner, Conrad, 40 *n*; sends to England for MSS. of ancient ecclesiastical authors, 190 *n*; notice of his Bibliotheca, 470 *n.*
Gheast, Edmund, (afterwards bishop of Rochester and Salisbury) one of the disputants at Westminster, 23 *n.*
Ghent, 185.

Gilbye, a supposed author of the Admonition to Parliament, 421 *n.*
Glasgow, plague at, 555.
Glauberg, 519.
Glencairn, earl of, 292 *n.*
Glover, Robert, martyr, 110 *n.*
Gold, supposed discovery of, 512 *n*, 518.
Goodman, Christopher, notice of a tract by, 32 *n*, 76 *n*; preaches in the Scots camp, 74.
Goodman, Gabriel, dean of Westminster, signs a warrant for the apprehension of Cartwright, 479 *n.*
Gordon, John and Adam, sons of lord Huntley, made prisoners at Corrichie, 172 *n.*
Gorhambury, visit of queen Elizabeth to, 412 *n.*
Gossip, meaning of the word, 184.
Gough, 280.
Grange, lord. See *Kirkaldy.*
Granvelle, cardinal, 195 *n.*
Gravelines, 185.
Gregory Nazianzene, 174, 501.
Gregory of Tours, 93.
Greenland, 512 *n.*
Greenwich, visit of queen Elizabeth to, 429 *n.*
Gresham, sir Thomas, 196 *n.*
Gressop, notice of, 279 *n.*
Greville, Fulk, lord Brook, 515.
Grey of Wilton, lord, 109 *n.*
Grey, lady Catharine, 126 *n.*
Grindal, Edmund, 21 *n*; one of the disputants at Westminster, 23; made bishop of London, 33; translated to York, 343, 380; illness of, *ib.*; made archbishop of Canterbury, 498 *n*; confined to his house, 532; see sequestered by queen Elizabeth, 515 *n*; letters of, 43, 49, 114, 141, 173, 186, 242, 273, 283, 291, 308, 313 *bis*, 323, 331, 337, 381, 434, 436.
Grisons, disturbances in the, 416, 432.
Groningen, 185.
Gropper, John, author of the Antididagma, 44 *n.*
Grynæus, 47, 57.
Gualter, Rodolph, 10 *n*; publishes commentaries on St John's gospel, 197; on the prophets, 280 *n*; on the Corinthians, 406 *n*, 416 *n*; and Galatians, 503, 516; succeeds Bullinger as chief pastor of Zurich, 496; letters of, 7, 11, 13, 117, 260, 262, 404, 422, 440, 450, 480, 502, 516, 533.
Gualter, Rodolph, son of the preceding, 391 *n*, 393 *n*; maintained at Cambridge by bishop Parkhurst, 428; goes to Oxford, 432; testimonial of, 428; death of, 520, 523; letters of, 399, 426.
Guelderland, 411, 520.
Guernsey, sir Thomas Leighton, governor of, 493 *n.*
Guildhall, 411.
Guise, Francis de Lorraine, duke of, 197; assassinated, 199 *n.*
Guise, Henry de Lorraine, duke of, 197.
Guldebeckius, 186.
Guletta, 522 *n.*
Gusman, don Diego, ambassador from Spain, 196 *n.*
Guttenberg, silver mines of, 514.
Gymnicus, 89.

H.

Habits, controversy respecting, 212, 215, 225; judgment of Bullinger respecting them, 215, &c.; and Peter Martyr, *ib.*
Haddon, Walter, 141; commissioner at Bruges, 198 *n*; death of, 345; saying of queen Elizabeth respecting him, 345 *n.*
Haerlem, blockade of, 431 *n.*
Hales, John, 65.
Hall, an island so called, 513 *n.*
Haller, John, 6; letter of, *ib.*
Hamburgh, commerce of the English with, 196 *n*, 324.
Hamilton, James, of Bothwellhaugh, assassin of the regent Murray, 333 *n.*
Hamilton, James, archbishop of St Andrew's, murdered at Dumbarton, 363 *n.*
Hamilton, duke of, leader of the popish party in Scotland, 341.
Hanau, count of, 519.
Hardenberg, Albert, 142 *n.*
Harding, Thomas, 61; Jewel's controversy with, 195 *n*, 207.
Harpsfield, John, one of the popish disputants at Westminster, 23 *n.*
Hart, sir Perceval, entertained queen Elizabeth, 429 *n.*

Harvey, Henry, one of the royal visitors to the north, 97 *n.*
Harwich, 512 *n.*
Hastings, Edward, lord, one of queen Mary's privy council, 5 *n.*
Hatton, sir Christopher, 479 *n* ; endeavours to obtain possession of Ely house, 497 *n.*
Havering Bower visited by queen Elizabeth, 412 *n.*
Havre de Grace, 155 *n* ; plague at, 176 *n.*
Havre, marquis d', 512 *n.*
Heath, Nicholas, archbishop of York, one of queen Mary's council, 5 *n* ; account of, 22 *n*, 347.
Heidelberg, 322, 450 ; catechism of, 298 *n.*
Heldelin, James, 115.
Helvetia, Confession of, 243 *n.*
Henry, prince, son of James I., 552 *n.*
Henry II., of France, killed at a tournament, 51 *n.*
Henry III., of France, 462 *n*, 465 *n.* See *Anjou, duke of.*
Hepburn of Bantoun, 295 *n.*
Herbert, Henry, lord, 126 *n.*
Herbert, John, 193 *n.*
Heton, Thomas, 3.
Herle, informed against Berners and Mather, 397 *n.*
Herman, archbishop of Cologne, 44 *n.*
Hertford, Edward Seymour, earl of, committed to the Tower, 126 *n.*
Heshusius, controversy of, with Zanchy, 192 *n.*
Hesse, Philip, landgrave of, 20 *n.*
Hexham, 329 *n*, 355 *n.*
Higham, sir Clement, one of queen Mary's council, 5 *n.*
Hilles, Richard, a merchant, and contributor to the exiles in queen Mary's reign, 427 ; letters of, 19, 146, 266, 305, 327, 345, 348, 395, 407, 523.
Hilles, Barnabas, 348, 407.
Hilles, Gerson, 395, 408.
Hippolytus, 207.
Hirter, 75.
Holborn, St Andrew's church, Zuinglius buried in, 402.
Holland, Garland, a bookseller at Oxford, 523.
Holstein, Adolph, duke of, 42 *n*, 113 *n.*
Holyrood house, riot at, 127 *n.*
Hoogstraat, 185.
Hoper, Ann, wife of bishop, 47 *n.*
Horace, quoted, 166.
Horn, Robert, returns from exile, 23 ; disputes at Westminster, 23, 26, 37 ; bishop of Winchester, 117 ; his death, 532 *n* ; letters of, 188, 199, 353, 413, 492, 498.
Horn, count of, executed at Brussels, 316 ; notice of, 316 *n.*
Hosius, cardinal, some account of, 148 *n.*
Howard of Effingham, Charles, lord, one of queen Elizabeth's privy council, 5 *n.*
Howard, Thomas. See *Norfolk, duke of.*
Howe, 553.
Hubner, Peter, notice of, 529 *n.*
Huguenots, treaty with, 357 *n* ; seek refuge in London, 426, 434.
Huldrich, John, 519 *n*, 521.
Hume, lord, 292 *n.*
Humphrey, Laurence, 273 ; exile at Zurich, 23 *n* ; refuses to join the separatists, 314, 435 ; president of Magdalene college, Oxford, 528 ; writes the life of Jewel, 477 *n* ; letters of, 48, 177, 210, 233, 432, 476, 519, 521.
Hungerford, Antony, notice of, 549 *n.*
Hunsdon, lord, 354 *n* ; letter of, to lord Burghley, quoted, 333 *n.*
Huntley, earl of, 317 *n* ; his death, 172.
Hyperius, 176.

I.

Images removed from churches, 300 *n* ; disputation respecting, 86 ; worship of condemned, 214 *n.*
Immersion, trine, in baptism, 228.
Innocent, 234.
Interim, account of, 232 *n.*
Inundation in Norfolk and Suffolk, 343.
Ireland, rebellion in, 532 *n.*
Irenæus, 94, 368.
Isbrandus, Balkius, minister of the Dutch church in Norwich, 362 *n.*

J.

James VI. of Scotland, birth of, 227 *n*, 242 ; baptism of, 284 *n* ; crowned king of Scotland, 309 ; message of to Gualter, 530 ; sends ambassadors to queen Elizabeth, 553 *n.*

Jarnac, battle of, 465 *n.*
Jerningham, sir Henry, one of queen Mary's privy council, 5 *n.*
Jerome, quoted, 306 *n*, 307 *n*, 349.
Jewel, John, returns from exile, 21; one of the disputants at Westminster, 23; a royal visitor for Devonshire, 34, 54; bishop of Salisbury, 64 *n*; domestic character described, 150, &c.; publishes his Apology, 124 *n*; his sermon at Paul's cross, 207 *n*; death of, 382, 391; disposal of his property, 484; letters of, 15, 21, 25, 28, 30, 33, 41, 54, 60, 63, 64, 67, 69, 73, 86, 89, 101, 104, 112, 115, 123, 127, 129, 154, 157, 159, 166, 170, 194, 206, 213, 285, 339, 343.
John, Don, of Austria, 407 *n.*
John Frederic, elector of Saxony, 20 *n.*
John de villa Garsya, a Spanish monk, 42 *n.*
Johnston, John, notice of, 551 *n*; letters of, 551, 554.
Jordan, 515.
Judex, Matthew, 143 *n.*
Julius Santerentianus, attendant on Peter Martyr, 18, 65, 287, 338.
Julius, pope, saying of, 321.
Junius, Francis, 386 *n.*
Justinian, the emperor, 29.

K.

Keith, George, earl Marischal, 516.
Keith, William, brother of the preceding, 516 *n.*
Killegrew, sir Henry, brother-in-law to lord Burghley, sent ambassador into Scotland, 322.
Kinloss, abbot of, ambassador to England, 553 *n.*
Kingsmill, Richard, one of the royal visitors for the north, 97 *n.*
Kinsale, 555 *n.*
Kirkaldy, sir William, of Grange, 292 *n*, 295 *n*; governor of Edinburgh castle, 384 *n*; deserted to the queen's party, 384; and executed, 435.
Kitchen, Antony, bishop of Llandaff, 22 *n.*
Knockfergus, 431 *n.*
Knolles, sir Francis, one of queen Elizabeth's privy councillors, 5 *n.*
Knolles, Henry, queen Elizabeth's agent in Germany, 164.
Knox, John, 242; banished from Edinburgh, 34, 244; preaches in the Scots camp, 74; declaims against idolatry, 209; returns to Edinburgh, 310; notice of his book against the empire of women, 76 *n.*

L.

Lætus, Erasmus, a divine of Copenhagen, 441.
Lakin, Thomas, an exile for religion, 45.
Lamoral, count Egmont, 316 *n.*
Langdale, Alban, archdeacon of Chichester, one of the disputants at Westminster, 23 *n.*
Langside, battle of, 315 *n*, 317 *n.*
Languet, Hubert, account of, 511 *n*; letter of, 529.
Lanscade, Christopher, 451, 504.
Laodicea, council of, 235.
Latoun, laird of, 552 *n.*
Lavater, Louis, 75; married Bullinger's daughter, 306 *n.*
Ledington, lord, 315 *n.*
Legate de Latere, 282.
Leicester, earl of, 320 *n*, 508.
Leighton, sir Thomas, governor of Guernsey, 493 *n.*
Leipsic, university of, 441.
Leith, taken by the English, 109; capitulation of, 105 *n*, 112; levelled to the ground, 113; again fortified by the king's party, 384.
Lennox, Lodowick, duke of, 553 *n.*
Lennox, Matthew Stewart, earl of, committed to the Tower, 125; regent of Scotland, 339; murdered at Stirling, 383.
Lennox, Margaret Douglas, countess, 125.
Lepanto, battle of, 407 *n.*
Lethington, lord Maitland of, 292 *n.*
Lever, Thomas, master of St John's, Cambridge, 337; notice of, 279 *n*; minister at Coventry, 110; refuses to join the separatists, 314; preaches at the funeral of Dr Turner, 318; letters of, 57, 108.
Lewin, William, 504; letters of, 504, 506.
Lewis, count, brother of the prince of Orange, 317, 411, 462.

Lewis II., duke of Bavaria, 502 *n*.
Lewis, elector palatine, favours Lutheranism, 298 *n*.
Lewis XI., saying of, 160.
Liberian, 75.
Licenses for preaching recalled, 303.
Lichtenstein, Henry, baron of, 515.
Limacius, Laurence, 192.
Lindsay, lord, 292 *n*.
Linlithgow, the regent Murray murdered at, 330 *n*, 333.
Liturgy of Edw. VI., 387; Bucer's opinion of, 387 *n*; Martyr's opinion, *ib*.
London, plague at, 176 *n*, 197.
Lord's Supper, primitive mode of administering, 276 *n*.
Lorraine, cardinal of, attacked in Paris, 197.
Louvaine, 185.
Lovelace, William, in a commission for a royal visitation, 54 *n*.
Low Countries. See *Flanders*.
Lubetius, 515.
Lumey, William Vandermarke, lord of, 410.
Luncher, 176.
Lunenberg, Ernest, duke of, 20 *n*.
Luther, Martin, 20 *n*, 142.
Lutherans, animosity of against the sacramentaries, 269.
Lycosthenes, Conrad, abridged Gesner's Bibliotheca, 470 *n*.
Lynn, 176.
Lyons, plague in, 194.

M.

Maclaine, Peter, 46.
Macphelim, Brian, 431 *n*.
Macquhirrie, Alexander, 552 *n*.
Magdalene college, Oxford, 408 *n*, 427, 432.
Magdeburgh, centuriators of, 143 *n*.
Magdeburgh, duke of, 422.
Magellan, 512.
Maitland, lord of Lethington, 292 *n*.
Malta, 462.
Man, John, warden of Merton, published the Common Places of Musculus, in English, 280 *n*.
Manichees, 228.
Mar, earl of, 292 *n*; chosen regent, 384 *n*.
Margaret, queen of Scotland, 201 *n*.
Marlorat, Augustine, his comment upon St John, used in England, 280 *n*.
Marnix, Philip de, 511 *n*.
Marpach, Dr, 51.
Marpurg, conferences at, 141 *n*.
Marriage of clergy authorised by act of parliament, 300.
Marriage, license for, at prohibited seasons, 281.
Marshal, Richard, notice of, 24 *n*.
Martinengo, abbot of, the pope's nuncio, 126 *n*.
Martinists, Lutherans so called, 268.
Martyr, Peter, invited to return to England, 31 *n*, 61, 68; sends a book to queen Elizabeth, 32; writes a commentary on Judges, 280 *n*; his book on vows, 61; attends the conference at Poissy, 123 *n*; writes on the ubiquitarian controversy, 124 *n*; death of, 189; medallion of, in silver, sent to Jewel, 190; his opinion respecting the habits, 227; of the Common Prayer-book, 387 *n*, 388; wife of, 62 *n*; letters of, 52, 65, 84, 95, 120, 161.
Martyrs, number of, in Mary's reign, 464 *n*.
Mary, queen, message of, to Elizabeth, 4; death of, 4.
Mary, queen of Scots, 125 *n*; retains the mass, 156, 196; seeks an interview with Elizabeth, 155 *n*; sends her presents, 155; marries Lord Darnley, 201; marries the earl of Bothwell, 292; suspected of the murder of her husband, 309; escapes to Dunbar, 293 *n*; confined in Lochleven castle, 309; resigns the crown to her son, 309 *n*; escapes from Lochleven, 314 *n*; flies to Castle Hamilton, 315; escapes to Carlisle, *ib*.; confined in Bolton, Tutbury, and Sheffield castles, 325 *n*, 431 *n*; transferred to Coventry 331 *n*; regulations respecting her imprisonment, 382 *n*; proposed marriage with the duke of Norfolk, 320; sought in marriage by the brother of the king of France, 344; letter of, 315 *n*.
Mascall, Robert, 395.
Mason, sir John, a privy councillor, 5 *n*; appointed to examine into a complaint against bishop Bonner, 16 *n*.

Mass, abolition of, 38, 44; riots at Holyrood house occasioned by, 127 *n*.
Massacre of St Bartholomew's, 413 *n*.
Masters, Richard, physician to queen Elizabeth, 17 *n*; letters of, 119, 129, 197.
Mather, execution of, 397 *n*.
Matilda, wife of Lewis II. of Bavaria, 502 *n*.
Matthew, archbishop, 485 *n*.
Maurice, elector of Saxony, 232 *n*.
Maximilian, the emperor, endeavours to obtain the crown of Poland, 502 *n*.
May, William, dean of St Paul's, death of, 117.
Mayence, 462.
Meadows, Dr James, notice of, 549 *n*.
Mearing, Margaret, a martyr for religion, 301 *n*.
Meath, bishop of, retires to the continent, 475 *n*.
Mechlin, 185.
Medina Celi, duke of, viceroy in Flanders, 411.
Meghem, count, 316 *n*.
Meier, Wolfgang, notice of, 545 *n*.
Melancthon, Philip, 232; concerned in the Confession of Augsburg, 20 *n*; writes the apology for it, 182 *n*; conduct of with respect to the Interim, 232 *n*; book of reformation by, 44 *n*; death of, 137 *n*.
Melvil, Andrew, 553 *n*.
Melvil, sir James, 530 *n*.
Mere, Poltrot de, assassinates the duke of Guise, 199 *n*.
Merell, 529.
Merenda, Catharine, wife of Peter Martyr, 62 *n*.
Merick, Rowland, bishop of Bangor, 78 *n*.
Metherk, Adolph, 512 *n*.
Metz, siege of, 524.
Michael, the, one of sir Martin Frobisher's ships so called, 513 *n*.
Middleberg, invaded by the Walloons, 410.
Ministers, remarks on the election and equality of, 442, 447.
Ministers, London, deprived, 280 *n*; cited before the commissioners, 303.
Monasteries, abolished in Scotland, 199.
Money, Spanish, taken possession of by Elizabeth, 323 *n*, 347.
Moniepennie, David, 553 *n*.
Monks, expulsion of, 300.
Mons, 524.
Mont, Christopher, queen Elizabeth's agent at Strasburgh, 164 *n*, 268 *n*, 322 *n*, 328, 365; death of, 412; letter of, 319.
Montague, viscount, one of queen Mary's privy council, 5 *n*; commissioner at Bruges, 198 *n*.
Montauban, 432 *n*.
Montcontour, battle of, 465 *n*.
Montmorenci, Ann, duke of, 198.
Montmorenci Francis, duke of, ambassador to England, 42, 410 *n*.
Montmorenci, marshal, governor of Paris, 197 *n*.
Montmorenci, Philip, count Horn, 316.
Montpelier, 546.
Montrose, earl of, 317 *n*.
Moors, victory of, in Spain, 334.
Mordaunt, sir John, one of queen Mary's privy council, 5 *n*.
Morison, sir Richard, 136.
Morley, Henry Parker, lord, 475 *n*.
Morton, earl of, delivers the earl of Northumberland to the English, 332 *n*.
Mountjoy, lord, defeats the Spaniards in Ireland, 555.
Muhlhausen, 193.
Mullins, John, dean of Bocking, notice of, 528 *n*.
Muralt, 18.
Murray, earl of, 176 *n*, 209 *n*, 242, 244; regent in Scotland, 309, 324; assassination of, 330, 333 *n*, 358.
Murray, lord, of Tullibardin, 292 *n*.
Musculus, Wolfgang, 7 *n*; Common Places of, translated by J. Man, 280 *n*.
Mydelmore, 316 *n*.

N.

Naper, Andrew, 552.
Navarre, Antony de Bourbon, king of, 118.
Navarre, queen of, 357 *n*.
Naworth, 329 *n*.
Nazianzene, Gregory, 174, 501.
Negelin, 7.
Netherlands, commerce with, interrupted, 323.
Neuberg, conference at, 327.
Nevill, Dr, 545.

Newhaven, plague at, 188.
Nice, councils of, referred to, 214, 443 *n*.
Niger, Bernard, one of the Magdeburg centuriators, 143 *n*, 145.
Nimeguen, 185.
Nismes, 432 *n*.
Nominalists, 68.
Norfolk, Thomas Howard, duke of, 120 *n*; suitor of the queen of Scots, 320; conspiracy of, 331; trial of, 383 *n*, 398; peers present, 399 *n*; condemnation of, 392; executed, 397 *n*, 404, 409 *n*.
Norfolk, Mary Fitz-Alan, duchess of, her funeral, 190.
Norfolk, rebellion in, 342 *n*; late harvest and scarcity in, 455.
Norris, John, gallantry of, in Flanders, 521 *n*.
North, Roger, lord, obtains the manor of Somersham, 497 *n*.
Northampton, William Par, marquis of, one of queen Elizabeth's privy council, 5 *n*; his death, 363.
Northeim, 480.
Northumberland, Thomas Percy, earl of, one of the royal visitors for the north, 97 *n*; heads the rebellion there, 329, 331, 340, 354; flight, and confinement in Lochleven, 329 *n*; execution of, 332 *n*.
Northumberland, Anne Somerset, countess of, 397 *n*.
Norton, Christopher and Thomas, executed at York, 338 *n*.
Norton, Richard, a leader of the rebels in the north, 330 *n*.
Norwich, bishoprick of, offered to Sampson, 99 *n*.
Norwich, cathedral of, injured by lightning, 176; Dutch church at, disturbances therein, 362 *n*.
Nowell, Dr Alexander, dean of St Paul's, 397 *n*; signs a warrant for the apprehension of Cartwright, 479 *n*.
Nuremberg, 20 *n*.

O.

Occamists, 68.
Ochinus, Bernardine, a learned Italian, invited into England by archbishop Cranmer, 72 *n*.
Œcolampadius, John, 467.
Oglethorpe, Owen, bishop of Carlisle, 22 *n*, 87.
Oil, use of, abolished in the church of England, 275.
Olevianus, Gaspar, minister at Heidelberg, 450 *n*.
O'Neale, John, rebels against queen Elizabeth, 287 *n*, 295 *n*; killed in an affray, 295.
Oporinus, John, a printer at Basle, 193 *n*.
Orange, William of Nassau, prince of, 321, 410 *n*, 435.
Orenberg, count Von, killed at Groningen, 317.
Organs, the use of, objected to, 282.
Orleans, siege of, 199 *n*.
Orpington, 429 *n*.
Osiander, 171 *n*.
Ostend, blockade of, 555.
Otho, constitutions of, 234.
Overton, bishop, 485 *n*.
Oxford, earl of, 508.
Oxford, state of religion in, 42, 101; Gualter's commendation of, 501.

P.

Paget, sir William, 300 *n*.
Paget, William, lord, one of queen Mary's privy council, 5 *n*.
Pallium, description of the, 236.
Pamphilus, an assumed name of Thomas Randolph, 70 *n*.
Pappus, an opponent of Sturmius, 535 *n*.
Paris, protestant service forbidden at, 357 *n*.
Parker, Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury, death and character of, 488 *n*; letter of, 143.
Parker, son of the archbishop, 485 *n*.
Parker, 360.
Parkhurst, John, exile at Zurich, 10, 13, 15, 23 *n*; rector of Cleeve, 63, 75; refuses a bishoprick, 75; made bishop of Norwich, 75 *n*, 100; interposes in the dissensions there, 362; embarrassed by the misconduct of his agent, 394 *n*; death of, 488 *n*; letters of, 38, 40, 74, 138, 140, 160, 172, 175, 190, 201, 240, 294, 317, 342, 361, 398, 415, 455, 456, 468, 470.

Parliament, proceedings of mentioned, 21 *n*; prorogued, 197 *n*; meeting of, 249 *n*.
Parma, duke of, governor of the Netherlands, 528 *n*.
Parma, duchess of, 195 *n*; regent of the Netherlands, 195 *n*.
Parry, Henry, in a commission for religion, 54 *n*.
Parry, sir Thomas, one of queen Elizabeth's privy council, 5 *n*.
Parrys, Thomas, 302 *n*.
Partridge, Nicolas, 10 *n*.
Pate, Richard, bishop of Worcester, 22 *n*; confined in the Tower, 103 *n*.
Patriarch, title of, when given to bishops, 443 *n*.
Paul IV., pope, 146 *n*.
Paul's Cross, 5.
Paulet, sir Amias, ambassador to France, 507.
Paulus, Andreas, 515.
Peckham, sir Edmund, one of queen Mary's privy council, 5 *n*.
Peckham, sir Robert, one of queen Mary's privy council, 5 *n*.
Pellican, Conrad, 192 *n*.
Pembroke, William Herbert, earl of, one of queen Elizabeth's privy council, 5 *n*; in a commission for religion, 54 *n*; confined to his own house, 321 *n*.
Pembroke college, Oxford, 522 *n*.
Peneman, Robert, executed for treason, 338 *n*.
Penny, Dr, notice of, 279 *n*, 401 *n*.
Percy, sir Henry, one of the royal visitors for the north, 97 *n*.
Pern, Dr Andrew, master of Peterhouse, 114 *n*.
Petalum, description of the, 219 *n*.
Petre, sir William, 91, 103; one of queen Elizabeth's privy council, 5 *n*.
Peucer, Caspar, head of the university of Wittemberg, 456 *n*.
Pflug, Julius, bishop of Naumberg, 232 *n*.
Philip II. suitor of queen Elizabeth, 1, 6 *n*; makes peace with France, 44.
Philpot, John, 280 *n*; examined by Dr Story, 359 *n*.
Pickering, sir William, one of queen Elizabeth's suitors, 34, 42 *n*.
Pilgrimages forbidden, 300.
Pilkington, James, master of St John's college, Cambridge, bishop of Durham, 187; his property destroyed in the rebellion, 332; letter to Cecil quoted, 332 *n*; illness of, 382; death of, 495; letters of, 336, 424.
Pistorius, 44.
Pius IV. pope, 22 *n*, 146 *n*, 148.
Pius V. pope, bull of, against queen Elizabeth, 339 *n*, 344; answered by Bullinger, 351; subsidized the duke of Savoy, 319 *n*.
Plague, the, breaks out at Chiavenna, 92; in London and Newhaven, 176; at Basle and Lyons, 194; at Zurich, 199; at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Crail, 555.
Plessis du, 221 *n*.
Pliny, quoted, 169 *n*.
Plumtree, a priest, executed for treason, 338 *n*.
Poictiers, 149.
Poissy, conference at, 123 *n*.
Pole, Arthur and Edmund, condemned for treason, 126 *n*.
Pole, Reginald, cardinal, death of, 4 *n*.
Polydore Virgil, 145 *n*.
Pontius, the deacon, 236.
Popery abolished in England, 59, 300 *n*.
Possession, alleged demoniacal, at Norwich, 469.
Poynings, sir Adrian, marshal of Newhaven, 165 *n*.
Prayer, forms of, Gualter's opinion respecting, 446.
Prayers in a foreign tongue, disallowed in the church of England, 275.
Preachers, five deprived, 226.
Preaching prohibited by queen Elizabeth, 16 *n*.
Presbytery, Gualter's opinion of, 450, 465; Bullinger's opinion of, 457.
Presence, real, article of Edward VI. respecting, 240 *n*.
Prestall, John, condemned for treason, 172 *n*.
Privy council, names of queen Elizabeth's first, 5 *n*.
Puteo, James, cardinal, 24 *n*.

R.

Rainolds, John, president of Corpus Christi college, Oxford, 500 *n*, 550; letter of, 500.

Randau, count, plenipotentiary from Francis II., 112 *n*.
Randolph, Thomas, queen Elizabeth's agent in Scotland, employed to convey the earl of Arran into Scotland, 70 *n*; designated by the name of Pamphilus, *ib*.
Ratisbon, conference at, 502.
Raymond, 291.
Rebellion in the north, notice of, 329, 331, 336.
Reformation, book of, 44 *n*.
Reformation, how tolerated in France, 357.
Reister, meaning of the word, 515 *n*.
Religion, commission for the establishment of, 34.
Religion, state of, in England, 90.
Reniger, Michael, expelled from Magdalene college, by bishop Gardiner, 528 *n*.
Renner, 75.
Reutlingen, 20 *n*.
Reyna de, Cassiodorus, notice of, 325 *n*.
Rich, lord, expedition of, into Ireland, 431 *n*.
Ridley, bishop, executors of, complain against bishop Bonner, 16 *n*.
Ripon, rebels at, 354 *n*.
Rizzio, David, murder of, 240 *n*, 244.
Rochelle, 149; siege of, 432 *n*; synod at, 357 *n*.
Rodolph I., 502 *n*.
Rogers, Daniel, notice of, 517 *n*.
Rogers, sir Edward, an exile for religion, privy councillor to queen Elizabeth, 5 *n*.
Rohan, M. de, queen Elizabeth's contract with, 155 *n*.
Rostock, 441.
Rotaker, Christopher, 75.
Rothes, Andrew Leslie, joined the association on behalf of the queen of Scots, 317 *n*.
Rouen, siege of, 146 *n*.
Rough, John, a martyr for religion, 301 *n*.
Rullus, 457 *n*.
Russel, lord Francis, 300 *n*; letters of, 82, 526.
Rutland, Roger, fifth earl of, 329 *n*, 548 *n*.
Ruthven, Patrick, baron, took part in the murder of Rizzio, 240 *n*.
Ryche, lord, one of queen Mary's privy council, 5 *n*.

S.

Sackvil, sir Richard, one of queen Elizabeth's privy council, 5 *n*.
Sadler, sir Ralph, 354 *n*.
Salisbury, cathedral of, injured by lightning, 102; bishop's palace described, 150.
Salisbury, John of, 214 *n*.
Salkyns, William, 43, 142.
Salvart, 519.
Sampson, Thomas, dean of Christchurch, bishoprick of Norwich offered to, 99 *n*; preached at the funeral of the duchess of Norfolk, 190 *n*; Grindal's testimony to, 273; deprived, 226 *n*; refuses to join the separatists, 314, 435; letters of, 2, 78, 99, 174, 211.
Sandwich, dissensions among the Dutch there, 362.
Sandys, Edwin, returns from exile, 21 *n*; made bishop of Worcester, 97; one of the royal visitors for the north, 97 *n*; his second marriage, 99; translated to London, 342, 343; signs a warrant for the apprehension of Cartwright, 479 *n*; archbishop of York, 531; letters of, 3, 97, 205, 393, 438, 478 *bis*, 531.
Santrinus, 508.
Sarum, Old, 152.
Saunders, Nicholas, his book de Visibili Monarchia, 418, 449.
Savoy, duke of, endeavours to obtain possession of Geneva, 540 *n*; subsidized by Pius V., 319 *n*.
Saxony, elector of, 20 *n*; prince of, a suitor to queen Elizabeth, 34.
Scambler, Edward, a preacher in queen Mary's time, 17 *n*; bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 301 *n*.
Schneider, John, 128.
Schweitzer, Christophel, 550.
Scipio, a friend of bishop Jewel, 125 *n*.
Scory, John, one of the disputants at Westminster, 23 *n*; bishop of Hereford, 33.
Scot, Cuthbert, bishop of Chester, opposes the reformation, 22 *n*.
Scots, queen of. See *Mary*.
Scotland, religious disturbances in, 33; monasteries destroyed, 55; affairs of, 73,

82, 109, 112, 208, 284, 309, 311, 339, 358, 383.
Scriptures, reading of, commanded, 449.
Scroop, Henry, lord, invades Scotland, 338 *n.*
Scultetus, Abraham, 549 *n.*
Sebald, 142.
Selim II., sultan of Turkey, 461 *n.*
Sempach, battle of, 486 *n.*
Sempil, Helen, 552 *n.*
Sempil, lord, 292 *n.*
Service-book, 21 *n*, 38.
Servitutes luminum, 168 *n.*
Seymour, lord E., 475 *n.*
Seymour, sir F., 300 *n.*
Sheffield castle, 431 *n.*
Shepherd, Nicholas, master of St John's college, Cambridge, 385 *n.*
Shrewsbury, Francis Talbot, earl of, 5 *n*; notice of, 26 *n*; president of the council in the north, 97 *n.*
Shrewsbury, George Talbot, earl of, high steward at the duke of Norfolk's trial, 383 *n.*
Sicilian vespers, 434 *n.*
Sicily, warlike preparations in, 462.
Sidall, Henry, account of, 29 *n*, 104.
Sidney, sir Henry, 155 *n.*
Sidney, sir Philip, letters of, 511, 517.
Sidney, Robert, 529.
Sidonius, Michael, 232 *n.*
Sigismund III., king of Poland, 543.
Simler, Josiah, married Bullinger's daughter, 306 *n*; prepares an edition of P. Martyr's works, 190; writes against Stancarus, 107; and Brentius, 476; illness of, 159.
Simpson, Cuthbert, a martyr for religion, 301 *n.*
Sisinnius, 219 *n*, 236.
Sluys, sea-fight near, 411.
Smalcald, league of, 31.
Smith, John Henry. See *Fabricius.*
Smith, Richard, account of, 24 *n*, 61.
Smith, sir Thomas, secretary of state to queen Elizabeth, 433 *n.*
Somersham, manor of, 497 *n.*
Soto, Peter, a Spanish friar, 42.
Southwell, sir Richard, one of queen Mary's privy council, 5 *n.*
Southampton, 150.
Spain, king of, message of, to queen Elizabeth, 321.
Spanish ships taken by the Dutch, 411.
Spencer, Thomas, archdeacon of Chichester, death of, 362.
Sponsors, Gualter's opinion respecting, 447.
Springham, Richard, 18; notice of, 148 *n.*
Stafford, sir Edward, 532 *n.*
Stafford, lord, letter of, 545.
Stancarus, notice of, 170 *n.*
Staphylus, notice of, 136 *n.*
St Andrew's, Holborn, R. Zuinglius buried at, 402.
St Andrew's, archbishop of, 74, 176; execution of, 363 *n.*
St Antholin's, morning service at, 41 *n.*
St Bartholomew's, massacre of, 434 *n*, 462 *n.*
St Denys, college of, at Heidelberg, 450.
Stolberg, count, ambassador from the emperor, 292.
Stonehenge, 152.
Story, John, sent to prison, 103 *n*; arrested, 140; escapes to Flanders, 359; re-apprehended and executed, 140 *n*, 360 *n*; canonized at Rome, *ib.*
Strasburg, the Confession of Augsburg enforced at, 192.
Stuart, James. See *Murray.*
Stuart, Lewis, duke of Lennox, 553 *n.*
Stuckius, John William, notice of, 554 *n.*
Stumphius, 75.
Sturmius, John, notice of, 507 *n*, 535 *n*; comments on Aristotle, 135 *n*; appointed agent to queen Elizabeth, 413; letters of, 325, 326, 451.
Sturmius, Peter, 179.
Style, new, 211.
Succession to the crown debated in parliament, 286 *n.*
Suffolk, Catharine Willoughby, duchess of, exile for religion, 451 *n.*
Sultzer, Simon, 179 *n*, 180 *n.*
Superstition, popish, instances of, in Yorkshire, 381 *n.*
Supper, the Lord's, should be preceded by a sermon, 447.
Supremacy, the, transferred from the pope to Henry VIII., 282.
Sussex, Thomas Ratcliffe, earl of, sent

against the rebels in the north, 329 *n*; invades Scotland, 339.
Sutherland, earl of, one of the association in defence of the queen of Scots, 317 *n*.
Sweden, king of, a suitor to queen Elizabeth, 62; expected in England, 113 *n*.
Sweden, prince of, arrived in England, 62 *n*.
Sweden, war with Denmark, 185, 209.
Sylverius, patriarch of Rome, 29 *n*.

T.

Tables, substituted for altars, 301 *n*.
Tadcaster, rebels at, 354 *n*.
Talbot, earl of, presided at the trial of the duke of Norfolk, 383 *n*.
Tallow, laird of, 295 *n*.
Tamars, de, 511.
Tapers, use of, abolished in the church of England, 276.
Taxis, John Baptista de, 514 *n*.
Tertullian, 109 *n*, 234.
Theobalds, visited by queen Elizabeth, 412 *n*.
Theodora, empress, 30 *n*.
Theophilus, minister of the Strangers' church at Norwich, 362 *n*, 398 *n*.
Thirlby, Thomas, bishop of Ely, one of queen Mary's council, 5 *n*; commissioner about the restoration of Calais, 17; death of, 347.
Thoman, Caspar, notice of, 546 *n*; letter of, 547.
Thorgau, convocation of, 456 *n*, 486 *n*.
Thornton, Thomas, notice of, 550 *n*.
Throgmorton, sir Clement, 16 *n*.
Throgmorton, sir Nicholas, ambassador in France, 177 *n*.
Thuanus, 511 *n*.
Thymelthorp, George, his frauds on the bishop of Norwich, 394 *n*, 455 *n*.
Torquatus, an Italian astrologer, 62 *n*.
Toxites, Michael, 131.
Tradition, alleged necessity of, 393.
Tremellius, John Immanuel, Hebrew professor at Cambridge, 386 *n*.
Trent, council of, resumed, 146 *n*.
Tullibardin, lord Murray, of, 292 *n*.
Tunica, what, 219 *n*.
Tunstal, Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, 87.
Turbervile, James, bishop of Exeter, 22 *n*.
Turks, defeat of, at Lepanto, 407 *n*.
Turner, Dr William, dean of Wells, notice of, 230 *n*.
Turner, Dr, a physician, 401 *n*; letter of, 230.
Tutbury, queen of Scots confined at, 325 *n*.
Tyrone, earl of, defeated in Ireland, 555.

U.

Ubiquitarians, 116 *n*, 189, 195, 468; attacked by Sturmius, 535.
Ulmer, John Rodolph, 519 *n*, 521.
Ulmis, John ab, 526 *n*.
Ulstat, Daniel, contracts for reforming the debased currency, 116 *n*.
Ulster, rebellion in, 431 *n*.
Uniformity, act of, 21 *n*.
Ursinus, Zachary, catechism of, 298 *n*.

V.

Vahan, 136 *n*.
Valence, bishop of, plenipotentiary from Francis II., 112 *n*.
Valenciennes, revolts from the duke of Alva, 411.
Vandermarke, William, lord of Lumey, takes the Brill, 410 *n*.
Venetians, war of, with the Turks, 344 *n*.
Venice, 344, 407 *n*, 441.
Venlo, revolts from the duke of Alva, 411.
Vere, sir Francis, governor of Ostend, 555.
Vergerius, 31 *n*.
Vespers, Sicilian, 434 *n*.
Vestiarian controversy, 201, 202, 208, 273 *n*, 359.
Vestments, P. Martyr's opinion respecting the, 84.
Victor, bishop of Rome, 207; rebuked by Irenæus, 368.
Vigilius, 29; of Thapsus, 145 *n*.
Villa Garsya, John de, 42 *n*.
Villars, preacher of the French church in London, 483 *n*.
Virgilius, Polydore, 145 *n*.

W.

Wacker, 515.
Wafer-bread, used in the administration of the Lord's Supper, 302.
Wagner, Mark, 143 *n*.
Waldegrave, sir Edward, one of queen Mary's privy council, 5 *n*.
Walloons, 410.
Walsingham, sir Francis, letter of, 510.
Warwick, earl of, 512 *n*; sent against the rebels in the north, 355 *n*.
Warwick, visit of queen Elizabeth to, 412 *n*.
Waser, Caspar, notice of, 547 *n*.
Wasselheim, 115.
Watson, Thomas, bishop of Lincoln, 16 *n*; committed to the Tower, 103 *n*.
Weidner, Wolfgang, pastor at Worms, 36.
Wentworth, Thomas, lord, one of queen Mary's privy council, 5 *n*.
Werdmuller, 549.
Werter, Philip and Antony, 136.
Westminster, disputation between protestants and papists at, 25.
Westminster abbey, 410.
Westmoreland, Charles, earl of, heads the rebellion in the north, 329, 331, 354; his escape, 332 *n*.
Weston, Hugh, notice of, 24 *n*.
Westphaling, Herbert, canon of Christchurch, bishop of Hereford, 485 *n*.
Wetherby, rebels at, 354 *n*.
Wharton, sir Thomas, one of queen Mary's privy council, 5 *n*.
White, John, bishop of Winchester, preaches at queen Mary's funeral, 16 *n*; committed to the Tower, 103 *n*; wrote against Peter Martyr, 90; death of, *ib*.
Whitehead, David, notice of, 23 *n*; preaches before queen Elizabeth, 23 *n*; death of, 349, 361.
Whitgift, Dr John, replies to Cartwright, 434, 441 *n*, 473 *n*, 475; master of Trinity college, 436.
Whittington college, 226 *n*.
Wiburn, Perceval, notice of, 280 *n*, 288, 405 *n*; letters of, 269, 288.
Wickham, bishop, 485 *n*.
Wigand, John, 143 *n*.
Wight, Isle of, 150.
Wigston's hospital, 226 *n*.
Wilcox, Thomas, one of the compilers of the Admonition to Parliament, 412 *n*.
Wilford, sir Thomas, 99 *n*.
Wilford, Cecilia, wife of bishop Sandys, 99 *n*.
Willoughby d'Eresby, Catherine, baroness, an exile for religion, 451 *n*.
Willoughby, Peregrine, lord, 549 *n*.
Willoughby of Parham, William, lord, 329 *n*.
Winchester, William Paulet, marquis of, lord treasurer, 16.
Wingfield, sir Antony, 300 *n*.
Witchcraft, an act against, 60 *n*.
Withers, George, 294 *n*, 405 *n*; letters of, 279, 296.
Wittemberg, concord of, 182 *n*; university of, 441, 483.
Woburn, visit of queen Elizabeth to, 412 *n*.
Wolley, sir John, account of, 429 *n*; letter of, 429.
Wolsey, cardinal, arrested at Cawood, 381 *n*.
Women, not allowed to baptize, 276.
Wonlychius, 75.
Woodhouselie, 33 *n*.
Woodstock, visit of queen Elizabeth to, 412 *n*.
Worcester house, 302 *n*.
Workington, the queen of Scots lands at, 315 *n*.
Worms, congress at, 205.
Wotton, Nicholas, one of queen Mary's councillors, 5 *n*; commissioner in France, 17 *n*; and at Bruges, 198 *n*.
Wroth, sir Thomas, 6, 68, 112 *n*.

Y.

Young, John, one of the disputants in Cambridge against Bucer, 43 *n*.
Young, Peter, preceptor of James VI., 530 *n*.

Z.

Zanchius, Hierome, account of, 18, 178 *n*, 364 *n*; pastor at Chiavenna, 191, 194; letters of, 178, 191, 192, 497, 534.

Zeni, Nicholas and Antony, 512 *n*.
Zuinglius, Rodolph, notice of, 393 *n* ; illness and death of, 400 ; letter of, 385.
Zuinglius, Ulric, father of the preceding, 57 ; married Bullinger's daughter, 306 *n*.
Zuinglius, 467.
Zurich, council of, letter from, to queen Elizabeth, 545.
Zurich, tithes of, possessed by the bishop of Constance, 445 ; St Peter's church, *ib*.

Princeton Theological Seminary Libraries
1 1012 01173 0431